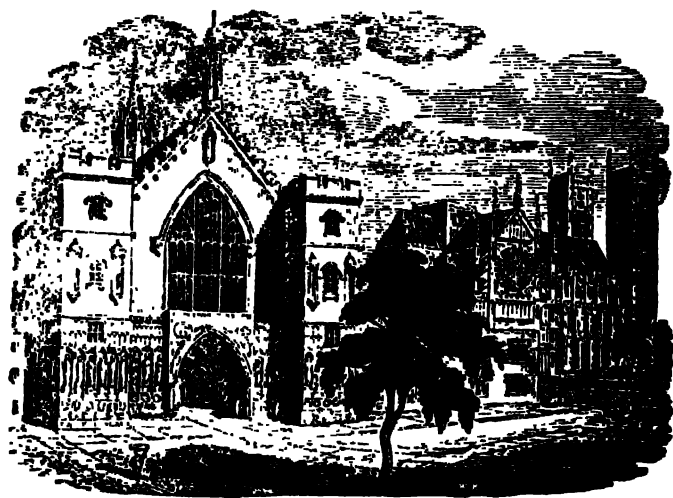


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VOLUME XXIII.

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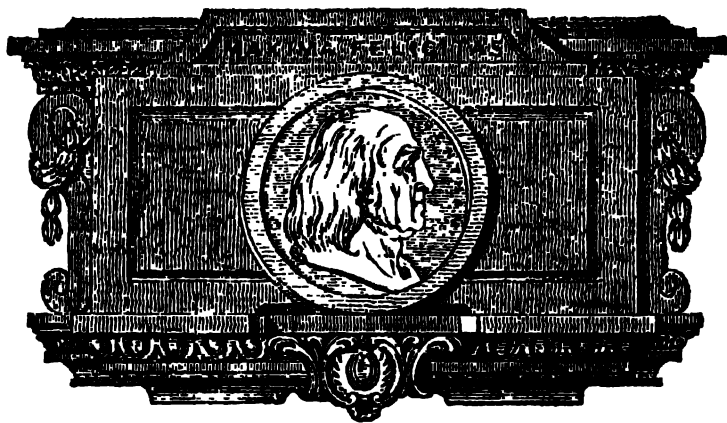
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THE
WESTMINSTER REVIEW,

No. XLV.

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ART. I.—*Philanthropic Economy ; or, the Philosophy of Happiness, practically applied to the Social, Political, and Commercial Relations of Great Britain.* By Mrs. Loudon, Author of "First Love," "Fortune Hunting," and "Dilemmas of Pride."—London; Churton. 1835. 8vo. pp. 312.

MRS. LOUDON is no lesson-player, but draws directly on the resources of her own genius for success. In this consists her great distinction from the lady Economists who have preceded her; for, without contesting with them the perfection in which they have acquired the doctrines of their respective pastors and masters, or their talents for familiar and quiet illustration, she goes far beyond them in the courage with which she appeals to the practical good sense and honesty of the public against existing evils. Military observers have noted the alteration made since the time of the ancients, in the relation.

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tive value of young troops ; dependent probably on the importance under the old regime, of individual skill in the use of weapons. Mrs. Loudon is *a new regiment* ; and will carry every thing before her by the unpractised innocence of her attacks. She walks among the landowners crusted over with the misery of their countrymen, in an impassibility to fear, like Retzsch's vision of Margaret in the meeting of the sorcerers. If anything could move the very mean and odious oppressors to a sense of shame, it would be the cool unassuming indignity here poured out upon them by a feminine hand. There are degrees of impudence, which beat man's practice ; but words from a woman, sometimes burn, for the very reason that they prove the agitation has gone far, and is likely to increase.

The change of title from ' Political ' to ' Philanthropic ' Economy, is only a spirited version of the definition that has been often given of the former, as being ' the art of preventing ourselves from being plundered by our betters.' *Political*, means what relates to the interests of ' the many ;' and nothing but this having been said in Greek, could have left room for the stupid solecism which tries to persuade the feebler fragments of the public, that what is all men's business, belongs therefore to none.

' The efforts of the pious and the benevolent, (and in Great Britain these constitute a great majority of the educated classes) had, it is probable, been long since so directed, had not very many amiably enough disposed persons been deterred from approaching almost any subject connected with the general weal, by the too common opinion among otherwise well (or at least elegantly) educated people, that the science of political economy is something quite distinct from religion, morality, or philanthropy, something too speculative to be practical, too intricate to be understood, or too dull to be endured.'

' How many, in short, of those who in their hearts believe themselves to be the friends of justice and the poor, carelessly dismiss topics on which depend whether all those who have their bread to earn by honest industry shall be prosperous or miserable, by merely declaring that they " hate politics."—*Preface*. p. v.

Mrs. Loudon is *not* so strong in Ethics as in Political Economy. Which it is only justice to herself to note ; because many most desirable readers might take alarm at what they might consider the discrepancies of her introductory remarks. The first line of the ' Introduction ' proposes a view of the ' system of morals traceable in the works of God ;' yet the next page has a crow to pull with the ' Utilitarians,' for declaring such words as " *right and wrong, ought and ought not,*" to be [often, though they should not,—*for this, whether the authoress*

may have remarked it or not, is the proposition of the Utilitarians] mere *ipse dixit*, to be confuted [that is to say, which anybody may confute that pleases] with a "*why*?" If morals are 'traceable in the works of God,' surely it may be permitted to ask a moralist who propounds, for instance, the duty of eating one's father with bread and salt—the question Why?; in other words, in what portion of all he sees among the works of God, he 'traces' that duty. Again, when the authoress speaks of a 'moral sense,' she means the very thing which those she apprehends she is siding with *do not* mean, and those she apprehends she is opposing *do*. The 'moral sense,' considered as the thing 'whose existence is yet matter of dispute' [p. xi.], means nothing like 'the result of the elementary ideas we derive from the impressions received through the senses, and their combinations under the education of natural and artificial circumstances, superintended by cultivated reason' [p. 11.]. It means nothing half so good. It means that the moralist is prompted by something in his inward man, calling out to him distinctly, 'Eat up your father before he gets any older;' and which he is to obey, not for any reasons he sees why it is for the advantage of anybody that his father should be eaten, but simply because he hears the voice within exhorting him to the meal. If the motive be once allowed to solve itself into a persuasion, right or wrong, that it is a kind action to an old gentle man to kill and eat him,—this is mere Utilitarianism, erring it may be and ill applied, but still at total variance with the thing ordinarily demanded under the name of 'moral sense.' The Utilitarians can have no quarrel with the authoress on these points; for the simple reason that she has in reality no difference with *them*. She insists on the very thing which *they* do; only, as it happens, under the name which has been chosen by their adversaries to be used for something opposite and hostile.

It is not till after the ethical questions have been to a great degree disposed of, that the real character of the book breaks out. The following appears to be among the earliest passages from which its veritable tendency would be surmised.

'The mere fact, however, of God's having bestowed reason on all men, is in itself a sufficient revelation of his will that all men should cultivate their reason.' [p. 12.] 'If it be argued that the labouring many have not time to render this "reasonable service" to their Maker, and that they therefore must be told the sum total of their duty by the few who study it for them, it is asked: Are the few to be trusted with this office? Will they not frame what they choose to call the duty of the many, to suit their own purposes? Will they not instruct the many that the whole duty of men in their humble

station is to pay rents, taxes, and tithes; to work hard, though for the benefit of others; to suffer no extremity of want to tempt them to demand higher wages, or cheaper food, or by any other means, however legal or peaceable, seek to recover any particle of the luxurious stores of superabundant comforts, which, though created by themselves, have, by the operation of mysterious causes into which they have no business to inquire, been transferred to the few; and though, in consequence, they should be without food, shelter, or raiment, to be perfectly contented with their lot, and believe the glorious British Constitution faultless?'—p. 45.

'Did the many, however, know how to choose happiness, in other words, did they reason on their own nature and natural circumstances, and thence inferring the will of God, and tracing the coincidence between that will and their own happiness, perceive what artificial circumstances their free-will was called upon to choose; it is manifest that, they having the physical force on their side, the few could not compel them to choose poverty, degradation, sin, and bloodshed, in preference to peace on earth and good-will among men, with the enjoyment of the fruits of their own labour, that labour lightened by the judicious co-operation of the whole family of man, and of every climate and soil upon earth, together with the use of every discovery in machinery, and in all the useful arts and sciences. It is, therefore, by subtlety only, that the many could ever have been induced to sacrifice themselves to the unjust desires of the few. Yet, that they have so sacrificed themselves, from the creation of the world to the present hour, is a fact known to the whole world. If it be clear, then, that they could not have been compelled to do so, and have done so, therefore, only through ignorance, it must be equally clear that the only way to prevent their doing so in future, is to furnish them with knowledge.'

'On that frightful topic, war, for instance, how have all the nations of the earth, from time to time, drunk deep of the maddening draughts administered to their helpless ignorance by the subtlety of the selfish few, seeking aggrandisement, extent of territory, or fancied fame for cruel and wicked exploits, at the expense of the peace and lives of thousands. Or, when the frenzy of devastating conquest is not the motive, how inexpressibly more abhorrent to human nature, are the cold-blooded calculations of the demon-hearted statesman who intrigues for war, and, sitting in his closet, moves the fatal spring that sends forth peaceful nations to massacre each other; solely that the minds of the many may be too much occupied to discern the rights of man in the will of God, and that, therefore, oppressive taxes may be paid without a murmur.'—p. 47.

'Could these things be, if all men reasoned? Could any of these things be, if all men reasoned on their own nature and natural circumstances, and so learned to perceive the will of God, and the coincidence between their own best interests, and that will?'

'Yet, as what calls itself education is now conducted, the few are diligently made worse than ignorant; being from their cradles imbued

with forced false associations, but too welcome to selfishness; and sent into life, blinded by deep rooted prejudices, teaching them to believe the monstrous and blasphemous falsehood, that for them, the few, and their children, from generation to generation, to prey upon the many, and their children, from generation to generation, is a part of the order of nature, as prescribed by its benevolent author.'—p. 49.

The extracts that next follow, point at a hard truth, which the authoress has been among the first to throw out for public elaboration. And this is, the total fallacy of what has been hitherto called 'governing by *interests*.' The clue to this is in the fact, that the interests meant are always, unless by pure accident, *dishonest* interests. Fancy a state of the law courts, where every man should unblushingly advance his own claims, on the mere evidence that it would be for his interest to win his cause, and where neither judge nor jury should have ever thought of setting up anything like a standard of general right, policy, or justice;—a state of things, for instance, where a highwayman should present himself to say that a post-chaise from Lombard-Street would pass at such an hour by Shooter's Hill, and it would be highly agreeable to him to have the assistance of a beadle of the court in stopping it;—and where the court should have no idea of resisting this application on any other ground, than, possibly, the counter-application of the banker for a similar exertion from the court in favour of the other side, any aggregate decision being left to be determined by the two parties counting kin and clan, and impressing the worshipful deciders with the ideas of their respective power and importance. Imagine a state of municipal law like this, and it will be a type of the existing struggle carried on before the thing called the 'government,' by the things called the '*interests*.' The greatest novelty the world will witness, will be a statesman backed by the ordinary powers at the disposal of a minister, who shall proclaim his determination to follow a certain course of action because it is *just*,—that is to say (on being expanded according to the Utilitarian formula), because it presents the same relation to the augmentation of the general welfare by *political* decisions, that the course implied by justice in reference to the law courts, bears to *legal* ones.

'Wherefore is it, that with a population of twenty-five millions of people, we have hitherto had no effectual public opinion? Because, hitherto, each particular class, order, trade, manufacture, etc. has thought only, of what it has been artfully taught to consider, its own particular interests. Thus, in the wretched scramble of self-defeating selfishness, absurdly denominated the nice balancing of interests,

while the rights of all are being trampled beneath the feet of the struggling competitors for more than justice, and every portion of the public clamours for that which to grant would be injustice to every other portion, their conflicting claims can but resemble the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel, and operate to defeat the purposes of all.

'No wonder this nice balancing of every other interest, which, during the triumphant reign of the interest of dishonesty, so long enabled the enemies of the people, and therefore of God, to turn, if not with a feather, literally with a ribbon or a garter, the great scales of truth and justice into a lie, no wonder this convenient, this easily upset balance, this paralysing of every influence in the nation but that of corruption, constituted, and constitutes, in the eyes of both the corrupted and the corrupting, a glorious constitution! Let us hear no more, then, (from honest men at least) of nicely balanced interests; but let the standard of public morality be raised to that of equal justice; in short, let all unite with all, in requiring justice for all, and no more than justice for themselves, and the sovereignty of public opinion shall be established, and the voice of the people become, without a paradox, the voice of God. For, be it remembered, that it is only while public opinion is itself misjudging, misinformed, or not informed at all, that mis-rule obtains. May legislators, then innocently await the formation, and manifestation of a uniform public opinion, before they have any duties to perform? Certainly not. If the question could be answered in the affirmative, such answer would pronounce legislators useless encumbrances, and the machinery of legislation, a vast expenditure of the public money without a legitimate object.'—p. 58.

This is all very spirited and bold; not altogether perhaps what may be called 'in pipe-clay order,' but showing great capabilities for trying the weak points of the adversary.

The next question, which is why should 'the misery of want be the peculiar portion of those whose daily occupation is the creation of wealth,' goes straight down upon the mark which all the honest and good should join in aiming at; though it may possibly admit of some observations by the road.

'Wherefore, is it then that the creators of all wealth are the poor? That poor man, and labourer, which is wealth-creator, are synonymous terms? That those whose labour first causes the earth to yield its produce, and then converts that produce into every necessary, every comfort, every convenience, every luxury, and every means of enjoyment, live themselves without comfort, without luxury, without enjoyment, and yet, though thus consuming next to nothing of all the riches they create, and still continuing to create riches, still continue to be, proverbially, the poor?'—p. 64.

'The distress of the labouring classes is a phrase so commonly in use, that we hear it without surprise; yet, when translated into the language of literal truth, what a strange anomaly does it convey—the poverty of the creators of riches!'—p. 65.

It does not seem to be correct to the fullest extent of the words, that the creators of *all* wealth are the poor. When a poor man begins to save and to grow rich, the probability is that he does not cease to apply his riches, or a considerable portion of them, to the creation of wealth. Only he does the head-work instead of the hand-work. There is no doubt that he finds this pleasanter than the other. But it is part of the just reward of his previous industry; and the interest of the society, the poorest included, is, not that he should be prevented from the enjoyment of getting richer, but that the way should be kept open for other people to get rich by industry too. And if such lucky labourers are supposed to vest their wealth, or as it is technically termed *capital*, in land, it is plain that in a territory of limited surface, all the land must in course of time come to be occupied by somebody, and thenceforward no more land can be occupied by any new people, except by voluntary exchange on the part of the previous holders. With all this there is not the smallest ground for quarrel; there is not an individual among the most depressed and ignorant of the laborious classes, who conceits he has any quarrel with it; or if there is, he is a monster worthy to be preserved in spirits for his rarity. But what there *is* a quarrel on,—and one that will be wrought out in the shape of reform or revolution, before existing boys have hair upon their chins,—is that as soon as the lucky landowners got into possession of all the land, and had assured themselves of the acquiescence of society in the permanence of their tenure, they set themselves upon a course of piracy against the classes by whose consent they held their wealth, and organized a direct conspiracy to cut off the labourers at large from the disposal of their labour. It is *this* which the labouring classes and their friends are bound to suppress, quietly if they can,—but to suppress. Every advantage will be taken, as might be expected, of the ignorance and divisibility of the laborious classes; but the time cannot be far off, when the scattered grains of quicksilver will rush together into union, and fearful will be the pressure of the mass.

“Every man,” says Adam Smith, “is rich or poor according to the degree in which he can afford to enjoy the necessaries, comforts, and conveniences of human life.”

‘To secure these to industry, is the one thing needful to national prosperity. The legislator who has effected this, having, like the great Ruler of the universe at the first creation of the world, adapted causes to the production of good by their own unavoidable consequences, may rest from his labours—his great work is done.’

‘But how is this great work to be accomplished?’

'By rectifying the false measure already mentioned; that is, by suffering the produce of land, and the produce of labour, to adjust themselves, in markets free from all restrictions. This alone, would ensure at once, not only abundance of food, but such an extension of trade, as would relieve the labour market from ruinous competition, and increase national wealth, till public burdens should be no longer felt as such. Yet, we, in the face of principles so simple, so self-evident, with insane^a policy, frame deliberate acts of parliament, making all raw produce, by law artificially scarce, and therefore dear, and labour relatively cheap; and again, by the operation of a further consequence, namely, the contraction of trade, becoming in its turn a cause, render even this cheap labour a drag in the labour market, and so prevent its following the price of food, and finding its own level, as would be the case, if labour were also, relatively to the intensity of demand scarce. These acts of parliament, which operate as taxes upon, or additions to the cost of bread, meat, butter, cheese, beer, cottage rent, and the raw material of house building, ship building, and all manufactured goods, these are the true causes of that most unrighteous of all anomalies—the poverty of the creators of riches; in common parlance, "the distress of the labouring classes."—p. 71.

'We measure our horses oats to them, in return for their labour, by the feed, not by any money price, which circumstances may put on their services. Why are we thus just to them? Because they are our property; if they die, we lose money. But if we can cheat the poor operative with nominal wages, while we put such a price on corn, and all other necessaries, that he can buy but half a feed when he should have had a whole feed, we let him take his chance, put himself on short allowance if he chooses, or work the harder; should he die in the effort, we lose nothing, we do not even suffer inconvenience; there are other labourers waiting in the market place, who will do our work as well.'—p. 73.

'We ought to be independent of all foreign countries for our supplies of food, say the landlords. But can we make this country also independent of all foreign countries for markets for all its manufactures? If not, we cannot, without crying dishonesty to the labourer, use means (affecting the exchangeable value of labour) to make this country independent of foreign countries for its supplies of food. We have hitherto talked of reciprocal protection, (that is reciprocal robbery,) and "all the same thing to the labourer," etc., and attempted to legislate, as though we had the power of realizing an equal pressure in the artificial scale of prices.'—p. 75.

The real question with the usurpers who have confiscated the property of two-thirds of the country in the hope to raise their own, is, whether foreign trade and navigation are to be prohibited when they are for the benefit of any man except a landlord. The decision depends entirely on making the suffering classes comprehend the nature of the case, and getting the co-operation of those

who have hitherto stood aloof. The root of the matter lies in the demonstration, that in all cases of 'protection,' there is a double loss of the difference of price;—that there is *one gain* to the protected so-called, and *two losses*, each of equal amount with the gain, viz. one to the consumer, and another to the tradesman with whom the consumer would have spent the money if he had not been forced to give it to the 'protected' without return. Nobody denies that a shilling given perforce to the protected traders, does them good; but nobody can deny that the same shilling given to that other set of traders with whom the consumer would have expended it if he had been let alone, would have done just as much good to this second set, and therefore they lose it, and the consumer loses a shilling's-worth besides. It is curious to see how nearly Adam Smith has come upon this verity, (particularly in the Chapter on Restraints upon Importation), without discovering it. He descants at large upon the folly of restrictions in which the difference of price given to the favoured trade is manifestly taken away from the consumers; but he never hits upon the fact, that it is taken a second time over from some other trades too, to wit from those trades which would get it in the shape of custom from the consumers, if the system of restriction were put an end to*. Whenever this principle can be made to penetrate to the concerned, there must be an end to the plunder of restrictions in all directions.

The first result from this explanation of 'protection,' is that 'reciprocal protection' is a joke, a fraud, consisting at best in telling two trades to hold their tongues and eat their pudding in concert at the expense of the community. But when applied to two classes which, between them, comprehend the whole community,—as, for instance, to the landowners and the bread-eaters,—it becomes something still more painfully absurd. The trumpery position is, that the landlords are to have high prices, and the manufacturers and labourers high wages too, and so it is to be 'all the same thing to the labourer.' Now what is it the landlords want, if it is not that they are to get more value for their corn? If it was to be all the same thing to the labourers, what would the landlords get by it, and why should they push it at the risk of being hated through the country-side? Can there be manufacturers so simple as to believe, that the object of the landowners in desiring 80s. a quarter for their corn instead of 40s., is merely that they may

* For a popular elucidation of the principle, see the French pamphlet, with translation, *L'Homme aux Quarante Ecus* (The Man with Forty Crowns a-year,) in the Westminster Review No. XLIII for January 1835.

have the pleasure of paying a manufacturer 8s. a day for his day's-work instead of 4s., and so make it 'all the same thing to the labourer'? The thing would be incredible, if there was not the evidence of fact, that simpletons are actually being brought up from the manufacturing districts by the landowners to say that they believe this to be the case and are content with it. But a manufacturer with a head of more value than a pin's, will know that the object of the landowner is simply and solely to make *him* (the manufacturer) give a greater number of day's-works for a quarter of corn, or accept a smaller quantity of corn for a single day's-work. Nobody that understands the terms, will be gulled by the bald trick of asserting, that 'if corn falls, wages must fall.' He knows that they will fall, but that they will not fall in the same proportion. If the price of corn is raised by diminishing the quantity (as is done by keeping out foreign corn), it is clear that no possible rise in wages can make the manufacturers get as much corn for a day's work as they did before; for this would be saying there could be as much corn eaten when it was not there as when it was. They will, therefore, get a *less* quantity for a day's work; that is to say, wages will *not* rise as much as corn. And by the same argument, when corn falls, wages will *not fall* so much as corn; for if they did, the working classes, who are the numerous ones, could only buy the same quantity of corn as before; and it is plain they must buy and consume *more*, otherwise no additional quantity of corn would continue to be brought in. The working classes will not endure the wrong that is put upon them, a twelvemonth after they can be got into general acquaintance with the facts; and for this it is that men toil, and printers are gathered together.

'As well might legislating landowners levy their arbitrary demands at once, as our ministers of peace and love do their tithes, by the point of the sword, as, like Brennus of old, fling the sword of power into the scale, to enhance the weight of the gold demanded! A majority of a house of landlords, throwing out a bill for the abolition of the corn laws, is merely a modern repetition of the insolent Gaul's "*Vae victis**."—p. 76. .

Some of the paragraphs in Chapter III, 'On the sources of National Wealth,' admit of some remark.

'If a nation devote its soil to the production of an article which, in the market of the world, would not sell for the cost of production, does its land continue to be a source of national wealth?'

'Certainly not. On the contrary, it becomes a cause of national

* "Woe to the conquered."

loss, by inducing an outlay of capital and of labour which are never replaced.'—p. 77.

If a nation is unwise enough (as the English nation does through subjection to the existing tyranny) to grow corn within its own limits when the same quantity could be obtained more cheaply from abroad in exchange for manufactures, the consequence is a national loss, to be estimated by the actual production of all kinds prevented. The case is like that of a walled town, where instead of the manufacturers who reside in it being allowed to purchase corn from the surrounding country, they should be limited to the corn grown in flower-pots upon the roofs of certain houses. It would be in vain for the owners of the flower-pots to pretend to say, that they were the richer by all that the rest of the society were poorer. The actual diminution of food, manufacturing employment, population, and wealth, which such an idiotic system would produce;—the difference, in short, between what London would be if confined to what could be supported on the corn grown in flower-pots on the house-tops, and London with liberty to buy the corn of all the world;—would be the amount of the public loss.

'What wealth is lost to the whole nation?'

'That accumulation of the creations of labour, which goes in artificial prices to a foreign monopolist, whether in the shape of a greater quantity of printed calico, Birmingham hardware, or gold pieces.'—p. 79.

This is not quite lucid. The consumers, and the honest traders who *would* have furnished the goods given for the cheaper foreign commodity if trade had been free, lose together the exact amount of what is enjoyed by the dishonestly-protected traders, making so far a balance; and besides this, an amount equal to the difference between the monopoly prices and the honest, is lost by the honest traders who *would* have had the custom of the consumers if these last had been allowed to keep the difference and spend it for their own advantage. The difference, therefore, between the monopoly and the honest prices, is gained by one set of people, and lost twice over by two other sets; just as would be the case if a man, instead of having his wood cut by one workman at a shilling a-day with a sharp axe, was obliged by law to have it cut by two workmen at a shilling a-day each with blunt ones. The craft of wood-cutters would gain a shilling, the owner of the wood would lose one, and the trader with whom he *would* have spent that shilling if he had been let alone (suppose a gardener to produce him cabbages) would lose one also. If anybody objects that the wood-cutter will spend the money as well as his employer;—so would the gardener too. It can manifestly make no difference to trade in

general, whether the shilling is given to be spent by a gardener or by a wood-cutter; but there is this huge difference to the employer, that in one case he has his shilling's-worth in cabbages, and in the other nothing. This kind of objection therefore is a hocus-pocus. A mathematician would perhaps describe it, by saying it consisted in confounding different *orders* of recipients; the gardener and the wood-cutter are of the same *order*, the employer and the wood-cutter are not. In the question of foreign produce, there is a new element, which is, the interest of the trade that would supply the goods given in exchange for the foreign commodity. And this is, in Mrs. Loudon's words, 'transferred unjustly' from the said trade to the monopolist, and makes a portion of the monopolist's interest in the wrong; the expenditure with him of the difference between the foreign and monopoly prices, making the remainder.

After this, the next question and answer are perfectly transparent.

'What wealth is utterly lost, not only to the nation in which the error is committed, but to the whole world?'

'Whatever is the surplus cost of any forced production, over and above what the same production could be procured for, from any other country.'—p. 79.

A question and answer that follow soon after, appear to be likewise incomplete.

'When protection screens the unwise producer, from the loss incurred by his imprudent production, on whom does the loss fall?'

'Most unjustly on the consumer, who, however wise or prudent he may be, has no means of escaping the consequences of the folly of other people, but by entering into a league with the smuggler.'—p. 79.

The loss does not only fall on the consumers, but it falls over again on those trades which would have been employed by the consumers with the difference of price, if the consumers had been let alone. Only half the loss therefore has been stated. Men might go on in the misery of protection for ever, if all that one man lost another man gained. It is because 'protection' is an invention for taking a shilling from the national fund to give a sixpence, that the whole system will be blown at the moon as soon as the public can find out the truth. If Adam Smith had perceived this fact, he would have spared his anticipation, that 'to expect that the freedom of trade should ever be entirely restored in Great Britain, is as absurd as to expect that an Oceana or Utopia should ever be established in it*'; for even without it, he saw good reasons for a change.

'Does the artificial price, paid to the home monopolist, take wealth out of the kingdom? No; it only, like any other fraud, or breach of the principle of good-will to all, transfers wealth unjustly from one portion of the community to another. In its immediate consequences therefore, it neither increases nor decreases the existing national fund. But we must look at its remoter consequences.'—p. 81.

By 'taking wealth out of the kingdom,' must be supposed to be meant 'diminishing the wealth of the kingdom;' for when a commodity is bought of the home monopolist, there is nothing like taking anything out of the kingdom in the material sense at all. And the answer seems to leave out half. The monopoly not only, like any other fraud, 'transfers wealth unjustly' from one portion of the community to another, (say, for example, from the man who would have supplied the goods to be exchanged for the foreign article, and from the man with whom the consumer in a state of freedom would have expended the difference of price, to the monopolist, who pockets precisely these two amounts);—but it robs the consumer to the amount of the difference of price besides. It is this last fact,—that there is a perfect balance of gains and losses to the traders, exclusive of the consumer, and therefore a pure unbalanced loss to the consumer to the amount of the difference of price besides;—or if it be preferred to take the loss to the consumer and set it off against the gain arising to the monopolist from the expenditure on him of the difference of price, then the loss to the trader whoever he may be, who is deprived of the custom which the consumer in a state of freedom would have bestowed upon him by the expenditure of the difference of price, stands an unbalanced loss to exactly the same amount;—*this* is the condemning fact which has escaped both Mrs. Loudon and Adam Smith, and which will put the monopolists at the mercy of the first President of the Board of Trade who shall have courage to propound it at the risk of a serious struggle with the public enemy. Names are only valuable, as they explain, or impress; and this has been named the *double incidence* of the difference of price,—meaning that it falls twice over, on two different sets of people, in the shape of loss, for once that it is gained by the monopolist. If this was not so, it would follow that to cut all the wood of the public with a blunt axe instead of a sharp one, would be no public loss; for as much as is lost by the employers, is given to the wood-cutters. But it is manifest there must be a public loss, and therefore there must be an *item* left out. And this *item*, is the loss of those traders who would have had the custom of the public if the public had been allowed to cut its wood as it pleased.

The gigantic instance of this anti-national policy, is the monopoly taken for themselves by the owners of land ; through a power procured and supported by means which would damn any meaner peculators with the stamp of vulgar fraud and low personal dishonesty. A parish vestry which, having a rate to lay upon the parish, should pass a rule that none should be of the vestry who had not a professional interest in the rate's being laid, or not laid, on certain things or in certain ways,—would be scouted by every pretender to character, as a shabbiness with which no decent man could hold communion. If decent men, despite the rule, were found on it, their first operation would be to refuse to vote on any question where the influence of the rule was concerned. It is inconceivable how any man with a regard to the conventional decencies of society, can sully himself by voting on a question, where however honest his own vote and determination may be, he is conscious of having been dragged through the indignity of making a declaration on oath that he has a pecuniary interest in the matter for decision. What petty juryman for instance would be found to serve, if a declaration on oath were required from him, that he had an interest in one of the parties ? It is not the temptation, but the personal indignity, which is the thing to be resisted. But wonderful is the difference between the sense of virtue and of shame in the lower orders, and in those who have undertaken to occupy the management of their concerns. The mean immorality of the upper classes, is the hinge on which the success of revolutionary reformations will always turn.

To what an extent must the consciousness of the evil have gone, when people are found declaring, that if God in his mercy had covered the land of England with a pavement of flag-stones, it would have been a great accession to the happiness of the community. Yet there can be no doubt that this is true ; and that a natural phenomenon, like a volcanic eruption, that should cover the soil of England with irremediable barrenness, would probably double or treble her importance in the scale of nations, and add in the same proportion to the wealth and comforts of the community.

' Great Britain not only derives no real rental from her land, but a portion of her labour, and of the profits of her capital, are mortgaged to her landowners for the payment of a nominal rental ; and her land, thus rendered not national property, but a tool of national oppression ; not an addition to her national income, but an addition to her national debt. All that her landowners are justly entitled to receive as rent, and which, had it any existence, would thus constitute a portion of the wealth of the nation ; namely, the surplus value of

the produce of the land, after the cost of production, being sunk by devoting the land to a losing use ; all that her landowners do receive as rent becomes nothing more, neither less, than an unjust transfer to landowners, of the creations of the labour, and the profits on the capital of other classes ; so that, in fact, for agricultural purposes, the whole of the land of Great Britain is thus rendered, in the present state of the European markets, worth, to the nation, less than nothing. The grinding oppression, therefore, to all other classes, of unjustly enhancing the price of grain, is such, that the condition of every inhabitant of Great Britain, save only the landowner, would be improved if every corn-field in the empire, if not devoted to some produce other than corn, or cultivated on some plan other than the present, were flagg'd from hedge to hedge ; for then, Parliament could no longer forbid the importation of cheap food, and while the labourer could procure a double share of food in exchange for his labour, it matters not to him where that food was grown.—p. 87.

The case of the miserable men who are to be seen in every street perishing with want, because the landowner has robbed them of the proper produce of their hands, is described in eloquent terms, which may perhaps reach some of those who are rolling in carriages on the injustice. The war of the poor against the rich, was a dream, a farce, a figure of speech, till the landed interest chose to embody the mass of their countrymen into one great *anti-unjust-property-union* for the abatement of their nuisance.

' Suppose a labouring man, who, from the want of profitable employment, occasioned by the contraction of foreign trade consequent upon corn laws, spends a day making a card-paper puzzle, or some other "catch-penny," as the rich unfeelingly call those practical evidences of a misery, the thus palpable offspring of injustice : the sufferers, in such cases, giving a proof that they are not only willing, but anxious to work for an honest livelihood. But our poor man, having spent one day in completing the said card-paper puzzle, spends a second day hawking it from door to door, and at last sells it to some fine lady, for perhaps sixpence. The lady laughs at the ingenuity of the toy, flings it on her table, and forgets it ; while the poor man, having thus got for his two days' labour sixpence, instead of five, ten, or twenty shillings, goes home and buys a sixpenny loaf of bread for his family, of half the size it ought to be, even for the sixpence. But, suppose the trade in corn and all things else free, and consequent full employment to be had, by means of our manufactures being taken in exchange for corn, &c., the poor man spends his two days in manufacturing some useful articles, on which he gets, as wages, five, ten, or twenty shillings, besides the accompanying advantages of being able to purchase first necessaries at reasonable prices. The comforts of the poor man and his family are thus, it is manifest, increased incalculably ; while the only privation incurred by any one is, that the fine lady must either do without card-paper puzzles, or, if she still

wishes for such sources of aristocratic felicity, she must give a larger portion of her superfluous wealth in exchange for them. Multiply this instance of the relief, which the opening of trade would bestow, by millions, and what is become of the distress of the labouring, or wealth-creating classes? It no longer exists; while the sole set-off against so much good, would be that, like the lady and the card-paper puzzle, the very rich would, in general, be able to command fewer of the quite unnecessary luxuries, 'they now buy, as they say themselves, for charity.'—p. 90.

Could the incubus of the landed Aristocracy be thrown off, scarcely the emancipation of the Negro would present a scene of greater triumph for justice and humanity. The Negro has been emancipated, by agencies other than his own; and the British Negro, the operative Helote, with all the interests and intelligence that should war upon his side, is still as hopeless as the day after the confiscation of his right to his own labour was pronounced in 1815.

'In fact, were the importation of food freely permitted, in return for value added to raw material by manufacturing labour, not only each factory workman, but each poor factory child, who could thus, by certain movements of its tiny fingers, fill, as by enchantment, our granaries with the rich harvests wafted from the fertile vale of the Mississippi, would become a sort of modern representative of the fabled old Aladdin himself, with his Wonderful Lamp, who, by the simple friction of his hand on the magic talisman, could summon his attendant Genii around him, and cover the festive board with supernatural abundance. For, inasmuch as the movements of the child's fingers, give to the raw cotton the surplus value it acquires when wrought, whatever corn that surplus value purchases, which did not grow on territory belonging to the nation, is, as far as the nation is concerned, as much the absolute creation of those movements, out of nothing,—that is, without territory to be produced upon,—as though the sheaves of wheat came in obedience to a supernatural summons, wafted on fairy wings, from a world of enchantment.'—p. 92.

Twenty millions were given, needlessly and disgracefully enough, as the Whig sop to the slave-holding Cerberus in the West Indies. Ten times that amount *annually*, is probably sacrificed to the system of home slavery; and the heads of this commercial country falsely so called, lie quietly under the infliction.

'Let us simplify the subject on which we are about to enter, by looking at the whole resources of the nation, whether public or private, as one fund. The nation or common wealth furnishes the revenue, independent of local taxation, with about fifty millions per annum, including all taxes, direct and indirect. We murmur at this, and talk of saving a thousand here, and a million there; but we scarcely seem to remember that the nation, or same common wealth, is out of

pocket, over and above this fifty millions paid to the revenue, a large indefinite sum not less than perhaps one hundred and fifty millions, possibly two hundred millions per annum, paid by the consumer, that is, by us all, in artificial prices, exclusive of the share of artificial price caused by the indirect taxation which produces revenue, but additional artificial prices, forming no part of the revenue, and the greater portion of which is utterly lost, in merely replacing the useless cost of forced production, and the remainder appropriated by monopolists home and foreign.'—p. 91.

The opinion of the Times (of the olden time) is oddly introduced, on the subject of the Corn Laws.

'This monopoly is defined by the Times newspaper: "An extension of the pension list, to the whole of the landed aristocracy of Great Britain."

'Many a proud cheek, of those accustomed to believe themselves the independent nobles and gentry of the land, will burn with indignant blushes on viewing the subject in this light. Yet the definition is, it is to be feared, but too just. The sole difference is, that such pensions, instead of being paid out of the Treasury, are advanced to the landlord by the farmer, who is repaid again by the consumer, and thus a tax levied on the whole community, not for the purposes of defraying public expenditure, but for the private emolument of the landowners.'—p. 105.

'The following is an admirable condensation, by one of the London Journals, of Sir James Graham's defence of corn laws, when acting the part of foreman to the special jury, who on the said 6th, 7th, and 8th of March 1834, tried their own cause, and gave a verdict in their own favour.'

"We, the landed aristocracy must live, but, were we to be just, we could not live!"

'And will the landed aristocracy of Great Britain persist in justifying, by their conduct, those who speak for them thus? The argument, however, seemed to be conclusive, for three hundred and twelve, out of four hundred and sixty-seven, of the said landed aristocracy, voted, though not in these precise words, to this effect, that, as they could not afford to live, as they liked to live, on the fair market price of their land, the deficiency must be made up to them, whatever it may cost the rest of the nation, out of the wages of labourers, the profits of farmers, the incomes of annuitants, and the ruin of thirteen millions of people dependent on manufactures. And this, although in thus compelling the consumer to give them a boon of two millions, they oblige him, at the same time to cast away, as has been already shown, twenty-seven millions and a half, which benefit no being on the face of the earth;—nay, which but partly repay the farmer his loss on forced production, a loss which, but for the interference of unjust laws, had never been incurred.'

'Suppose, for a moment, the wine merchants of England mad enough to form a project for making wine sufficient for the con-

sumption of the nation from home-grown hot-house grapes. Suppose, further, the result to be, that such wine as we import at five shillings per bottle, should stand our home producers in one pound per bottle, so that to have a profit of even five per cent, they were compelled to charge one guinea per bottle—Would any one buy their wine? If they, upon this, set up a cry about their ruinous losses, would parliament give them a protection, amounting to a prohibition on foreign wines? and thus obliging all Englishmen, who drank wine, to drink it at a guinea per bottle?

‘Not unless being a wine merchant, were the qualification for being a member of parliament, in which case, a majority is a majority, whether of wine merchants or of landholders. And surely, though the injustice might in both cases be the same, it is a much greater cruelty to rob the consumer, and check the consumption of bread, than to rob the consumer, and check the consumption of wine.’

‘While, however, the jury-box is thus filled by the defendants in their own case, it is clearly in their power, if not prevented by honourable principles, to give a verdict for themselves, although every man in the great court of the whole nation should see that the property belongs to the plaintiffs. Every body knows that the labourer’s limbs are his own property, his estate, his bread, the bread of his children;—but what of that? the landowners have a majority in parliament, secured to them by the possession of land being the qualification for becoming a member of parliament. If they will not make an honourable use of this sacred trust, surely there ought to be some appeal, some court of equity to deliver the nation out of such a dilemma as this! There is an appeal—an appeal from the high court of parliament, to the higher court of public opinion!’

‘Oh! the time will come, some generations hence perhaps, when an Englishman’s greatest anxiety will be to prove that he is not descended from any one of those whose names will then appear marked with obloquy on the pages of history, as having, in the great assembly of legislators to whom the people of England had confided the guardianship of their rights, lifted up their voices, and in the presence of their Maker and the nation, uttered sounding sophisms, with a view to gaining over the majority of the unwary, the uninformed, or the unprincipled, to join them in trampling upon those rights which they had one and all undertaken to protect!’

‘When, however, we look back on the barbarities of former ages, the burnings at the stake, the beheadings on the block, the wholesale massacres, the summary executions, the private assassinations, the poisonings, the starvings to death in prison, and all the inhuman and desperate cruelties, which were in the times of our forefathers matters of common occurrence; when we call to mind that in those days of darkness, the then most polished nobles of the land, instead of deeming their triumph, as in our days, sufficient when they have sent their opponents to the opposite benches of the House, and cheered their speeches, were not ashamed of laying murderous plots, to bring their political rivals to the scaffold; nay, were proud of the savage power

which enabled them to be thus the tyrant disposers of the lives of their fellow-men ; and when, again, the loss of that power was almost the certain signal for their own destruction ; when we remember that all this has been, and then reflect, that the salutary rise, which has already taken place in the standard of public opinion, has rendered the sanctioned recurrence of such enormities impossible, may we not indulge in a reasonable hope, that civilization, if not staid in its onward progress, by the blinded worshippers of ancient errors, will continue to advance, that the ameliorating and enlightening influences of religion and education which have been sufficient to wash out the deeper die of blood, will at length be able to eradicate the disgraceful stain of corruption, which still disfigures more or less every portion of our social system. That the standard of public opinion, which has so risen, will still rise, till honest measures, instead of being stigmatized as Utopian schemes, shall be adopted professedly because they are honest, till, in short, the sacred principle of good-will to all necessarily including equal justice, being universally recognized by public opinion, it shall become impossible for a man, with the slightest chance of escaping public infamy, to vote against a law which he knows to be just, because it would depress, or for a law which he knows to be unjust, because it would raise his own rent-roll ; or to support by his influence a monopoly, or any other abuse, because himself or his friends derive unjust benefit from the same. Nay, would not such conduct become impossible to-morrow, if such actions, instead of being laughed at and called "human nature," rendered a man, however high his rank, or great his wealth, as despicable in the eye of public opinion, as the detected swindler or common pickpocket. If the verdict of public opinion were thus invariably regulated by that equal justice which flows from good-will to all, could the maintenance of the pride of equipage, be any longer a temptation to commit such actions ? Would any man, except indeed such unhappy inhabitants of Bedlam as weave for themselves regal circlets of straw, deliberately prefer riding in a gilded coach despised, to walking on foot respected ?'—pp. 121-126.

Mrs. Loudon's reminiscences are dangerous. It would be curious to know, what would be 'pleaded again on behalf of the eyes,' in answer to the following observation hazarded in days gone by.

'As to the danger of depending on foreign supply in case of a war, during the reign of Bonaparte, in spite of the greatest hostility, more corn, three times over, had been imported, than ever had been before.'—*Mr. Haring*.—p. 120.

The authoress evinces an acute insight into the feebleness of the fallacies by which the injustice is supported ; and expatiates with a keen eloquence on the various forms and consequences of the wrong.

'For instance, the *Quarterly Review*, for March 1834, defends the existing corn laws, by expatiating upon the great convenience of

being robbed to the same amount for 15 years successively.—One knew what one had to expect; being robbed in a varying and uncertain amount, the acute writer assures us, would be much more inconvenient. Granted; but how does this justify being robbed at all?’

‘Such being the advanced state of public opinion, nay, the results of anxious research; the deductions from close reasoning on these important points, being, as they now are, reduced to self-evident propositions, and dispersed throughout the country in almost every journal of the day, leaving to none the excuse of ignorance; it becomes matter for amazement that there should yet be found a man so hardened in selfishness, so steeled against shame, as to lift up his voice in defence of that blight on every harvest which grows for Englishmen! that Egyptian seven years of scarcity, rendered by Act of Parliament perpetual; that doubling of the primæval curse by the edict of men, the corn laws! A scarcity of the first necessary of life, established by act of parliament; by the votes of the guardians of the welfare of the community! Is it not monstrous? Twenty-five millions of people consuming only bread sufficient for eighteen millions; the deficiency, not equally divided, but falling wholly on one class, that class the creators of plenty, the industrious poor. The class who voted for the monopoly, who benefit by the monopoly, and who, therefore, can afford to pay the monopoly price, enjoying, in the midst of this dearth of their own creating, “bread enough, and to spare.” And not for their personal sustenance only, but also for the use, in the most wasteful profusion, of numerous non-productive establishments, consisting of all creatures or things, that can in any way contribute to their luxury, or to their vanity. “The horses will not be fit to be seen in the carriage, unless they get their full complement of corn,” says the rich man’s coachman. But who cares how wretched the double-worked, half-fed operative looks! And yet, it is our boast that we are a christian nation; and those very animals whose sleek appearance ostentation renders more important in our eyes than the lives and comforts of our fellow men, are employed to draw us to the house of God, the God of equal justice, flowing from good-will to all!’

‘Great Britain has been compared to a ship at sea, short of provisions, and not allowed to touch at any port where provisions may be had. But her case is even worse than this; for though her crew are kept on short allowance, her wardroom officers are feasting sumptuously every day, while those very officers, are they who will not allow her to touch at any port where plenty may be had, because the majority of them are pursers, and have themselves the selling of the short allowance to the crew,—all the dearer for being short!’

‘The Saviour of mankind, in setting us an example that we should follow his steps, blessed a few small loaves, and by his divine mandate made them sufficient to feed five thousand people. The parliament of Christian England follows this example—How?’

‘By cursing the bread of twenty-five millions of people, and

changing, by their word, each poor labourer's portion into half of that which his Creator has furnished him with the natural means of obtaining for himself.'

'Surely, as much food as a man can buy, with as much wages as a man can get, for as much work as a man can do, is not more than the natural, unalienable birth-right of every man whom God has created with strength to labour, and with hands to work. Is it, or is it not an infringement of this right, to compel our labourers, by Act of Parliament—by law—to give as much money for half a sack of wheat, as they could purchase a whole sack of wheat for did no such Act of Parliament, no such abuse of brief authority, no such breach of the principle of equal justice flowing from good-will to all, no such law exist?—That law, too, made law by the votes of those who put the difference into their own pockets. As Lord Fitzwilliam justly, yet in his own too temperate language, says: "The mere circumstance of our being the most extensive proprietors, is no argument for bestowing upon us any peculiar protection. It is probably the cause of our having obtained it; but, may it not have been conceded to our influence, rather than to our arguments?"

'We have, on the Christian grounds of humanity and equal justice, emancipated the Negro Slave, restored to him his natural right, a property in his own labour. Speaking on this subject to his constituents, Mr. Spring Rice said, truly: "Justice is a question, not of degree, but of principle.—If but a feather press on the brow of a brother, unjustly, we are bound to remove the weight."

'Shall we be less just to our brethren at home? When, then, and from whom, did the landowners of England purchase a property in half the labour of all our labouring classes, and to whom did they pay the purchase money? Did the labourer himself effect the sale? Did the labourer himself receive the price? Certainly not! Who else then could sell or give away his, the labourers' title, to that of which he holds his grant from God?'

'If landowners have pawned to themselves the limbs of the labourer; who is bound to redeem a pledge made by themselves, to themselves? Can that have the force of an agreement, to which there never was but one party? Is appropriation title? Can the idle man, without the consent of the labouring man, without valuable consideration given or received, take a property in the limbs the labouring man was born with? the only possession we bring into the world with us, the only possession we carry back to the grave, as though it were to proclaim to mankind, that man, made in the image of his Maker, is sacred property, which tyranny cannot appropriate!'

'If landowners, then, in their buying and selling among each other, have purchased from each other property to which no title can be found, property to which he who made the sale, having no title, could give no title, they must be the losers. If landowners in hoping to benefit themselves, though at the expense of the rest of the community, have unwittingly injured themselves also, and further, during their period of self-delusion, have incurred obligations among each

other, calculated to aggravate their self-incurred embarrassments, we may, on the principle of good-will to all, be sorry for them, but equal justice, flowing from the same good-will to all, forbids that we should rob labour of its reward to relieve them.'

'The sole, the sacred claim of industry, a property in its own labour, is contained in a bond on which God himself has given judgment—it must be paid first, and in full, though the nation were a bankrupt, and all its other creditors received a dividend of one fraction in the pound.'

'None, however, need be losers: grant to industry, on the principle of equal justice flowing from good-will to all, the blessings of free trade, free markets in which to sell, and free markets in which to buy, in other words, full employment and cheap food; and, as shall be shown more fully in a future chapter, industry will quickly become property, come up to the point at which it is proposed that taxation should be laid on, and thence carry forward, without difficulty, a much heavier burden than that which now lays it prostrate in the dust, and crushes out its very existence.'—pp. 127-132.

'Great Britain, as a nation which from limited territory is strictly an operative nation, that is, dependent on manufactures for its prosperity, should assimilate all its rates of value, as nearly as possible, to those of the nations with whom it has to deal. It is dear food, therefore, which is here condemned, and which, being itself a curse, has changed what ought to have been a blessing, into a deepening of its own curse. But we live in a blockaded country, and therefore pay siege prices for first necessities, and can get next to nothing for wrought goods.'—p. 141.

All this has a strong tendency to impress upon the public the glaring reality, that the men of property, not the men of no property, are the persons whom legislation should be framed to guard against, in short, the public enemy; that if property qualifications be desirable for legislators, it should be the qualification of *no* property, not the qualification of *some* property, —all the evidence of history, and particularly of British history, being to the fact, that the moment men of property get possession of the legislature, they cast about for the means of robbing others, plundering them of the produce of their labour, taxing them in the inverse ratio of their ability to bear it, and exhibiting those varied evidences of the wrong-endedness of a property-qualification, with which the British people are unhappily familiar. Here is the great nucleus of revolution, the $\pi\alpha\ \tau\omega$ of all who are desirous of change; subject always to the chance of reformation being beforehand. There is no use in preaching to the numerous classes on the benevolence of their superiors, when they are met at every turn, in their basket and in their store, with the evidence that their superiors support themselves by a systematic robbery of the industrious classes, carried on

undisguisedly by the instrumentality of the power of making laws. Such a condition of things is not without its dangers; but the blame is with those who do the wrong, not with those who would abate it. History will have no parallel, to the power of a Government when the time comes, which shall act with boldness and science, on the principle of righting the industrious classes, from their Egyptian bondage under those who call themselves their betters.

Mrs. Loudon in the mean time, does not scruple to assign the saddle very distinctly to the right horse.

'Here the question naturally arises: these principles being so simple, how came deliberate acts of parliament to be so framed by the "collective wisdom of the nation," as to make first necessities scarce, and, therefore, despite a restricted or enhanced currency, dear; and labour and all wrought goods, drugs in the market, and, therefore, despite the dearth of food, cheap?'

Because, first necessities are the produce of land, and land is the property of members of parliament; and votes of members of parliament constitute acts of parliament, and acts of parliament are laws. While labour, and wrought goods, which derive their principal value from the labour expended in their production, are the property of those who have neither seats nor votes in parliament, and who have therefore, or at least then had, no share in making laws.—p. 142.

'On the present system, no man in England is working for himself (with the exception of members of the legislature, when throwing out honest measures). The rest of the nation is labouring hard, not only for the accommodation, but literally for the pecuniary benefit of the aristocracy or property-union: the farmer is selling on commission for the landowners; the labourer toiling to buy dear bread with low wages, that the farmer, by paying him as little as possible, and getting as much as possible for his grain, may be enabled to pay as high a rent as possible to the landowners. While the manufacturer is striving hard that he may pay double for first necessities, still for the benefit of the landowner, and one and all are rowing against the stream to pay exorbitant taxes, for the purpose of making provisions for the younger sons and brothers of the same landowners or property-union, and discharging the interest of the debt incurred by their corrupt practices.'—p. 190.

This is truth, and not at all in a well. But as it is evident that we are at this moment in the fangs of the landholders, and can only put them down, like any other enemy, by increasing our own strength and subtracting from theirs; great importance is given to any observation which may tend to set up an opposition in the hostile camp, or slacken the zeal of any portion of its inmates. And here comes into play a principle, of which, though not absolutely new,

but to be found among other places in that great gulph of economical knowledge Adam Smith, the resuscitation in the present day seems fairly attributable to the author of 'England and America,' from whose works Mrs. Loudon has extracted it, with a commentary of her own.

'On the advantage to landholders in particular, of importing food and raw material, the author of "England and America" gives a case in point, from which, for the satisfaction of those who have not read that clever work, it may be advisable to quote the following passage:—

"The soil of Genoa being unsuited to the production of corn and meat, the Genoese turned their industry into the channels of manufactures and commerce, whereby to obtain corn and meat, with an outlay of capital much less than would have been required to raise the same produce on their own territory. They created, by the increase of wealth and population, a demand for productions which were easily raised on their own soil; such as garden vegetables, fruit, olive oil, silk, and wine. Thus land, which, if it had been used for growing corn, or feeding cattle, would at best have returned a produce not more than sufficient to replace capital with profit, and for which, therefore, no rent could have been paid, now yielded a rent equal to the difference between the value of the produce and the cost of production."———"With the further increase of wealth and population, the inhabitants of Genoa the magnificent, (magnificent because without corn laws,) required, besides, houses and warehouses, country villas, pleasure gardens, and ornamental grounds. For these, the staff of life being cheap, they could well afford to pay, without regard to profit."———"Thus, land of inferior quality yielded a rent much higher than was ever paid for the most fertile land used in producing commodities for market. While the original cause of nearly all the rent paid in the Genoese territory, was the importation of corn and meat, which produced all the higher degrees of competition for the use of land, on spots where, unless the staff of life had been imported from foreign soils, the lowest degree of competition could hardly have existed."

'The pastoral poets, indeed, of our agricultural meetings, sometimes remind us, in sylvan strains, that corn fields, agricultural labourers, and sheaves of wheat, are much prettier, and more picturesque objects than factories, steam-engines, and spinning-jennies.—Granted freely! But we have not the choice. It was not the will of heaven to cast our lot on a great continent, with tracts of unappropriated territory in our rear, to fall back upon, and cultivate, in proportion as we multiply. It is only, therefore, by keeping ahead of the rest of the world in manufacturing skill and industry, and obtaining from foreign soils, in exchange for our manufactured goods, unlimited supplies of cheap food, and cheap raw material, that we can rise above our natural deficiency of surface, and become, though but a little island, the capital of great continents. Should we choose to follow a contrary policy, we must give up the vain and painful

struggle, at the crisis of which we have now arrived ; emigrate as fast as we increase, and content ourselves with being, what nature intended us for, a speck among the great nations of the earth.'

'But we cannot eat gold, or silver, or printed calicoes, or Birmingham hardware, say the landowners ; it is agricultural labour therefore, which should be encouraged ; modes of making land productive, which should be thought of.'

'The following, then, is a receipt for making one acre of land, produce more quarters of wheat, than ever grew on the greatest and best managed farm in the world.'

'First, Abolish the Corn Laws.'

'Then, take an acre of ground, (let it be the worst acre of ground in England,) and erect upon it an extensive factory. What on an average, will be the amount of the wages each year, of all the hands employed within the walls of this factory ? What, on an average, the amount of the clear yearly profits of the master of the factory ?'

'How many quarters of wheat will these immense sums purchase in the Amsterdam or Havre market ? or in Russia, America, or Poland ?'

'Let the money, then, or rather goods to that amount, be sent to any of these places, and the quarters of wheat brought back and laid down, (if you will, to make conviction stronger) at the very door of the factory.'

'Are not these quarters of wheat, then, the harvest which, in one year, this one acre of the worst land has produced ? Yes, as effectually, and more beneficially produced, than had every wheat-ear found its way through the floor of the factory, and flourished among the wheels of the machinery, and the feet of the workmen. What prolific powers of nature could yield, what improvements of direct agriculture, or outlay of an equally great capital in fertilizing manures, could draw from one acre of land a return of food for labour equal to that which, on the most moderate computation, would be produced by the process of indirect agriculture here described ? Or should our supposed factory be so extensive as to require five or ten acres of ground on which to stand, the profits, and consequently the indirect harvest annually produced, would only be the more amazingly immense.'—p. 170.

This, which may be called the 'Genoese' principle, is of enormous importance, as having a tendency to maim and neutralize a huge portion of the opponents, from whose integrity or sense of justice it would be vain to expect relief. The way is clear, to cutting off the farmers and the agricultural labourers from the national enemy ; and considerable progress is actually made towards such result. It will be curious to see the airs of patriotism the landlords will assume, when they begin to find out for themselves, like their feudal predecessors, that there are better trades than stealing after all.

'Whenever freedom, from every unjust restriction, shall permit

trade, wealth, and population, to progress with a daily and rapid increase, the land alone, under these favourable circumstances, continuing to be limited, must, as it becomes relatively scarce, rise to an enormous value.'

'Yet, the first necessities of life, and the raw material for manufactures, being imported in abundance, and at low prices, the new and honest, because natural monopoly which landlords would then possess, would cause neither serious privations to the labouring classes, nor limitations to trade, and, therefore, would not produce that reaction upon the land which has been occasioned by the mistaken attempt to obtain an unjust advantage over the rest of the community, by using the authority of parliament of landowners, to starve the population into the payment of rents, disproportioned to the existing state of the prosperity of the country. Nay, should it so happen that under a system of free trade, the whole land not occupied by buildings should, one time or other, come to be required for purposes of luxury, so that the possession of a small portion of ornamental pleasure ground should confer distinction, and fresh vegetable, and fresh fruit, etc., become what hot-house grapes and pines are now, the fare only of the very rich, though such an excess of competition, even for luxuries, would be very far from desirable, still while the labouring classes found the fruit of their labour to be abundance of bread, on terms that did not oblige them to labour beyond their strength, it would be to them matter of comparative indifference, whether that bread fell from the heavens, like the manna of the Israelites; rose from the earth, responsive to their own labours; or crossed the sea in floating granaries, to supply the deficiency from geographical position, of an island empire which, from overgrown prosperity, had become almost one town.'

'Taking, however, a more moderate view of the subject: should such freedom of trade, as equal justice demands, be established in this country, before our manufacturers are driven abroad, the future prospects of landlords will be splendid beyond conception! It has been already shown, that with a free trade in corn, an unlimited market for our manufactures would open before us, the natural consequences of which, must be profitable employment for all the labour of a rapidly increasing population, with a field for, and a fair profit upon a daily growing capital; land alone, the while, as has been already remarked, from the single circumstance of our being an island, standing still, while all things else were rapidly changing their relative proportions to land, not only must the highest possible degree of competition for land yet known arise, but probably a degree of competition, and a consequent rise in value, as yet unheard of. The enormous price which building land in and near great towns already brings, may give some idea of the state of things which might arise in this country, were trade allowed to prosper unmolested.'

'Families change from towns to the country, or from towns of more trade or fashion, to towns of less trade or fashion, to obtain, on more moderate terms, a house, with or without, according to their

plan of life, a garden, or a few acres of pleasure or accommodation ground; but the price of land must be exorbitant indeed, before people who had realized comfortable competencies, would become exiles to avoid paying a high rent for their house and garden; particularly in a country in which they enjoyed the advantage of first necessities and general prices being reasonable.'

'It will probably be asked, in ironical triumph, if it be meant that the whole of every estate in the kingdom would be required for building land. This is not exactly the meaning intended; but it is meant to be asserted that, at no very distant period, old towns and villages would stretch, and new towns and villages would arise, upon, or in the vicinity of every, or almost every estate in the kingdom; and that thus, every, or almost every landowner, by obtaining building or accommodation price or rent for a part of his property, would find the average value of the whole much increased. This would be the case, even though the actual rents of houses and gardens should not exceed what they are at present, the very lowest price of building or accommodation land being already so much higher than the very highest price of agricultural land. Indeed, so great is the difference, that the landowner who could find such a market for a very small part of an agricultural estate, would be repaid, although he should turn the remainder into beautiful parks and pleasure grounds for his own gratification.'

'And, further, it is especially worthy of remark, that the immense value to which it is probable that land may attain under a system of free trade, never could arise in this or any other country, unless it were a country limited in surface, densely inhabited, skilful in manufactures, and importing its food and raw material at low prices; for, in a country itself unlimited in territory, people would of course spread over that territory, before they would pay more than a certain amount of rent or price for any convenience of vicinity to great towns; while, on the other hand, in a country limited in surface, and not importing food and raw material, as soon as rents and consequent prices had attained to a certain point, there they must stop, and the population begin to emigrate, or cease to increase; for nature herself having fixed the standard of how much work a man can do, and of how much food a man should eat, it needs no prophet to tell us, that it is physically impossible for any labouring population to give a year's, a month's, or a week's labour, for a day's food; the utmost they can do is, what our struggling population are in many instances now doing: giving two days' labour for one day's bread; and thus maintaining a species of existence, at Colonel Torrens's said starving point. Nor can the inexperienced reader be too frequently reminded, that the labourer can never be remunerated for paying an artificial price for food, by obtaining an artificial price for labour, as long as by restrictions on exchanges, the labour-market is over-stocked, and labour therefore exposed to a ruinous intensity of competition.'—pp. 165-170.

The next great subject is that of a Property Tax. Some parliamentary orator has said, that the maintenance of the king

upon the throne, the keeping up the army, the navy, and all the machinery of revenue and government, solve themselves into the single purpose, of bringing twelve men together to give a verdict in a jury-box. By a kind of parody it might be stated, that the object, end, and aim, of the existing location of legislative power, is to make the community keep the landlords, and the poor pay the taxes for the rich. The horrible principle of making legislators of the rich, has the effects of enabling the rich on every side to creep out of the burden of taxation, while they take care that the *expenditure* of taxation shall as much as possible drain through their own channels. In short, for the rich to spend the taxes and the poor to pay them, is the natural course and consequence of things as they are. A Property-tax would put an end to all this, and make the rich pay their share; and therefore no wonder, that the rich will resist it to the uttermost extremity.

‘The main objection, however, to a property tax, and that which has been as triumphantly brought forward as though it were unanswerable, namely, that such a tax would require fifty per cent on all the realized property of Great Britain, must be replied to ere we proceed further.’—p. 199.

‘It has been computed, as already stated, that the prices of necessaries, freed from taxation and monopoly charges, would be about one-third their present cost. By a reduction in price of only half, however, property would, even after paying fifty per cent as a property tax, be ultimately a gainer; for the fifty per cent being paid in lieu both of direct and indirect taxes, and being repaid by the savings on monopoly prices and the remission of the indirect taxes only, property must clearly save the proportion it now pays in direct taxes. While, the merely desisting from wanton waste, would be sufficient without thus taking any thing from the rich, nay, with even some advantage to the rich, to relieve all the industrious classes from all burdens, and furnish them, besides, with all the necessaries of life below half price.’

‘In short, the income of all property which is expended in England, pays, on the present system, beside the direct taxes, from fifty to sixty-six per cent, between the artificial prices caused by monopolies, protections, etc., and the enhancement caused by indirect taxation; so that it must certainly be easier for property to pay fifty per cent only, as a direct tax, than to pay our present direct taxes, and sixty-six per cent besides in monopoly or artificial prices, and indirect taxes.’

‘But, under the free trade and freedom from monopoly system recommended, property would not have anything like the fifty per cent to pay; because, a much less sum than the fifty millions of public expenditure which is squandered under the present complicated, wasteful, jobbing, robbing, pensioning, churching, and dragooning

system, would under the purified and simplified system proposed, be all-sufficient.'—p. 199.

'Next, on the subject of poor's rates, it is not too much to hope, that, with the blessings flowing from good-will to all, manifested in the fruits of equal justice, namely, free trade, full employment, and cheap food, pauperism would entirely disappear; and under anything like judicious parish regulations, such would, no doubt, be the result.'—p. 201.

'The Edinburgh Review, in defence of the landowners' bread monopoly, pleads the peculiar burdens on land of eight millions poor's-rates, and three millions tithes; though it was the bread monopoly which created poor's-rates, and although the tithes were never the property of the landowners. But, were the bread monopoly a right instead of a robbery; and had the tithes originally belonged to the landlords; still landlords would, on their own showing (allowing that those burdens did fall on them in particular), be greatly over-paid for parting with the said bread monopoly; by the effects which cheap bread must have on those very local burdens. If Mr. Crawford's calculation be correct, that landowners gain but two millions by the bread monopoly, as they, the landowners, would save, on poor's-rates, were bread half-price, at least four millions, perhaps all the eight millions, and on tithes rated by the price of corn, one million five hundred thousand; thus, would landowners, after deducting the two millions they are said to gain by corn laws, be clear gainers of, at least three millions and a-half, if not seven millions and a-half, by abolishing corn laws. The fifty or sixty-six per cent which landowners must save on their own private outlay by relief from artificial prices, would of course, as in the case of all other persons of property, balance against the property tax. So that the abolition of the bread monopoly, by which it has been shown that landlords would be gainers rather than losers, cannot, in fairness, be urged as any objection to their paying the moderate property tax, which, under the improved disposition of things proposed, would be all that the real exigencies of the state would require.'—p. 205.

'The affected or ignorant fear expressed by another class of objectors, that a property-tax would drive capital out of the kingdom, is equally unfounded. Where trade is permitted to flourish, there will capital seek investment, and when invested, increase with rapidity. What at present drives capital out of the kingdom? The manacles with which indirect taxation loads the limbs of industry. What at present also drives the income of immoveable capital out of the kingdom; in other words, enables so many of our luxurious noblemen, our men of wealth and splendour, our men of land and corn-laws, the men whose votes have enhanced the price of bread fifty per cent for the purpose of doubling their own rents: what enables such men, with perfect impunity, to spend those thus doubled rents abroad, in countries where bread is cheap, because rents are low? What, in short, enables our hereditary law-makers to establish a parliamentary famine in their native land, and with perfect impunity retire themselves to enjoy smiling

plenty on a foreign shore?—Our taxes being laid on the necessities of life, and not on property ‘!’

‘It has been objected lastly, and with as much authority as though the objection was conclusive, that, as property has the making of the laws, property will never consent to tax itself. Let it be remembered, however, that public opinion, even in the days of corruption, forced the Reform Bill through both houses of parliament. Public opinion is surely not less powerful now that it is furnished with legitimate means of obtaining its just demands. If then public opinion shall decide that a property-tax on realized property ought to be substituted for every tax direct or indirect which now exists, such will ultimately be the law of the land.’

‘If, however, it should be found (as some have been illiberal enough to hint,) that let a man be ever so staunch a reformer in all things else, it is not in “human nature” to stand the test of pounds, shillings, and pence, and that, therefore, as members of parliament are always, by their very qualification, men of some property, and generally men of considerable property, they will, whatever their politics, be members of the property-union, and will not be got to vote (willingly) the loosing of their own purse-strings. Why then, the people must only be decided, and allow no man to represent them in parliament who will not pledge himself to vote for the repeal of the whole of the present complicated and wasteful system of taxation, direct and indirect, and the substitution of a property-tax on realized property; while the pressure from without must press the redemption of such pledges, with a force which no property-union shall dare to resist!—p. 209.

ADVANTAGES OF A PROPERTY TAX.—First, a property tax would have this great advantage, that its direct operation would effectually prevent such instances as the one just cited, of the unjust evasion of all taxes, by those whose more than just privileges cost the nation between seven and eight millions per annum in the maintenance of a standing army, maintained in a great measure to maintain those privileges; and for whose especial benefit, the most cruel of all taxes, the 50 per cent on bread is levied; and who further, to preserve their hereditary properties entire in the elder branch, charge the public, in one way or other, with the maintenance of all the younger branches of their families; whether in Army, Navy, Church, Public Department, sinecure, or pension list: for “to dig they know not how;” though “to beg” of a minister they are not “ashamed.”

‘The most comprehensive, however, of all the recommendations of a property tax, is that it is a direct tax, and therefore exempt from the thousand complicated mischiefs, miseries, waste of wealth already created,

* “The Earl of ——— is making preparations for his departure for Paris, where his Lordship intends permanently to reside and support an extensive establishment. No fewer than seven carriages are nearly completed by Adams of the Haymarket, for his Lordship.—His Lordship, like so many others of his caste, prefers living in a country where there are no corn-laws, and deriving his rents from a country where bread is taxed fifty per cent for his benefit.”—*Spectator*.

and hindrances to the creation of new wealth, and to improvements in trade, already shown to be inseparable from indirect taxation; which is again so intimately interwoven with monopolies and monopoly prices, that justice itself demands a simultaneous removal of all these wrongs, lest by a partial interference, the present cruel pressure be rendered still more unequal, and therefore still more unjust.'

'A property tax is likewise the most humane of taxes, being levied on those, who to pay it, need, at the worst, only resign some article of luxury, or of ostentation; but who need suffer no privation of life's first necessities. Neither need the revenue derived from a property tax be subject to deficiencies; as the property tax can never (as other taxes often are) be due by parties who do not possess the means of paying the demand. Wherever there is property on which to charge the percentage, there must be property from which to subtract the tax. In short, let no man, woman, or child, be taxed. But instead, let every pound pay its own assurance.'

'A property tax is also the most just of taxes. Waiving therefore all the arguments and calculations which have been brought forward to prove that property, under a system of free trade and economical government, would not suffer by paying a property tax; nay, that property must ultimately benefit, through the national prosperity which cannot fail of arising out of the beneficial changes, taken altogether, which it is proposed should accompany the laying on of a property tax; and assuming the higher ground of equal justice flowing from good-will to all; such justice pronounces, that even if property had no part in the remunerating circumstance of reduced prices; that even if public burdens could not be lightened; that, in short, if property could not be assured at a less expense than paying the one half to assure the other, it would still be but equal justice to commute every tax direct and indirect which now exists, for one direct tax on realized property. It is, in other words, but requiring every man to pay his own said assurance. And what but the wantonness of irresponsible power could have suggested, what but the helplessness of ignorance and poverty combined could have submitted to, a system of injustice so glaring, as that of laying any part of such a burden on those who have no property to assure, and who must find it hard enough to pay, by the sweat of their brow, nature's daily tax for daily food.'

'Should property, however, plead that industry ought at least to contribute something towards personal protection, it is asked, in reply—Do not the industrious classes contribute towards the protection of their country and its laws, those fearful war and insurrection taxes, their blood and their lives? Are they not our soldiers and our sailors in the day of battle? their bodies the floating walls of our island empire, the living bulwarks of our modern cities? nay, the very targets against which, ignorance, in the hour of riot, flings the missile which the wantonness of power has provoked?

'A property tax, again, may be collected with less expense than any other tax. But the collateral advantages of a property tax, in constituting the tax-voting class the tax-paying class, are yet greater than any or all that have been enumerated.'—pp. 211-215.

The substantial evil to be removed, is the theory which arranges that one set of men shall vote the taxes, and another pay them. The operatives, for example, of this industrious country, know,—or if they do not, the nearest attorney is able to inform them,—that it is written in the law, that no man in the class of English operatives, shall by any act or choice of his compatriots, be placed in the situation of being concerned in making laws for operatives. Laws shall be made, but the law is that there shall be no operative there. Do what they may, be as numerous and powerful as fancy can suppose, and the law is that the law shall always be made, to the utmost jot and tittle and without the interposition of one single grain of operative in the composition, by men not of like passion with themselves. The working negroes in the West Indies are hardly more unjustifiably treated. Truly of all wonders the most wonderful, is the length the industrious classes in all countries will patiently go, in seeing themselves made the sponge for the rich to press, with scarcely an effort or a thought for bettering their condition. Mrs. Loudon is strong on these points, and has established a claim to the gratitude of every assembly of the working classes throughout the land.

‘ON THE COLLATERAL BENEFITS OF A PROPERTY TAX, OR THE ADVANTAGES OF CONSTITUTING THE TAX-VOTING CLASS THE TAX-PAYING CLASS.’

“The advance of civilization has already put a stop to plunder by force; it remains for the march of intellect to devise a check for plunder by stratagem.”—*Dilemmas of Pride*.

‘This check is our great national want. Property, as distinct from industry, ever has been, and, even under a reformed Parliament, still is the maker of laws, the deviser of budgets, the voter of subsidies,—in short, the tier-up of public burdens; property, therefore, must be charged with the carrying of those burdens: nothing less can ever inspire it with a sufficiently feeling and careful appreciation of their weight.’

‘In our reformed parliament we have, no doubt, many honest individuals, and we shall in time, it may be fairly presumed, have many more. But, speaking of property as a body, all its prejudices, as well as all its misconceived notions of its own interest, are opposed to the just claims of industry. Take, for instance, the obstinate blindness of landlords on the subject of corn-laws. While ever, therefore, property, as a body, can fling the greater proportion of the burdens of the state on the shoulders of industry, property, as a body, will never be brought to reflect with sufficient seriousness on the devastating effects of oppression on national prosperity.’

‘But lay the burdens of the state exclusively, or chiefly, on already realized property—that is, make the tax-voting order the tax-paying order—and the representatives of property, whether reformers or non-

reformers, would immediately feel, and therefore understand, the necessity of rendering those burdens as light as circumstances would permit. Sinécures and unnecessary offices would be abolished, and the indispensable ones remunerated moderately; or, if the property class thought fit, instead of each dividing his own possessions among his own children, to keep up, at the expense of the order, establishments in which their younger sons might still be placed to scramble for the prizes, it would become a sort of club affair, and, whether wise or not, would at least cease to be unjust to other classes. Another most essential advantage attendant upon laying the burdens of the state exclusively on already realized property, calling in always the aid of new property as fast as realized, is, that such an arrangement would not only teach the representatives of already realized property, now the law-making order, economy, but also, which is of infinitely more importance, give them an immediate personal interest in the increase of national wealth, and therefore set them upon devices to bring about and secure general prosperity. Industry—that is to say, the immediate interest of industry—would thus, at length, be virtually represented: a privilege it has never yet possessed, and which no reform in the freedom of election, not even universal suffrage and vote by ballot, could bestow upon it. For the man who has his daily bread to earn has seldom education, never leisure, still less a legal qualification to take himself a seat in parliament, and so become the actual representative of industry; and it is in vain that, by his vote, however fairly given, he sends thither a delegate who has made his fortune in the same occupation at which he is himself still a labourer; by the very fact of having acquired a fortune, that delegate has ceased to be the representative of industry, and become in fact, and, what is still more important, in feeling, the representative of property; it has become his supposed personal interest to devise laws for the more than just protection of already realized property generally, and special enactments securing to the property portion, or great capitalists of his own peculiar trade or calling, some unfair monopoly, calculated to oppress at once the public and the operative; and such, therefore, has been in general the conduct pursued by what is called the great mercantile interest in the house—men who, though risen from the people, are no longer of the people. In fact, our boasted three estates have long had absolutely no existence. Whether the maintenance of such a fancied harmony, arising out of discord, is either desirable or possible, is another question. Again, the real identity of interest of the whole community is a truth which is little understood, and less acted upon. What we have at present to deal with, therefore, is the supposed separate interests of the various parties in the state; and these consist in name only, of King, Lords, and Commons,—in reality, of King, Property, and Industry. Lords and Commons thus, instead of being two such supposed interests or estates, are united, by the possession of property, into one such supposed interest or estate; and industry, while ground into the very dust to pay whatever this united interest chooses to demand, is shut out from all particle of share in the virtual representation. And yet

the national importance of already realized property, compared with industry, or the power of creating wealth, is but as that of the income of an estate for a short period, compared with that of the value of the estate itself. What rents would lands pay without labour? What interest would money yield unless the principal were employed to set labour in motion? Now there is no question that what both houses of parliament vote, constitutes law; yet already realized property, this comparatively unimportant interest, is represented in both houses: industry, or the power of creating wealth, that stupendously important interest, not in either. Thus the great stability-giving majority of the nation, whose property consists in this power of creating wealth by labour, though they send nominal representatives to parliament, have no one with an interest felt to be identical with their own, to plead their cause in any constitutional form, except indeed the drawing up of humble petitions for that which they have a right to demand. If, therefore, neglecting the prayers of those petitions, the property-holding, corn-growing union,—being also the law-framing, place-holding, subsidy-voting, and subsidy-appropriating union—choose to make industry or labour, which it is their supposed interest to buy cheap, unprofitable, and bread or the produce of the soil, which it is their supposed interest to sell dear, unpurchasable, and yet to take (for so doing) large salaries levied on industry,—what has industry left?

'The terrible remedy of turning the ploughshare into the sword!'—pp. 239–243.

'In short, whatever might be for the advantage of the public would quickly be discovered by a body of intelligent, well educated men, whose own immediate interest was at stake, who were, in fact, administering their own funds, settling their own accounts, to sum up all, taking care of their own purses,—an office, the duties of which, chancellors in general pronounce marvellously few men incapable of performing, considering that poets and philosophers assert that all men are more or less deranged.'—p. 249.

'This is the centre jewel, the very vital spark of the principle of a property tax. This it is, which must not be lost sight of, and this it is which, in any mixed system of taxation, would be endangered.'—p. 252.

'But the misfortune has been, that the real business for which, till very lately, at least, all parliaments have met, has been to distribute among themselves and their connexions, places and pensions, and to devise and lay on taxes for the keeping up of the fund, out of which the emoluments of such places and pensions were paid, taking care that the burden of those taxes should fall as exclusively as was likely to be endured on industry, the ranks of which they thought fit to pronounce "the lower," and, therefore, never intended that either themselves or their children should join.'—p. 249.

The law, or custom, or instinct, which establishes the rule of Primogeniture, next comes in for examination. The whole theory of Primogeniture lies in a nut-shell. Its object is to keep the existing property of a family together in a single hand, that this hand may employ it vigorously in effecting the main-

tenance of the remaining branches at the public expense. What must be the mischief of this system in a country making any pretences to living by honest industry, it is not difficult to see.

'In short, a pampered aristocracy, in a nation which, from natural limitation of surface, and consequently of raw material, is, as may be said of Great Britain, strictly an operative nation, is exactly the species of drawback to the real prosperity of that nation, (that is, the comfort of the bulk of its population,) which an idle, prodigal son, would be to both the growing rich, and the enjoyments of an industrious father, who had no means of supplying the extravagancies of his son, but the profits of his, the father's labour: he, the father, the more extravagant the son became, must, it is manifest, work the harder, and fare the worse himself, and yet still continue poor.'

'Such a nation, therefore, should surely maintain as small a proportion of its population in expensive idleness, as possible. While, however, the idle few not only lay on, but are permitted to appropriate the greater portion of the taxes; and that thus they receive a bounty, as it were, on laying them on, which repays the share they have paid, and leaves an enormous balance in their own favour, and that thus the labouring many, virtually pay the whole amount levied, both for tax and bounty—who is there to protect the cause, whether of the individual operative, or of that great aggregate operative, the nation?'

'These more than just privileges, however, are chiefly secured to the property class, by the undue influence which the maintenance of the law of primogeniture, gives to the heads of families. With a more equal distribution, therefore, of property, though still among the several members of the same families who now possess overgrown fortunes; this undue influence, with all its baneful consequences, would gradually die out; and talent, diligence, necessary information, and before all things honesty, become the titles for obtaining such offices of trust and emolument, as were really necessary to the service of the state; while both the temptation to devise, and the power to pay needless situations, would be taken away.'—p. 219.

'It has been absurdly objected against the abolition of the law of primogeniture, that, without maintaining this law, the hereditary peerage could not be maintained. If this objection, or rather assertion, be founded in fact, *it becomes an objection to the maintenance of the hereditary peerage, not an objection to the abolition of the law of primogeniture*; for, it would surely be a gratuitous insult to the enlightenment of the nineteenth century, to add any argument to prove, that what cannot be maintained without injustice, ought not to be maintained at all.'—p. 224.

'Finally, let us refer the question of this so much dreaded minute division of property, to the decision of that equal justice, which, flowing from good-will to all, has been shown to be the visibly revealed will of God: let us ask the reason which God has given us, what must be the verdict of that sacred tribunal. Let us suppose the privileged orders to bring forward proof incontestable, that without the law of primogeniture, and the auxiliary power of taxing the labouring classes for the main-

tenance of the younger children of the aristocracy, the subdivision of property among their own children, and grandchildren, and great grandchildren, must, at last, reduce the descendants of the present privileged classes, to the ultimate necessity of losing caste, by earning their own subsistence. Would eternal justice, sitting in the judgment seat, pronounce such arguments unanswerable, and issue a decree, that the labouring classes must forego every cherished hope of amelioration, and continue to labour sixteen hours out of the four and twenty, be poorly fed, insufficiently clothed, and without education; that, by means of their hard earnings, and sore privations, they might be enabled to keep up a sufficient fund to maintain in idleness, luxury, and often splendour, all but one child, of each family, of each generation, of the now privileged class; for the great and important purpose of preserving one pure specimen of each such family, as long as the world lasts, not only safe from the very apprehension of want, but from the contaminations of industry, either in their own persons, or those of their collateral branches, and therefore entitled to despise, mortify, laugh at, and avoid, as they would contagion, every one who is, or whose forefathers ever were, of the slightest use to society?'—p. 235.

Fears are often heard expressed, and that by well-meaning people, of the ultimate consequences of the subdivision of landed property; and the instance generally referred to is France, where the facility of procuring land, arising out of the division of property consequent on the abolition of the law of primogeniture by the Revolution, is acknowledged to be for the present the leading cause of the superior happiness of the laborious classes in that country. But what, say the alarmists, is to be the consequence if this goes on? The way is to push the case to extremity, and see. Suppose then the subdivision of landed property to be carried on in France, till a large proportion of the people live on the cultivation of the smallest quantity of land, their own property, by which human life can be supported,—say, for instance, land producing to the cultivators at the rate of, one with another, forty*, or if preferred, thirty, crowns a-year. And what would be the result of this, but that the people concerned would live as poorly as the operatives in England live now,—that is to say, upon the least that will keep soul and body together,—but with the advantage of being *much less hardly worked*? Mrs. Hannah More canonizes the memory of some admirable old man, who lived upon the produce of a half-acre of cabbage garden, aided by one annual fitch of bacon which he purchased at the fair, and spent his leisure in the meditations his historian delighted in. To something like this

* Forty crowns a-year, is what Voltaire in his well-known political article states as the quotient resulting from dividing the annual income of France by the number of inhabitants. Multitudes therefore must live on less.

state of hungry but not over-worked philosophy, may the French peasant possibly approximate. But surely this is better by one-half, than being hungry and over-worked too, like his brother experimentalist in England. There seems therefore no great horror in expectation after all. If an attempt should be made to liken it to the case of Ireland, it is to be recollected that the Irish *are at rack-rent*.

On the subject of Representation, Mrs. Loudon returns to the attack against the unjust-property-union, especially as bearing on the question of Second Chambers.

'In the feudal times, indeed, when the lords or barons represented the country or landed interest, and the commons the towns or mercantile interests, there might have been, (though always on short-sighted grounds), some shadow of two interests; but now that lords and commons form one aristocracy, almost one family, all representing and guarding, alas! but too selfishly, the wealth already created, and all having a personal interest in taxing the wealth to be created or power or act of creating wealth, such taxes constituting the perquisites of themselves and their relations; what need of a peculiar strong-hold for a section or portion, of this (without such strong-hold) but too strong, and, for the frailty of human free-will, but too severely tempted family party, merely to hamper legislation? Except, indeed, with the ulterior and unconstitutional view of making (on the pretext of veneration for the constitution) one close corporation business of the whole affairs of the nation, and thus evading even the small portion of constitutional influence which industry might else possess despite what may be termed the property-union, by rendering the only peaceable safeguard of the liberties of the people, representation, a mere mockery.'—p. 294.

The answer to the objections to the 'ungenerous' and 'un-english' nature of the Ballot, is excellent as coming from a lady. Will Mrs. Loudon at her leisure give her attention to the *military* part of this question, as detailed in the latter part of the Article on 'Banim's *Canvassing*,' in the number of the Westminster Review which preceded the present?

'As to the objection, that there is something ungenerous, and "un-english," in the concealment of the ballot, it is quite absurd coming from a class of Englishmen, who use the prudent mystery of the said unenglish mask, in all their own club and pleasure arrangements. If men of liberal education and independent circumstances, think there is no dishonour in screening themselves, while performing a fancied duty to exclusive society, from soreness of feeling and possibly hostile encounters, beneath the convenient shelter of the ballot, why should the self-same cloak be considered too shabby or too unenglish a costume, to be worn by the shopkeeper or the tenant, in cases of serious necessity, to preserve himself, his wife, and his children, from the utter ruin held in *terrorem* over him, by some wealthy but unprincipled customer or landlord, for his honest performance of a real duty to his country?'—p. 306.

It is plain that Mrs. Loudon is a splendid woman, and has at one effort taken her place in line, among the political economists upon the people's side. She is fortunate, too, in having fallen upon times, when

'The spread of education is, in fact, rendering the *peaceable* continuance of abuses impossible.'—p. 314.

ART. II.—*Venetian History*. Family Library, No. XX.—London; Murray, 1833.

FEW persons can look at Venice, without feeling their minds full of the associations connected with her history. As the Tyre of the middle ages, and the conqueror of Constantinople; as once reigning over the Archipelago, the Morea, Candia, Cyprus, and the finest quarter of the Roman Empire, she awakens innumerable memories. It is instructive to observe her origin and progress, her prosperity and decline; marking the circumstances which promoted her grandeur, and the seeds of those social evils which ensured her degradation and decay.

In the fifth century, when Attila was spreading terror and ruin through Pannonia and northern Italy, several families had withdrawn from Aquileia and Padua, to the small island of Rivus Altus in the Adriatic, the future Rialto of Venice. Gradus and other adjacent sand-banks, surrounded by the lagunes, began also to acquire inhabitants, allured thither by the safety which such an asylum offered. A mild but moist climate, rendered their situation tolerable. Their existence, depending upon incessant labour and considerable self-denial, could only be preserved by habits of perseverance and hardihood. The neighbouring province of Venetia gave its name to the rising city, and poured into its bosom the best remnants of a once flourishing, and still industrious population. Calamity at first levelled every distinction, except that of merit; and as all happiness is comparative, their security might well be an object of envy, when fire and sword and famine were wasting the Western Empire. Even under the more regular government of Theodoric, his prætorian prefect seems to have drawn their portrait with mingled wonder, and perhaps exaggerated approbation. He assimilates them to waterfowl, who, fixing their nests upon the waves, despised the allurements of the land. Fish was their common food, and salt their principal treasure; with which they traded in the markets of Italy, along the sea coast, and up the navigable rivers. The shallows, happily too deep for cavalry, yet impassable by ships of war, afforded

only eight winding channels, by which galleys could be piloted to and fro without stranding. Two of these communicated with the continent, and six with the ocean. Necessity thus made the Venetians skilful mariners. Their liberties were nursed amidst obscurity and misfortunes. They certainly acknowledged the authority of the Gothic kingdom; and afterwards paid tribute to the Carlovingian sovereign of Italy, with the assent of their lord paramount the Byzantine Emperor, to whom, in the ninth and tenth centuries, they avowed themselves faithful liegemen. However this may annihilate what Gibbon calls 'their lofty claim to a perpetual independence,' it contributed beyond a doubt to their real protection and preservation. In the meanwhile, their municipal forms of government expanded upon the basis of public opulence and prosperity into emancipation from foreign servitude. The lapse of time gave its silent seal to what was the inevitable result of circumstances. Sismondi has eloquently described the republic, as enthroned upon the gulf whence her palaces emerge, contemplating the successive changes of dynasties and continual invasions, with the whole shifting scene of human revolution; till in her own turn, as the last surviving witness of antiquity, and as the link between two periods of civilization, she has herself bowed down under the humbling hand of the destroyer.

Her career from the earliest period was remarkable. For a few years a consular constitution appears to have been established. The people soon changed it for one of Tribunes, or Judges, of which the number was twelve, and the election popular. It is doubtful whether each officer was not limited to his particular island or district; and whether at the commencement their political union was more than federative. Little inequality and less ambition could subsist, so long as their manners remained simple and uncorrupted. But frugality and industry brought competence: this rapidly augmented into wealth; and then came the trial. It may be safe to smile at the highly-wrought picture of Cassiodorus; which nevertheless, allowing for his declamatory style, is neither impossible nor unnatural. His celebrated letter would indeed have been more satisfactory and valuable, had he presented a few clearly related facts, instead of so much sentimentalism, and vague description of Venetian happiness. It would seem that the jurisdiction of the tribunes extended over persons and property; that they could acquit, condemn, and imprison within certain limits; and that an appeal lay in extraordinary cases to the General Assembly of the nation. Respecting the precise nature of that General Assembly, it is scarcely possible to obtain correct ideas. To be

admitted a member of it, required in course of time qualifications both of rank and revenue; a modification originating from the predilections of the continental emigrants, who are ostentatiously mentioned by the annalists, as having been many of them nobles. *Ebbe principio*, says Sanuto, *non da pastori, come ebbe Roma, ma da potenti e nobili*: and Jannotus calls them, *Nobilissimos atque opulentissimos viros, qui barbarorum incursiones effugientes, constituendae civitatis his locis, primi autores fuerunt*. Such seeds of a system of caste were not slow in sprouting; and the commencement is speedily perceived of that proud and jealous aristocracy, which under the names and forms of liberty grew with the growth, and strengthened with the strength of the State, whose vitals it was one day to devour.

External aggrandizement fostered internal corruptions. Offices connected with enlarged emoluments and lessened fears of accountability, went the way of all such imperfect institutions. The magistracy and great men degenerated, as usual, into a robber-class; waxing wanton towards their inferiors, and abusing public trusts for private purposes. The many began to groan under the yoke of the few. Before 300 years elapsed, a General Council was demanded and summoned, with a Bishop for its president, and a numerous train of ecclesiastics in attendance; demonstrating that the Roman church had not been altogether idle in her vocation. Murmurs against the rulers resounded on all sides. The people, pillaged and fleeced, insisted upon having justice for the past, and reform for the future. It was observed that there existed no proper functionary for the convocation of the popular assemblies; that the laws were cruel in their enactments, and partially administered. The Lombards had become dangerous neighbours; and Venice, like the discontented Hebrews, wanted a head to her state, and a leader in battle,—in fact, a single tyrant instead of a dozen. Experience was the seer, which presently opened her eyes, and unveiled the imagined blissfulness of monarchical sway. The more immediate cause of its establishment, is partly supposed to have been the pride of an individual already belonging to the privileged order, but with a heart more stout than his fellows. Paulatius Anafestus of Heraclea became the first Doge, elected in A. D. 697; and at the death of his second successor, generals of the forces chosen annually, were substituted for four years; at the end of which term, the ducal title and prerogatives revived. These, at that time, seemed considerable. Their possessor was to retain them for life; he was invested with the insignia of royalty. He assembled and presided over the grand council; and had a casting vote when the suffrages were even. His

patronage was extensive; and so long as his administration proved popular and successful, he reigned with the pomp and majesty of a prince. Sometimes he obtained permission to associate his son with himself; yet, so much of his state and power being dependent upon the nobles, who could always embarrass his procedure or influence his prospects, the spirit of an aristocracy by slow and sure degrees pervaded and usurped the government. Even the appearances of something like a limited monarchy were not long suffered to exist. Supreme authority must be in the hands of one, or of a number; of an autocrat, properly so called, or of an aristocracy in the generic signification of the expression. Soon after tribunes had been exchanged for a Doge or General of the Forces, it came to be a *number* that governed. Aristocratic maxims, manners, and measures carried everything before them. Certain heads of families always swayed the general assemblies, whose concurrence with the executive could never latterly be dispensed with. The Doge was, in fact, no more than one of an oligarchy, —an elephant rather larger than the rest of the herd. In the twelfth century, this ceased to be a secret, even with the populace. Their nominal chief was reduced to an expensive pageant; in authority, hardly a counsellor; in the city, a prisoner of state; and out of it, only a private person.

Two avowed limitations of the Ducal authority occur as early as A. D. 1032, under the reign of Domenico Flabenco; who for himself and successors, agreed to prohibit filial associations in the government, and that none of their acts should thenceforward be valid, without the sanction of a couple of commissioners. Hallam in his *History of the Middle Ages*, has furnished from Sandi and Sismondi an accurate account of the Great Council as established A. D. 1172. It was to consist of 480 citizens equally taken from the six districts of the city, and annually renewed. But the election was not made immediately by the people. Two electors, called tribunes, from each of the six districts, appointed the members of the Council, by separate nomination. These tribunes at first were themselves chosen by the people; but early in the thirteenth century, the Great Council, principally composed of men of high birth, and invested by law with the appointment of the Doge and all the Councils of Magistracy, assumed the right of naming their own constituents. Besides appointing the tribunes, they took upon themselves another privilege, that of confirming or rejecting their successors, before they resigned their functions; thus rendering the annual election little more than a farce, the same members being usually renewed, and the dignity of counsellor thus rapidly

usurping an hereditary character. In 1297, the Council of Forty substituted itself in the place of the tribunes, whose office, for a long time useless, had latterly become ridiculous. They ballotted upon the names of the members who already sat; and whoever obtained twelve favourable balls, retained his seat. The vacancies occasioned by rejection or death, were filled up from a supplemental list, formed by three electors nominated in the Great Council. It is curious to observe how invariable is the line of aggression, by which any privileged order plunders the people of their privileges. Loud and sincere must have been the professions of regard for a system, which, with all its anomalies, was still declared to work so well. The conviction had grown into greater prevalence under each succeeding Doge, that secrecy and exclusive interests are essential to the conservation of a state. To allow free access to their discussions, would have been to continue the single curb which could in any manner control their conduct,—the influence of public opinion. Foreign politics had now very numerous ramifications; and the first experiment for reducing the magic circle within convenient limits, was made upon such counsellors as happened to be vassals of the King of Cyprus. These were excluded from all consultations relating directly or indirectly to that kingdom; and the principle, once admitted, was soon extended. Similar prohibitions shut out whatever senators held lands on the continent, in the territories of Ferrara and Treviso; applying not merely to themselves, but to their kinsmen also; and when it had been ascertained that unconstitutional bounds might thus be set to the eligibility of candidates, in the eighth year of Pietro Gradenigo the infamous *Serratura del Consiglio* was effected, whereby all those who had not sitten in the Great Council within that year or the four years preceding, as well as their descendants, were for ever debarred from election to that assembly. In 1319 the personal rights of noble descent were rendered complete and exclusive by the abolition of elective forms. The age of twenty-five came to be fixed as the statutable period, on attaining which, a young hereditary legislator might exercise his functions; and from such as were under that age and above twenty, one fifth, or about thirty names on an average, were annually drawn out of an urn, to be added to the number.

Bribery and fraud had largely contributed to the achievement of such important changes. Before the *Serratura del Consiglio* was proposed in 1297, and confirmed by laws passed in 1298 and 1300, the Magnates, thus about to establish themselves as an exclusive hereditary aristocracy, had taken care to elect in proper time every powerful individual, on whose views and in-

clinations they could rely. Meanwhile, to keep the multitude in good humour, as well as in ignorance of their intentions, they threw them one honied cake after another. An unlimited right of fishing and fowling was conferred upon the whole body of citizens. Some families had the privilege given them of dining annually with the Doge, and embracing him on that occasion. Others obtained the distinction of attaching the felucca of their district to the Bucentaur on Ascension-day, when the nuptial ring was thrown into the Adriatic. The inhabitants of the Isle of Santa Maria Formosa were permitted to receive a yearly visit, amidst immense parade and magnificence, from their artful and haughty masters. Theatrical entertainments, from which few or none were excluded, derived their support more or less from the public treasury; which, also, simultaneously attempted to communicate increased activity to commercial enterprisc. The nobles, in a word, spared no pains to blind and cajole the lower classes, whom they had resolved to enslave. On the one hand, they clipt the wings of the executive; and on the other, reduced their fellow subjects to ciphers. They engrossed all legislative authority, together with the power of pardoning offences, and disposing of offices. As to the last, their method of conducting the ballot was curiously complicated. In a bag containing as many balls as there were members present, sixty were gilded; entitling those who drew them to a second drawing of lots, which finally reduced their number to thirty-six. These were the electors, who divided themselves into four colleges, each comprising nine persons. During the time of election, nine offices were conferred every day; in every college, each of the nine electors named a candidate for one of these offices, the nomination to which fell to him by lot; and four candidates being thus nominated by the four colleges for every office, the election was finally determined by a majority of votes in the Great Council. None of those seeking an office on the same day, or who were indebted to the state, were allowed to vote; nor was more than one suffrage received from each name and family.

The duties of administering criminal justice were entrusted to the Council of Forty thus annually chosen. The Senate, properly so called, formed an intermediate body between the nobles in their aggregate capacity, and the executive. It consisted of the Sixty *Pregadi*, doubled and trebled in later times, the Forty Judges, the College of Wisemen or *Sari*, the Seignory, the dreaded Council of Ten, the administrators of St. Mark, the treasurer, the director of the arsenal and fortresses (a sort of Master of the Ordnance), the principal officers of Bergamo, and

several functionaries beside ; altogether between two and three hundred. They imposed taxes, and possessed an exclusive right of declaring war and concluding peace. Every affair brought before the Senate, was prepared and introduced by the College, consisting of the Doge, the three chiefs of the criminal tribunal, and the sixteen *Savi* ; all guided by the six great *Savi*, the sages of the state, and the depositaries of its secrets and maxims. The Seignory of six counsellors, with the Doge as their president, performed the duties of an ordinary administration. They despatched orders, corresponded with ambassadors, convoked councils, and sat upon a bench more elevated than the rest in each assembly. In 1310, three nobles, Tiepolo, Basseggi, and Querini, took advantage of the public discontent, and headed an insurrection of which the object was to restore a popular regimen. After a day's severe struggle, a convention was concluded, permitting the conspirators to leave the city. For the investigation of this affair, a commission of ten Senators was appointed for fourteen days, which were afterwards extended to forty-two, and again for an indefinite period ; until at length, during the reign of Francisco Dandolo, it was declared perpetual A. D. 1335.

‘ This most remarkable part of the Venetian constitution consisted in fact of seventeen ; comprising the Seignory, or the Doge and his six counsellors, as well as the Ten properly so called. They had by usage, if not by right, a controlling and dictatorial power over the Senate and other magistrates ; rescinding their decisions, and sometimes treating separately with foreign princes. Their vast influence strengthened the executive government, of which they formed a part ; and gave a vigour to its movements, which the jealousy of the councils would possibly have impeded. But they are chiefly known as an arbitrary and inquisitorial tribunal, the standing tyranny of Venice. Excluding the old Council of Forty, not only from the investigation of treasonable charges, but of several other crimes of magnitude ; they inquired, they judged, they punished, according to what they called reason of state. The public never penetrated the mystery of their proceedings ; the accused was sometimes not heard, and never confronted with witnesses ; the condemnation was secret as the inquiry ; and the punishment undivulged, like both.’—*Hallam*.

Contareni compares them to the Ephori at Sparta. They professed to shelter the commonalty from aristocratic annoyance ; and they did so, in the same way that the bear in the fable demolished a fly, when it tickled the nose of his slumbering master. Their informers infested all ranks of society, from the highest to the lowest. Monks, prostitutes, gondoliers, and domestic servants, enabled them to watch the secret springs of action, in religion, passion, pleasure, and privacy. Everything

was observed with the eyes of an Argus ; and the ear of a cruel despotism, more dreadful and sensitive than that of Dionysius, found a channel of communication with the most confidential intercourse. The institution, in itself an immoral one, preserved the republic by rendering it a painted sepulchre, beautiful in its monumental antiquity, but covering a political charnel-house. The three State-Inquisitors were, to the rest of the Ten, just what that council was to the Senate ; a college superior to all the citizens, not excepting even the Doge, and able to punish, although not capitally, without the concurrence of their colleagues. Von Müller observes, that had the Council of Ten not been the main pillar of the state, its powers would have been circumscribed by the Correctors of the Laws, who were periodically elected. Some senators, with upright intentions, endeavoured, in 1761, to introduce alterations ; but the voice of the people was in favour of the Ten ; and while the power of the three Inquisitors was diminished, the Ten retained their criminal jurisdiction over the nobility in its whole extent. Yet it cannot fail to be remembered, that the *vox populi* had been silenced for ages ; and the annual renewal of Councils, as also of the *Correttori delle Leggi*, depending entirely upon the Great Councils, there remained no real vestige of freedom to redeem the republic from a fate it so richly deserved, and which within forty years awaited it.

In A. D. 1250, during the reign of Marino Morosini, it was arranged that the choice of the Doge on the death of his predecessor, should be ballotted for, with much the same mixture of chance and selection as has been described with respect to other offices. The number of gilded balls was thirty, of which the drawers were reduced by a second raffle to nine. Of these, four nominated five electors each, and five four each, making in the whole forty electors ; whom a third lottery cut down to twelve, each of whom named two electors, except the first, who appointed three. Thus twenty-five were called out, from whom a fourth raffle selected nine, each of whom named five ; in all forty-five. But these were reduced by a fifth ballot to eleven, of whom eight chose four each, and the remainder three each ; so that the final result was forty-one, who upon being confirmed by the Great Council, proceeded to elect a Doge, by a majority of suffrages which was to consist of not less than twenty-five. On this occasion, no member of the Great Council could vote under thirty years of age. The sons, brothers, and nephews of the new Doge had to quit the government during his life. An initiative in deliberation now constituted his solitary prerogative. Despatches were written in his name, and letters

from foreign courts were addressed to him; yet the latter he was compelled to deliver unopened to the Senate, and report their answer to the respective ambassadors. Five yearly entertainments, consumed two-thirds of from ten to twelve thousand crowns allowed him as a salary by the state. He was a sort of Ducal *lord-mayor for life*. His superintendence of the arsenal, the docks, and the cathedral of St. Mark, seemed the most useful portion of his duty. It formed one of the best features in the constitution, that very little power came to be left in the hands of any official, whose election was not annual. Even the Church of Rome gave small trouble from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. The Doge was the Defender of the Faith for temporal purposes; and possessing himself neither teeth nor claws for political mischief, there was no temptation to employ him as the patron of ecclesiastical abuses. Spiritual persons were excluded from public employments. The Pope was looked upon as a mere neighbouring potentate, revered but not feared, the republic establishing its supremacy over all causes and individuals whatsoever. The administration of church affairs was divided between the patriarchs of Venice and Aquileia; the province of the former being confined to the city, and of the latter to the continent. Both were appointed by the senate; their conduct was checked by a noble forced upon them as a coadjutor; nor until the nomination to benefices was conceded to Julius II, had they any patronage among the islands, or within the Dogado.

Such appear to have been the outlines of an avowed Aristocracy, which governed larger territories, and lasted for a longer period, than any other upon record. Its nature and bearings will be more clearly discerned, by a review of the splendid panorama of its history.

The primary source of Venetian greatness was commerce; which can only flourish, where property is secure, and the population industrious. The situation of the city was favourable in every respect; and her fleets emerge from the darkness of the middle ages at a very early æra. Fresh swarms of barbarians had desolated Dalmatia, Pannonia, and the Italian sea-coast; thus augmenting by their havoc on the continent, and the consequent emigration from it, the prosperity of the Adriatic islands. Some of these however were not safe from marauders of another kind,—the Slavonian pirates. Venice alone was so, and enabled to extend her trade, from Trieste and Ragusa, to Constantinople and Alexandria. During the sixth century, Narses availed himself of her assistance, in transporting his army to Ravenna, when Totila king of the Goths was encamped

on the Adige. In a later age, the Exarchate had fallen before the victorious Lombards; and the Byzantine Emperor's representative was restored to his capital by the forces of the republic. Pepin the son of Charlemagne, offended at her preference for the politics of the eastern instead of the western Empire, endeavoured to humble so presumptuous a vassal; yet after reducing those quarters of the city south of the Rialto, the besieged made two sallies with such effect, as to drive their antagonists among the shallows, and compel them to an abandonment of the enterprise. Its failure strengthened the state which the sovereign of Italy had devoted to destruction. Within a few years, sixty adjacent islands were connected together by bridges, and comprehended within the limits of Venice. A magnificent palace was erected about the same time, as a residence for the Doge. The Bishop of Aquileia having thought proper to quarrel with the patriarch of Grado, the Senate interfered, and devastated the country of Friuli, until its prelate undertook to acknowledge their supremacy, and send them annually a bull, twelve wild boars, and as many loaves of bread, in the way of tribute to the guardians of St. Mark. This was the origin of those cruel sports which so long disgraced the carnival. On behalf of the Emperor Michael, and in conjunction with an imperial squadron, the Venetians attacked the Saracens off Crotona, and were on the point of gaining a complete victory, when the Greek galleys pusillanimously withdrew, and left them to an unmerited fate. Some Croatian corsairs, looking upon the ruin of Venice as a matter of course, through the recent disaster, attempted it to their own discomfiture. More important enemies in the persons of the Hungarians, appeared A. D. 903, endeavouring in flat-bottomed boats to pass the Lagoon; but no other alternative awaited them, than death by famine and the sword, or a watery grave. The republic is then found coining money; braving the wrath of the Saxon Othos; reducing Nola, Lessina, and Pharos; annexing the coast of Istria, Dalmatia, and Liburnia, to her dominions; and obtaining liberty for her merchants to traffic, without hinderance or impost, in all the ports of Italy, Greece, Asia, Syria, and Egypt. Her Doge assumed the title of Duke of Dalmatia, which was confirmed at Constantinople; and notwithstanding these conquests were held for many generations by an uncertain tenure, through the oppressions exercised, the resistance of the inhabitants, or the intrigues of powerful neighbours,—they contributed to her general power in no trifling degree, and extended her military fame.

The Crusades moreover occurred most opportunely for the great maritime towns of Italy; among which Pisa and

Genoa distinguished themselves, although not to the same extent with their rival on the other side the peninsula. Venice had armed against the Normans, before the famous battle of Durazzo, in the cause of Alexius Comnenus, no longer as a tributary, but as a generous and faithful ally. She improved to her own advantage her claims upon the gratitude of the Byzantine Court, as well as upon "the first followers of the Cross, whom she joined before Ascalon, with a hundred vessels of war. Caiapha, Tiberias, Ptolemais, Sidon, and Favonica, fell before the Christians, chiefly through her assistance; and her share of the spoil consisted in the joint sovereignty over Tyre and Acre, and two-thirds of the property captured. The siege of Jaffa was raised through the dispersion of the Saracens by the Doge Micheli; who, after paying a splendid visit to Jerusalem, distinguished his homeward voyage by the sack of Rhodes and Chios, the temporary seizure of Samos, Lesbos, Andros, and the other isles of the Archipelago, and the recovery of Zara, Spalatro, and Traui, which had revolted. Croatia had been partially subdued under a previous administration; but a train of insurrections succeeded. Frederick Barbarossa was now attempting to forge fetters for the rich and spirited communities of Lombardy; and their protector Pope Alexander had selected the threshold of St. Mark as his most convenient and appropriate sanctuary. Barbarossa demanded him in a rage; but received a severe defeat A. D. 1177 from Sebastian Ziani, who destroyed forty-eight sail of the German armament, and returned to lay his trophies at the feet of his country. The Pontiff accompanied the senate in a triumphal procession, with which they went forth to congratulate their chieftain. 'Ziani,' said his Holiness, 'take this ring, and present it to the sea, as a testimony of your dominion over it. Let your successors annually perform the same ceremony; that posterity may know your valour purchased such a prerogative, and subjected this element to you, even as a bridegroom is husband and lord over the bride whom he has chosen.' The donation of a consecrated rose is also said to have crowned these allegorical nuptials; from whence no less than three centuries of territorial and commercial, yet fluctuating grandeur, may be dated. The Winged Lion had attained its maturity. The kingdoms of Christendom cast their eyes upon it as the power best able to resist Saladin, who had overthrown the Fatemites, supplanted the Atabeks at Aleppo and Damascus, snatched Arabia Felix from its feeble governors, and torn Tripoli and Tunis from the Mowaheddins. Jerusalem had also fallen into his hands. A strip of the ancient Phœnicia alone remained. Thither,

at the exhortations of the Pope, sailed an enormous fleet, which in confederacy with the Pisans, beleaguered Acre, and subdued it after a bloody siege, as the first fruits of the third crusade. Philip Augustus of France and Richard Cœur de Lion of England quarrelled and separated. Barbarossa was drowned in the Saleph, before he could reach the scene of action. The Knights-Templars and Hospitallers wasted away through sickness or the sword. In vain was the jealousy excited of the other Italian republics. Henry Dandolo eclipsed all his competitors upon the field of waters. Verona, in his absence, had robbed some Venetian traders on the Adige; for which he demanded and obtained redress. The Pisans, feeling themselves overshadowed by their successful rivals, had withdrawn their vessels in dudgeon from Syria, and presumed to plunder Pola; which brought upon them such severity of vengeance from the Doge, that their humbled pride permitted him to dictate the terms of their submission. Brundisium, having rashly joined them, had also to appease his anger by paying heavy penalties; and yet, at this very time, its allies gloried in being dominant as merchant Princes, from Genoa and Tuscany to Gibraltar, and throughout the western portion of the Mediterranean. Venice had always hitherto looked eastward, and reaped by far the largest harvest, from European valour, and religious enthusiasm. Dandolo was as great a statesman as he was a soldier. He well knew how to practise the alchymy of war. It has been truly observed, that commercial avarice quickly allayed the fever of superstition, with regard to the foreign policy of his country. Neither the heterodoxy of the Greeks, nor the Islamism of the Turks and Saracens, prevented Venice from cultivating just such intercourse with all or any of them, as promised profit or advantage. While Constantinople continued to flourish, spices, precious stones, and the rarest oriental manufactures, were brought thither, by caravans from India, through Candahar and Persia; or by the northern routes, and along the Caspian and Euxine; or up the Euphrates, and over-land to some of the Syrian seaports; or by the way of the Red Sea and Egypt. Italian vessels engrossed the greater part of this carrying trade, in which Venice preeminently participated. As the Cross waned before the Crescent, she equalled Genoa on the Bosphorus, and ultimately surpassed her; and at Alexandria, for ages, there scarcely appeared a competition. After Omar had established the Caliphate from Chaldea to Barbary, Al-Kahira or Grand Cairo became the capital of the Nile, and the centre of East-Indian traffic. Mohammedanism spread far and near. The ties of a common faith combined with

self-interest to plant factories in Africa and Asia, and re-open the ancient channels of communication. Missionaries and merchants settled in Malabar; whence they navigated the Indian ocean to the Moluccas, and even procured the commodities of China for cargoes to the Arabian gulf. Cinnamon, pepper, ginger, gums and frankincense, rich stuffs, gold-dust, pearls, and diamonds, were exchanged for the wares of Europe, principally supplied by Venice. Her Lombards or Bankers began to vie with the princes of the earth. They not only managed their own affairs, but those of other countries, who solicited the assistance of their agents, and remunerated them with enormous gains and extensive privileges. Hence the Doges mingled prudence with valour in their conduct towards both Saladin and his successors.

Nor had their glory reached its meridian when Fulk of Neuilly preached, and Innocent the third proclaimed another crusade. The Barons of France, under the Counts of Champagne and Flanders, responded to the summons; and six deputies from their general assembly presented themselves before Henry Dandolo A.D. 1201, to ask assistance of the Republic. He was then nearly blind, and ninety years of age; the Nestor of modern annals. It was agreed that in consideration of eighty-five thousand marks of silver, transports should be furnished for 4,500 knights and horses, 9,000 squires, and 20,000 infantry. A squadron of fifty galleys was to lead and protect the expedition; yet before it left the lagunes, little more than a third of the stipulated price could be raised. Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, had lately been elected general. His plate and that of his compeers was freely pledged; but besides that, they had nothing to offer the Senate except their personal services. These were accepted, through the skilful management of the Doge; who pleaded their cause with tears, and conducted their councils with ability. He led them first against Zara, which had withdrawn from the Venetian yoke, and called in Hungary to her aid. A defence of five days terminated in a surrender; when an announcement of Papal excommunication alarmed the superstitious conquerors. It seemed clear that they had forgotten their duty both to God and man, in not rescuing the Holy Land, rather than recovering the possession of a wealthy republic. Every cheek turned pale but that of old Henry Dandolo; whose schemes, deeply laid from the very commencement, were now developed. Alexius, the young son of Isaac Comnenus the deposed Emperor of the Romans, had taken refuge at Venice, and accompanied the present armament. Boniface was allied by marriage to his family; and the Doge fore-

saw, as he imagined, an immense accession of trade and dominion to his country, should her arms have the honour of restoring the diadem to its lawful wearer. Alexius, in his own name and that of his father, engaged to submit the eastern Empire to the ecclesiastical supremacy of the western Church. An extravagant sum of money formed a irresistible bribe to needy adventurers; and it was attempted to be shown, that no surer means for regaining the Sepulchre existed, than the establishment of legitimacy at Constantinople. Although numbers withdrew from any participation in the plan through motives either of fear, prudence, or real disgust; yet Dandolo carried his point, and persuaded the Marquis of Montferrat, the Counts of Flanders, Blois, and St. Pol, with eight among the French Barons, to accompany him.

Their voyage from Zara is described in one of the most picturesque pages of the 'Decline and Fall.' The events which followed their arrival on the banks of the Bosphorus, were related by themselves, in a narrative transmitted to the Pope, and which must be in the hands of few. This curious document, forming what would now be termed the Venetian manifesto, a modern historian has given as follows.—

'As we could not but apprehend that we should, by our great multitude, be burthensome to the Holy Land; and as we learnt, that the citizens of Constantinople wished to return under the dominion of their lawful Emperor; we thought it expedient to settle the disquiets that existed there, in order to secure for ourselves the necessary supplies, and assistance for our future proceedings. We found the city of Constantinople uncommonly strong, the citizens in arms, 60,000 cavalry, and all the implements necessary for defence. The illegitimate emperor had told the people, that we designed to subdue them, and reduce their church in obedience to your Holiness. Being only stocked with provisions for fourteen days, we were obliged to repeat our attacks without intermission. On the eighth day, we broke into the city. The emperor flying with a few of his people, we seated Alexius the Fourth on the throne of his father, after setting free the latter from his dungeon. The new Emperor promised us 200,000 marks of silver, provisions for a year, and his assistance in recovering the Holy Sepulchre. He only desired us, on account of the Greeks, to remain in our camp without the city. Soon after this, he suffered himself to be persuaded by his father to fall upon us by surprise, and set fire to our fleet. The project was discovered; the people, afraid of our vengeance, cried out for a Sovereign. The Emperor, in order to appease us and them, sent to the discontented his kinsman Mourzoufle, Alexius the Fifth. This latter betrayed and murdered the Emperor and his father, and closed the gates of the city against us. There is, Holy Father, in the whole West, no city like Constantinople; the walls are lofty and wide, consisting of squared stones; at every in-

terval of five hundred paces is a stone tower, supporting another of wood six stories high; between the towers are bridges full of bowmen and arms; double and very wide fosses, allowed no play to our machines. Often during the night, they sent fire-ships out against us. Our land forces alarmed Mourzoufle; but he preferred to die, rather than surrender. He had killed the young Emperor with a club, and he gave out that Alexius had died from other causes. He obtained advantages over us; but at length the ships *Paradise* and *Pilgrim*, under the command of the Bishops of Troyes and Soissons, effected a landing. When the Greeks saw that the whole forces of the Franks were pressing into the haven and into the streets, their courage forsook them. Not far from us, the Emperor took flight, with all the nobles, and sought refuge in the palace. We put the people to the sword in the streets, until night came on. At length our foot-soldiers, without orders, rushed with irresistible force to storm the Imperial residence, and made themselves masters of it; whereupon all Constantinople submitted. Most Holy Father, the quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, and other costly things which we have found, far exceeds all that could be collected in the city of Rome and in all our Christendom. Six Venetian noblemen, with the Bishops of Troyes, Soissons, Halberstadt, and Ptolemais, assembled with the legates of your Holiness, and after celebrating High Mass and public prayers, with the counsel and assistance of the high and mighty Lord Henry Dandolo, Doge of Venice, elected Baldwin, Count of Flanders, to be Emperor of Constantinople. The fourth part of the Empire was left to him; the rest we divided among ourselves. We will endeavour to maintain possession of this fine land, full of corn, wine, oil, wood, and pasturage, and share it out in fiefs to the noble knights who shall join their arms with ours. As we have read in histories, and understood from learned men, that in old times the predecessors of your Holiness came even to Constantinople, we entreat you to do the same, and to hold a Council here.'—*Von Muller*, vol. ii. p. 196.

Venice obtained in every respect the lion's share of all moveable spoil, as well as all substantial authority and influence in the capital. The former was valued at upwards of a million marks, equal to 2,000,000*l.* sterling now. Her Doge was invested with the purple as 'Despot of Romania and Lord of one fourth and a half of the Roman Empire.' Her independent courts were acknowledged in three out of the eight quarters of the city. She purchased Candia for 10,000, or according to another account, for 80,000 marks of silver, and retained feudal supremacy over Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Naxos, Paros, Melos, Andros, Mycone, Scyro, Cea, and Lemnos; to which Negropont, and some of the most important fortresses in the Morea, were afterwards added. Victory seemed to wait upon her nod. The people, intoxicated with military glory, forgot their domestic interests, and allowed their great men to effect one encroach-

ment after another, as has been related; until every vestige of liberty disappeared. Amidst the successes of an aggressive foreign policy, the fabric of aristocratic usurpation was erected. Expenses of fleets and armies wasted the resources of the state, made the burthen of taxation intolerable, circumscribed the extension of wholesome trade, undermined the solid foundation of industry, and augmented beyond former experience the fluctuations of value in the market. The imposition of new duties on provisions at length raised a violent insurrection; affording an unfortunate occasion for the nobility to declare themselves the sole friends of social order, and enabling them to narrow still further the rights of their fellow-countrymen. The worst features of the feudal system were now developed. Private adventurers acquired possessions abroad, held by military tenure under the republic at home; and the hydra of despotism put forth as many heads, as ambition could produce, or opulence maintain.

The honour of Venice stood connected with the reign of the Latins at Constantinople, and the supremacy there of the Roman Church; while Genoa, emulous of her fame, concluded an alliance with the Greeks, and assisted them materially in the recovery of their metropolis. Religious disputes, as well as commercial and national prejudices, embittered the contest between the two republics. Both laid exclusive claims to the use of a certain church at Acre. Their first open quarrel occurred only a few years before the expulsion of the Franks by Palæologus; nor did it pause, until several severe engagements had demonstrated, for that time, the superiority of Venice. The vanquished Genoese, however, consoled themselves for their losses, in the grateful support and preference awarded them by Michael Palæologus. They obtained the whole suburb of Pera or Galata, as their exclusive settlement; whence they extended their traffic into the Black Sea, founded and fortified Caffa in the Crimea, and struggled hard during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with their Venetian competitors. The latter had borne away in their galleys the dethroned Emperor from the Bosphorus to Eubœa, and afterwards to Italy; where their attention was soon required to a rupture which occurred with Bologna. This state, as well as Ancona, attempted to resist some of the custom-duties levied upon their vessels by Dandolo in the earliest instance, and continued by his successors; but their endeavours proved unavailing. Yet Venice, in her turn, had to endure several considerable reverses; although finally she came out of them in triumph. When hostilities with Genoa had broken out afresh, she burnt Pera to the ground. It was

destined to rise with greater splendour than ever ; for in consequence of this disaster, permission was obtained from the Imperial government to surround it with walls and towers ; so that it grew into a separate town. Thus enabled to insult the very capital itself, and defy the Venetians, the Genoese held the keys of the Euxine, and monopolized its fisheries and tolls. At the mouth of the Adriatic, they also defeated their rivals thrice ; and in 1352, their Admiral Doria obtained a similar victory under the Byzantine ramparts. The war of 1378, threatened still greater misfortunes. Francis Carrara of Padua, the king of Hungary, and the Genoese, kept the sea, and ravaged the shores of Dalmatia. Venice was blockaded. Peace was demanded in vain by the Queen of the Adriatic. Her enemies swore that a curb should be placed in the mouths of her wild horses. Previous insurrections, the outbreaks of public indignation, had been quenched in the blood of her citizens. Her aristocracy had planted its government on the necks rather than the hearts, on the fears rather than the love of the people. Pisani, their best naval officer, was in prison ; whence stern necessity now called for his release. This hero did all that could be done. The canals were defended by floating batteries ; private coffers were emptied, and utensils of gold and silver melted down ; the war-whoop of St. Mark was raised to animate the multitude ; and a promise emanated from the senate, that thirty families should be ennobled for their unparalleled patriotic exertions at a crisis so pregnant with danger.

Famine, indeed, stared them in the face ; since Carrara had stopped their supplies from Padua and its neighbourhood, while Hungarian troops had possessed themselves of Istria and the towns adjacent. Yet Stella in his enthusiasm exclaims, that God would not suffer so noble a city as Venice then was, to become the spoil of a conqueror. Contareni now took the command. He acted with extreme caution. He so puzzled the invaders, that they could never penetrate his designs, until their retreat was effectually cut off by vessels full of stones being sunk in each channel where their gallies had anchored. The besiegers were thus themselves besieged ; although a command of the land gave them still such advantages, that it has been said, the senate seriously thought of transporting themselves to Candia. Things were in this state, when the first of January A.D. 1380 brought back their Admiral Carlo Zeno, laden with treasure and trophies which he had won by inflicting upon the Ligurian shores a train of disasters similar to those from which his own country was suffering. He had captured or destroyed from three to four hundred sail of the enemy. His

arrival, when perceived from the Piazza of St. Mark, was hailed with acclamations. After some further struggles, the fortunes of Genoa bowed for ever; and the rivalry of one hundred and thirty years terminated in the culmination of Venice. Her politics, indeed, now took another direction. The Ottomans were extinguishing the Greek empire. Thessalonica had been ceded to her in 1424, but was quickly recovered by the Turks under Amurath. Her territorial hold on Greece and the Archipelago was weakened; and she commenced a career of aggrandisement nearer home, in the Italian peninsula. The district of Treviso had been annexed to her dominions; the result of an alliance with Florence against the progress of Mastino della Scala. Upon the ruin of that prince and his family, the Visconti formed an extensive, though temporary state, which fell to pieces about the beginning of the fifteenth century. Carrara having appropriated Verona in the scramble, the Venetians interfered, stripped him of all his possessions, and kept them by the law of the strongest. A protracted warfare with the Dukes of Milan, added the Cremasco and Ghiradadda, Brescia, Bergamo, and Peschiera, to Vicenza, Padua, and the Veronese. Ravenna, Faenza, and Rimini, were torn from the patrimony of St. Peter; and Rovigo, as well as the Polesine, from the duchy of Ferrara. The whole country of Friuli was reduced, and the most valuable portion of Istria regained; and the subsequent acquisition of Coritia or Veia in Dalmatia, of Antivari and Dolcigno in Albania, part of the despotate of Epirus, together with the Ionian Islands except Sta. Maura, amply indemnified them for their losses in Negropont and the Morea. In 1486, they obtained the kingdom of Cyprus, through the marriage of James II of Cyprus with Catharina Cornaro, a member of one of the senatorial families. This brought them into collision with Naples, whose sovereign had some pretensions to the crown of Lusignan; which, however, they not only overruled, but formed a strong confederacy against him, invaded Apulia, and took Gallipoli by storm. In the treaty of peace solicited by their antagonists, they stipulated for the retention of five wealthy cities on the Neapolitan coast, and an augmentation of their mercantile privileges.

Such overgrown power was not attained without immense disbursements. The republic, not daring to trust her injured subjects with arms, had recourse according to the custom of the age to foreign mercenaries. These troops were neither more nor less than legalized banditti; soldiers in form only, greedy as cormorants, with hearts of iron, and steady in nothing but new demands. The acquisition of Verona and Padua alone cost

Venice 900,000 ducats, equivalent to nearly three millions sterling in the present day; taking the ducat at an average of four shillings, and multiplying by sixteen for the difference of time and circumstances. For the Polesine they paid 80,000 ducats, and for Zara 100,000, to Ladislaus king of Hungary. The expenses of their retention for a long interval absorbed their revenue; yet the fever of ambition was far from being allayed. A war with the Italian princes, closing in A. D. 1484, after the capture of Gallipoli, occasioned an expenditure of no less than 3,600,000 ducats of gold, a vast sum for that period. It appears from the pacific counsels given by the Doge Mocenigo on his death-bed in 1423, that the productive capital of the commonwealth was then ten million ducats, yielding an annual profit of four millions, or forty per cent. The houses of Venice were valued at 7,000,000 ducats, affording a rental of 500,000 ducats per annum, or about seven per cent on this species of property. Her mint coined a million of ducats within the year. Three thousand merchant ships carried on her trade. Their flags floated in every port of Europe, Asia, and Africa, from Russia to India. From forty to fifty men-of-war, and three hundred smaller vessels, manned by nineteen thousand sailors, secured her naval power. Bruges in Flanders had become the staple for English wools, for the linens of the Netherlands, the furs, herrings, and lumber of the Baltic. Thither sailed the galleasses of the Adriatic, with enormous cargoes for that emporium. At the commencement even of the fourteenth century, Sanuto describes the traffic between the Levant and Northern seas, carried on by his countrymen, as comprising timber, brass, tin, lead, oil, and Flemish fabrics. The Hanseatic league contributed to the extension of commerce; reciprocating its advantages with Italy in general, and with Venice in particular. The latter had now established the reputation of her bank; and while the interest of money elsewhere varied from twelve to twenty, thirty, or even forty per cent (and the crowned heads of Christendom could sometimes scarcely borrow even on these terms), she was enabled during the league of Cambray, to raise the largest sums with ease, at the moderate premium of five in the hundred. Her annual revenues, before that remarkable æra in her history, appear to have been as follow. From the Milanese dominions, 1,000,000 ducats in coin, and the value of 900,000 more in cloths, of which two-thirds might be reckoned as clear profit; from her Dalmatian and Istrian territories, about 300,000 ducats; from the metropolitan taxes, including the customs, about 1,000,000; and the same from the Exarchate, Candia, Cyprus, and Greek islands, in the aggregate. The total might be calcu-

lated at nearly 4,000,000 ducats, being ten or twelve times the amount of the crown revenues of France or England at the time, and equivalent to at least 10,000,000*l.* sterling now.

It would have been well had she borne her prosperity meekly; which was far from being the case. Her foreign policy had become aggressive in the extreme; her internal constitution was rotten at its core. The Portuguese had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, thus opening another route to India than by Alexandria or the Persian gulf; and from that hour must be dated her commercial decline. This was in 1494; the same year in which Charles the Eighth of France crossed the Alps on his celebrated expedition against Naples. Philip de Comines, employed as his ambassador to the republic, endeavoured to obtain its approbation and concurrence by the most alluring offers; but in vain. The Doge and Senate felt the difficulty of their situation, and would only reply, that they must adhere to the wisdom of their ancestors. That wisdom, they maintained with profound hypocrisy, had taught them to aim at no conquests, but merely to repel injuries, preserve their liberties, and respect alliances. Yet they joined Sforza, Alexander the Sixth, and the King of Spain, in deluding Comines, and intercepting the return of his master. Upon his expostulation, they reminded the French monarch, that *wise men were directed by contingencies*; in other words, that for kings or nobles to thrive, they must be knaves. Their troops distinguished themselves at the battle of the Taro, prevented Charles from crossing the river, captured part of his wardrobe and artillery, and saved their own baggage. Two of their Proveditores were present at the siege of Novara. Their fleet defeated a large squadron of galleys from Marseilles, lying off Genoa. They then stormed the fortress of Rappelle, put the garrison to the sword, and compelled their royal adversary to make overtures. In these, however, the republic was deserted in its turn by the Duke of Milan; and an extrication from the labyrinth into which he had led their Senators, was achieved with great difficulty. They at length succeeded; and by a temporary pacification flattered themselves they had restored the balance of power in Italy. The French were expelled partly through their means from Naples; their acquisition of Otranto, Mola, Brundisium, Polignano, and Trauni, was confirmed in full sovereignty; and Pisa, fallen from her former glory, was taken under their military protection. But the calm was of short duration; for the death of Charles changed the whole posture of affairs. His successor claimed Milan, as well as Naples, and coalesced with Venice against Sforza. Caesar Borgia moreover now darkened

Italian politics by his intrigues and crimes ; and the Turks had overrun the Morea. Many millions of treasure, and thousands of lives, were lavished in these contests ; a waste which left the Senate ill-prepared for a more perilous crisis at hand.

The tiara had passed from Alexander the Sixth to Julius the Second ; as great a monster as his predecessor. His machinations formed the league of Cambray against the republic ; partly through her own haughtiness and folly, and partly through the jealousies of her neighbours. Venice, instead of cultivating her amity with France, then mistress of Milan by the deposition of Sforza, betrayed Louis the Twelfth, and insulted the Emperor of Germany. The Pope saw his opportunity, and announced a right, as head of the Holy See, to Ravenna and the Pentapolis. Maximilian, surnamed the Moneyless, put in claims for Trieste, Friuli, and Aquileia. The Court of Paris insisted upon a restitution of whatever had belonged to the family of Visconti. Ferdinand of Naples desired to get back his maritime towns. The Duke of Ferrara demanded Rovigo and the Polesine. Florence was grasping at Pisa, under the shelter of its Venetian alliance. Savoy for the sake of Cyprus, and Mantua with every petty potentate in Italy, joined the confederacy ; which was formally concluded in 1509, upon the principle of 'Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.' Venice tottered on the brink of destruction ; nor could anything have saved her, except the extent and amount of spoil to be divided. The victory of Aignadel, near the Adda, gained by the French on the 14th May 1509, laid Lombardy prostrate. No sooner was this the case, than the vultures began to quarrel among themselves. Julius had all along stipulated that he should be the last to take up arms. He suddenly grew alarmed at the hurricane he had raised. Should either Lewis or Maximilian gain a paramount ascendancy in Italy, the Papal keys would have to be wielded at the will of the successful sovereign. It required therefore only ordinary management to detach him from his allies ; and so the storm abated. His spiritual and temporal arms were soon turned against the Emperor. The Vicar of God upon Earth besieged Mirandola in person ; not a little nettled at the rumour, that Maximilian in his own proper person aspired to the papacy. Meanwhile the main point of the coalition succeeded. A martial Pontiff had humbled the pride of Venice, and convinced the world that she was declining from her zenith. One concession made way for fresh demands. Bembo mentions that the treasury of the republic experienced such exhaustion, that outlaws, even for rape and murder, could sue out their full pardon, on the sole condition of six months

personal service. Money was still more acceptable, and cancelled all transgressions. A ten per cent income-tax demonstrated the necessities of the state; although it kept up credit, and enabled it to borrow without difficulty at a most moderate rate of interest. It was enacted that a loan of twenty pounds weight of gold (about 800*l.* sterling) should entitle the lender, for one year, to senatorial privileges, barring alone the right of suffrage. Philip Morosini, thrown into prison for having dangerously wounded his relative in a duel, purchased his forgiveness for 2,000 ducats. The return of peace afforded at first but slight relief, since neither Padua nor Verona could contribute their customary quota; and the horrors of this warfare may be estimated, from the circumstance of the University in the former city having for eight years been utterly deserted by its students.

An interval of repose, such as it was, may be dated from the treaty of Noyon in 1517. The Senate, rejoiced to sheath the sword, again looked eastward. They dispatched envoys to Selim at Damascus, and procured his protection for their factories at Tripoli, Beirout, and Alexandria. Their consul in Egypt had a salary allowed him of 120*l.* sterling per month, with a vessel of war at his command. Commerce again reared its head; and although not so lucrative or extensive as before, yet proved sufficiently so to render every ear deaf to the alarm of another crusade. Taking as slight a share in the wars of Charles the Fifth as possible, they contrived to avoid an open rupture with Solymán the successor of Selim, for several years. Like the Dutch in Japan or China, they endured for the sake of lucre and safety, innumerable indignities. Already had their traffic been harassed by vexatious searches, the occasional imprisonment of their merchants, and the imposition of new duties. The days of old Dandolo were gone for ever. An attack on Corfu by the Ottoman fleet in 1538, drove them into a combination with the Pope and the Emperor, to resist the further encroachments of their common adversary. After immense bloodshed on both sides, the defeat at Nicopolis brought about a truce in 1540. The next thirty years augmented rather than diminished the power of the Porte, and presented a striking contrast to earlier ages, when Venice was the Lady of the Mediterranean. Plague, pestilence, and famine, as well as the insolence of the Barbary pirates, scourged her to the quick. From her Dalmatian towns, men, women and children were carried away to Algiers or Tunis, or reserved for the slave-market at Constantinople; and although her Admiral Tepulo once and again cleared the seas, boasting that a boat laden with gold might navigate the

Adriatic, she was soon awakened from all such dreams of self-complacency. The first grand blow struck at her power in the Levant was the invasion of Cyprus.

When a princess of the house of Lusignan laid claim to that kingdom under the mediation of Savoy, the Venetians, then in possession, laughed to scorn her modest pretensions. She adjured them by the obligations of religion and justice, to at least investigate her right; to which their sole reply was, 'The heavens belong unto the Lord, but the earth has he given to the children of men.' Fortune's wheel had revolved in the lapse of a century; and it was the turn of the Turks to comment upon the text of the Venetians. Selim the Second had cast a longing eye upon the island even during the lifetime of Solyman. Its contiguity to Caramania, its natural fertility, the excellence of its wines, on which point the Sultan a little differed from the Koran, inflamed him with a desire of making it his own. His subjects fanned the fire by constant complaints of the annoyance and injuries received from its inhabitants. The Grand Mufti appealed to his religion; and a Jewish renegado from Venice, who felt personally aggrieved by the Senate, urged the matter so warmly, that ships were launched, and cannon cast, amidst the usual farce of friendly diplomatic professions. Through the exertions of Torres an ecclesiastic, the Pope and Spain united with the Doge in a league, of which alarm was the occasion, and mutual distrust with consequent failure the result. While the confederates waited for one another, the Ottomans landed at Salini without opposition. Lusara was taken, Famagosta blockaded, and Nicosia, the capital, closely besieged. Its inhabitants are stated by the annalists at fifty thousand; the garrison being about a tenth of the number. Mustapha, having drawn his lines of circumvallation round the devoted city, shot an arrow over the walls, with a billet attached to it announcing an immediate storm, if not prevented by instant capitulation. After two gallant repulses, he fulfilled his menace. The tower of Podocatova had been strangely neglected, for its guards were asleep when their assailants planted scaling-ladders, and put them without mercy to the sword. All the outworks were carried on the forty-eighth day from the investment; and the last stand was made by the Venetians in the market-place. Scarcely a soldier escaped, though the slain sold their lives dearly. The Bishop fell in the fight, together with the Governor and a whole staff of officials. Famagosta alone remained to resist the triumphant janizaries. Its commander Baglioni dared to deride their summons for a surrender; but after a series of bloody assaults and sallies, and a system of

mining far beyond what generally occurs in modern warfare, the place became a heap of ruins, and famine accelerated its fall. The Turks revenged themselves by the perpetration of unparalleled cruelties. Bragadino, the representative of the republic, was inhumanly flayed alive, and his skin suspended as a trophy from the yard-arm of a galley in the harbour.

Philip the Second, who might have prevented these disasters by acting up to his engagements, is said to have felt slight regret at their occurrence. His gloomy pride abhorred every commercial state; and while his vessels remained inactive, Zante and Cephalonia, with the coasts of Albania and Dalmatia, were plundered and ravaged. At length Don John of Austria, with twenty-two-thousand infantry, ninety ships of war, and a large train of artillery, joined the Venetians at Messina, and made lame apologies for the tardiness of the Spanish Monarch. The Ottoman armament had anchored in the gulf of Lepanto; and the prince was driven to hazard an attack, through very shame for past negligence. The victory which ensued, made Europe ring with acclamations. Only thirty sail reached Constantinople in safety; upwards of one hundred and thirty having been captured, and the rest destroyed in the action. At Corfu, where the spoils were divided, forty-four galleys, a number of galliots and galeasses, with one hundred-and-thirty-one pieces of cannon, and near twelve hundred prisoners of consequence, fell to the share of Venice. Information of what had happened was pompously transmitted by the Pope to the Sophi of Persia; that he might be induced to improve so golden an opportunity, and invade the dominions of Selim. 'The naval power of the Porte is totally destroyed,' said the papal ambassador. 'But are there no more trees in Asia Minor?' replied the royal Oriental. The Nuncio still insisted on the importance of the triumph which had illustrated the Christian arms. 'Yes,' said the Sophi, 'the uncircumcised have shaved the beard of the Grand Signor; but they have lost their right arm in losing Cyprus.' And so it proved. Don John did nothing for his allies after the battle. Had the combined fleets appeared off the Morea, Greece might have been emancipated, as well as several of the islands in the Archipelago restored to Christendom. Selim threw away not a moment in repairing his losses. He hastened from his camp at Adrianople to the metropolis, on receiving news of his defeat. Order was maintained, and confidence rekindled. Philip on the other hand, failed as usual in the fulfilment of his promises. A drawn sea-fight near Cape Matapan, a considerable skirmish at Navarino, with plans for attacking Modon, ill-concerted and

never put into execution, formed the chief features of the next inglorious campaign; and in 1574 the Senate concluded a peace, which ceded to the Sultan every conquest he had gained, besides thirty thousand crowns of gold, to be paid by instalments, to reimburse him for his expenses during the war. They concealed so ignominious a treaty from the King of Spain and the Pope, until it was concluded; pleading as an apology, that stern necessity compelled them to save their commerce, though deprived of their territories.

Thirty-two years of almost unruffled tranquillity ensued; until circumstances arose, in which more important services were rendered to society, than by domineering over the Levant, or fighting the battles of Spain. Paul the Fifth had conceived the mad design of becoming another Hildebrand. Pontifical arrogance never had received very hearty homage from St. Mark; and the Seignory, observing that as their secular prosperity waned papal pretensions waxed rampant, promulgated two edicts, which forbad the erection of any more monasteries, or the alienation of property for spiritual purposes, without the consent of government. The Jesuits and Capuchins, at that time particularly active, took alarm; for the Senate had imprisoned an abbot and a canon, guilty of flagrant crimes; and it was attempted to be shown that they were not amenable to the ordinary tribunals. Paul in his fury annulled the new laws, and demanded a surrender of the culprits to the Ecclesiastical Courts; and because satisfaction was not given within twenty-four days, he proceeded to fulminate an excommunication. This interdict would have frightened Kings and Emperors a few centuries before; and even now, intense interest prevailed respecting the contest. Venice remembered the days of her glory, and boldly defied the pontiff. The clergy received an order, through the Doge, to disregard the decrees of Rome; and they obeyed the State rather than the Church. The Grand Vicar of Padua alone among the dignified monks, for an instant hesitated, and whispered to the Podesta, that 'he should act according to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost;' which inspiration, however, he was told by that officer in reply, 'had enacted that every recusant should be hanged.' Puffendorf dryly remarks, '*Il ne balanço plus, et ne demanda point d'autre inspiration que celle-là pour se déterminer.*' Matters seemed tending to an open rupture. An army assembled in the duchy of Spoleto under the banners of his Holiness. A remnant of the fanatical Leguers in France, and the Court of the Escorial, had promised succour. On the part of the excommunicated, 8,000 Swiss marched into the Brescian. Pens were active on both

sides, and proved more efficacious than swords. The Venetians had nothing to fear, since the largest portion of Italy in opinion espoused their cause; and the Dukes of Urbino, Modena, and Savoy, actually offered their services to the republic. The liberalism of Sarpi, better known as Fra Paolo, prevailed against bulls, briefs, and cardinals. Bedell, an Irish Bishop, chaplain to the English embassy at Venice, distinguished himself in the controversy. Burnet and Courayer mention that serious schemes were agitated for a total separation from the Church of Rome; although not by the more moderate polemics. Henry the Fourth at this crisis interposed as mediator; and Cardinal de Joyeuse adjusted the terms of a pacification highly honourable to Venice. It reduced all Papal interference for the future to mere matter of sufferance. Cardinal Henry Norris in 1676, wrote to Magliabecchi in the following strain; 'Poche bulle passavano quelle acque verso la parte del Adriatico, per le massime lasciate nel testamento di Fra Paolo.'

Some transitory broils with the house of Austria, the conspiracy of Bedamar to burn the arsenal and city, and the affairs of the Valteline and Mantua, produced much agitation, but little real inconvenience or sense of decline, until the war of Candia. This broke out under Ibrahim the eighteenth Sultan of the Ottomans, in the year 1645. Six Maltese cruisers having attacked and taken a rich Turkish vessel, put into one of the ports of that island, and paid the governor out of their spoil a price for his protection. Hostilities speedily commenced; yet were slowly, though expensively conducted. No less than twenty-three languid campaigns elapsed, before the siege of the capital in May 1667 concentrated the struggle. The city was fortified with seven bastions; of which two were shattered by the largest artillery ever cast, and were finally blown into the air by the explosion of a hundred barrels of gunpowder. Europe began to dream of another crusade. The Duke of Beaufort with 7,000 French troops, and many of the Knights of Malta, landed, but were soon disgusted. More blows were earned than either gain or glory. Such as survived, availed themselves of an early opportunity to withdraw; the governor was not properly supported by the Senate; and the foundations of the ramparts had become so torn by shafts and traverses, as to be no longer tenable. Molino was sent to the Grand Signor to implore a truce; but he was given to understand that he could not be received without the emblems of surrender in his hand. Fresh assaults succeeded, and met with the most sanguinary repulses. The ground is said to have been laid open like the abyss of an earthquake. Actions at sea shed as

much blood as those on shore. At the capitulation, signed on the 27th September 1669, only two thousand five hundred soldiers remained of the entire garrison. Ricaut has recorded some curious details of this siege, in which the Turks lost upwards of 118,000 and the Venetians more than 30,000 lives. Fifty-six assaults were given by the former, and ninety-six sallies were made by the latter. Forty-five combats occurred in subterranean galleries; nearly 1200 *fornelli* were sprung by the besieged, and 472 by the besiegers; the expenditure of bombs, grenades, balls, brass, lead, iron, and match, appears incredible; and when Morosini became Doge of Venice, he acknowledged that above 100,000,000 of gold crowns had been wasted in this unsuccessful contest. Three Candian harbours were reserved for the commerce of the republic; all besides was surrendered; and the year 1670 restored a partial peace to the Mediterranean. In vain had Venice lavished her resources. The celebrated golden chain, too ponderous for forty porters to carry when displayed on festivals before the ducal palace, and to which the economy of the state had once added some links every year, was no more to be beheld. A fund of 6,000,000 sequins, kept for grand emergencies, had also vanished. It had become necessary to impose a new land-tax, and augment the excise. Pardons were again sold to criminals of every grade. Titles could be purchased by those who loved the tinsel and trappings of nobility. Two hundred young men were admitted into the Great Council at an age earlier than the legal one; which step is said to have produced some millions. Many of the most opulent emigrants from Candia were also enrolled among the privileged classes; no doubt for a good consideration.

Yet another struggle was hazarded for territorial sway, with their old enemy the Ottoman Empire. A war between the Porte, Poland, Russia, and the German Emperor, produced an impression upon Europe, neither incorrect nor unsalutary, that the Turks had ceased to be a conquering nation. The Venetian Senate, sore from their late losses in the Levant, watched eagerly for revenge. Their envoys at Constantinople had been insulted, fined, and even imprisoned, during 1684, upon charges of attempting to get some goods landed without paying the customary duty. Vienna at this time was besieged, and until the result could be known, no notice was taken; but when intelligence arrived that the Christian arms had triumphed, instant satisfaction was demanded. On this being refused, hostilities began. Morosini captured Santa Maura after an investment of fourteen days; having first regained all the towns formerly possessed by his country

in Dalmatia. Epirus submitted to his prowess. Prevesa, and numerous places in the Morea, surrendered. The Mainotes, descended from the ancient Lacedæmonians, and who had never acknowledged the Crescent, flocked from their mountain passes to the standard of the Doge. Coron and Zarnata fell, on the succours sent them sustaining total defeat. Navarino, Modon, Argos, and Napoli capitulated to Count Koningsmark. Patras, Lepanto, and Corinth, followed the example. Not a fortress from the Isthmus to Cape Matapan held out successfully. At Negropont, the invaders experienced their first check; the stronghold of Malvasia had nearly baffled them; and an attempt to recover Candia, founded upon their recent victories, terminated in disappointment. Yet they seized Scio and threatened Smyrna; losing the former, however, very shortly, and suffering singular disgraces at sea from Mezzo Morto, a Tunisian pirate. They now set themselves diligently to the reparation of the Hexamilion across the Isthmus; and Prince Eugene's victory at Zenta in 1697 made way for the peace of Carlowitz. The republic was allowed to retain the Morea, Santa Maura, and Zante; but it was only for a brief interval. She alienated the affections of the Greeks by an unseasonable zeal, altogether contrary to her constitutional maxims, against the eastern Church. Dissatisfaction followed; and a war, commenced by Turkey in 1715, ended with the peace of Passarowitch, 21st July 1719, whereby Greece once more returned to its Mohammedan masters.

So closed the chapter of conquest. Throughout the long interval of three quarters of a century, from the last-mentioned treaty to the French Revolution, the state subsisted upon the wreck of its political reputation, and a declining commerce. Its manufactures had been interfered with by those fostered in France under Colbert and Louis XIV, so as to diminish the annual demand for them to the extent of three millions of dollars. The public income had shrunk to less than 700,000*l.* sterling in the seventeenth century; equal to about a moiety of the revenues then attached to the British crown under Charles II. Yet as the ordinary disbursements in the time of peace never exceeded two-thirds of that sum, perseverance in a pacific foreign policy might have preserved the treasury from embarrassment. This however was wisdom which an aristocracy has always been too proud to learn, until adversity inculcates the lesson, as Gideon taught the men of Succoth, 'with the thorns and briars of the wilderness.' Venice became the victim of her absurd and detestable government; groaning under the disadvantages of despotism, without possessing any beneficial unity

either of purpose or conduct. A single tyrant, under conceivable circumstances of rare occurrence, may be tolerated, and even beloved by his subjects. Patriotism, philosophy, or religion, may resist, for a season, the poison of irresponsible power, and render him a father to his people. He can often afford to divest himself of the pageantry and colours of his office, to found his throne upon popular affection; which can never be the case with an oligarchy like that of Venice, fearful of monarchy on the one hand, and democracy on the other. The right of suffrage was, indeed, lodged in a considerable number; but that number was itself a caste, a section of the community; possessing privileges, which it had an object in maintaining against multitudes not equally favoured, and itself reduced for the greater part into dependence upon a few leading and opulent patricians. These last constituted the supreme authority; a congeries of selfish contrarieties; a corporation of titled plunderers; with as many chances against advantageous results, as there were private interests to serve. Exclusiveness, therefore, formed the principle of action, while a veil of mystery overawed the crowd, and concealed unparalleled abominations. Such secrecy, in fact, made the diseases of the state irremediable. Intrigue, oppression, ignorance, and consequent immorality, struck their roots far and wide in so congenial a soil. As virtue withered, superstition increased: The affinity is a natural one, between an order of nobles and an opulent priesthood; both being monopolists equally concerned in deluding the common world. It may also be remembered, that an absolute monarch has only his slaves to fear; while each member of an oligarchy has in addition all his fellow-tyrants to apprehend. Hence the jealousy and espionage of Venice; and from several of these causes operating together, her vaunted moderation as to foreign policy melted into timidity; while in domestic affairs, it exchanged the sword of justice for the knife of the assassin. The privilege of carrying weapons could be purchased at a trivial price; so that after night-fall, every foul passion roamed abroad, and the cup of Circe was accompanied with the pistol and the stiletto.

Such were the real causes of the catastrophe which extinguished the race of Venice in shame. A political earthquake having overturned despotism in France, could not fail to fill every minor tyranny with alarm and dismay. Different and successive plans were proposed by the courts of Sardinia, Rome, Vienna, and Naples, for a coalition of all the Italian states against French principles and French encroachments. Crowned heads never condescended to remember, that the existing

phenomena of society rendered such a coalition impossible, at least for any available object, even had Venice acquiesced in the scheme. The scheme itself was mighty only in appearance. Had it been realized in all its magnitude and magnificence, it could never have stood firm upon a basis leaving from its very foundations. Nor were the diplomatists of that day in any respect Cyclopean workmen. Their projects did nothing but exorcise, from a surrounding chaos, the spectres of their past misgovernment, the phantasmagoria of remorse and apprehension. The Venetian republic resolved to maintain what it called a perfect neutrality. A temporary revival of trade, quickened by the havoc and desolation going forward in other countries, made such resolutions acceptable to the people; who now began to be a little more thought of, and their wishes consulted, than before. The democracy of Paris was acknowledged; and yet the Savi were keeping the most important despatches and minutes concealed from the Senate, while the Senate repaid the Savi with similar want of confidence. In 1794 the Comte de Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII, was allowed to fix his residence at Verona; just after the Consulta Nera, or Black Council, had assembled and commenced warlike preparations. The Austrian armies had also received some supplies of provisions. The Doge and his administration declined receiving M. Noel, an active intriguer, as the minister and representative of Robespierre. France complained, threatened, and acted. In May 1796, the Senate suggested to their inconvenient guest, that he should withdraw from Verona, on his own account as well as on theirs. The Comte, of course, fell into a fit of princely indignation; yet took the hint, for Buonaparte was at hand. Imperial troops had been permitted to occupy Peschiera, on their passage through that part of the Venetian territory between Mantua and the other Austrian dominions. The Directory at Paris avowed themselves vehemently offended. Foscari, the Provveditore of Terra Firma, failed in every attempt to pacify Buonaparte, even with the surrender of Verona. Meanwhile the arsenals of St. Mark became alive with naval equipments. Churches were stripped of their ornaments to be applied to secular purposes. Upwards of a million ducats were subscribed as a voluntary contribution from the nobles, who now saw that all was at stake; and 'skin for skin, yea all that a man hath, will he give for his life.' Prussia stepped in with friendly offers; and had the proffers from Berlin been accepted in time, the olives and vineyards might have escaped destruction, though the fate of the aristocracy was sealed. That aristocracy, however, still clung to their

power, their patronage, and their privileges; but they emulated the wise men of Gotham, each profound deliberation terminating in no other result than the excess of folly and the extreme of disaster.

The fact was, that the entire principles and staple of Italian society were so bad, that the professions of France and her armies at least promised something better. This was the true charm, which opened the gates of so many cities, and the hearts of the multitude at large. Liberty is the talisman of the world; and its very name will work wonders. Patriotic societies, as they called themselves, spread from town to town. Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona, and finally all the continental provinces, lay prostrate at the foot of France; who, in the frenzy of military arrogance, played the combined characters of a robber and a maniac. Forced loans and levies made the people regret, during their pressure, the change of masters; although in the end they were gainers, and might have been much more so, by the revolution. The oligarchs, the monopolists, and feudal tyrants, endured the largest losses, as was just. An end had arrived to their exemptions from the burthens of government, and their exclusive enjoyment of its advantages. Hence their dismal howl, which awakened and led the more confused and less reasonable clamours of the populace. Those clamours, under the artful management of those who would have staked a world to bring back the good old order of things, led to disorder and bloodshed. They gave the Venetian aristocrats apparent grounds for assuring mankind, that their wretched administration was not so detestable as had been imagined; and this, leading to misapprehensions, aggravated the struggle. A French ship of war was destroyed in attempting to force a passage into the Lido; and Buonaparte, on the 1st of May 1797, demanded the death of the three Inquisitors of State, and of the officer who had directed the cannonade. Manini, the last Doge, proposed a compliance with these requisitions to the Great Council, who came to an almost unanimous vote for the arrest and trial of the persons thus denounced by their enemy. It was time the drama should close and the curtain fall. The hours of Venice were numbered. Her nobles cared for nothing now but their personal safety. It was agreed that the ducal dignity, with its associations of eleven centuries, should be for ever abolished. A conspiracy was organized by Villetard the French minister, among the canaille and Sclavonian mercenaries. Their director opened a negotiation; the admission of four thousand French troops was recommended to guard the city; the great council, at the exhortation of their president,

resigned their offices; and the tree of liberty was planted amidst salvos of artillery, the shouts of thousands, and a solemn *Te Deum* from the cathedral. A single burst of disorder ensued, which led to the demolition of several houses, and some murderous volleys from the troops. None afterwards either moved, or peeped, or muttered. The insignia of the ancient government were burnt; a foreign army had entered that capital, which had remained inviolate for one thousand three hundred and fifty years; and within four months, the treaty of Campo Formio handed it over, with all its provinces, to Austria, as an indemnity for the Netherlands. The epitaph of the Venetian oligarchy, was taken from the game of *Vingt-un*. Buonaparte was asked, why he did not keep Venice for France; and he replied, 'I had thrown twenty, and was content.'

ART. III.—*Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston, his Lineage, Life, and Times, with a History of the Invention of Logarithms.*
By Mark Napier, Esq.—Blackwood, Edinburgh; Cadell,
London 1834. 4to. pp. 534.

TO transmit to posterity a biographical account of a man illustrious for science or literature, is the paramount duty of one into whose hands the requisite materials may have fallen; and who, on that account, should consider himself as appointed by his contemporaries to pay a merited tribute to the memory of a benefactor to mankind, by recording the discoveries which have improved and adorned society; and, by designating his ancestry and exhibiting him in his domestic life, to gratify the curiosity of those who, from admiration of an example of superior merit, feel a desire to become acquainted with the family and person of the distinguished individual.

The celebrated subject of these Memoirs has been fortunate in finding an able historian and advocate in the person of one of his descendants who, having access to documents unknown to the rest of the world, has been enabled to produce a work possessing more than common interest for the antiquary and mathematician. The latter particularly, from his capacity of fully appreciating the advantages resulting from the discoveries of Napier, will feel abundant satisfaction in following the developement of a brilliant idea which changed the face of science; nor can he fail to contemplate with admiration the character of a man who, like an Oasis in the desert, stood alone adorned with the graces of humanity, amidst a people then lying in ignorance and barbarism. The researches into the

early history of the family of Merchiston which the *Memoirs* display, deserve the commendation of every friend to letters on account of the diligence with which the writer has sought out the circumstances adduced in correction of the errors into which historians have fallen with respect to that family. And when it is added that the book is well written, with less of prejudice in favour of the man of whom Scotland is justly proud, than might be expected from one who may reasonably consider his own glory enhanced by that which he derives by reflection from his ancestor,—and that it throws light upon the characters of the men of science who were the contemporaries of Napier—it will probably be granted that scarcely any work of a like nature has so many claims to a favourable reception from the public.

The author of the *Memoirs* passes, with a word of notice only, over the apocryphal history of the family from which he is descended; he even abandons to the writers of romance the popular legend according to which the founder of the family changed the name of Levenax, or Lennox, for that of *Nu-peer*; and he shows that the earliest ancestor of the great Napier, in lineal male ascent, acquired the lands of Nether Merchiston by grant from James I. before the year 1438. The three first Napiers of the branch of Merchiston appear to have been provosts of Edinburgh; consequently they must have been merchants of the higher class, to which in those days many of the nobility belonged; and the intimate connexion of this family with that of Lennox, is explained by the marriage of the third Napier with a daughter of one of the grandsons of Duncan the eighth Earl.

Napier commenced his public education in his fourteenth year, and the writer of his *Life* has discovered that he was matriculated at St. Andrew's in 1563, where he boarded with Principal Rutherford, of whose temper, by the way, no very favourable account is given. Here the young man caught with enthusiasm the religious spirit of the times; and as his first impressions were drawn from the lectures delivered on the Apocalypse by Christopher Goodman, it is easy from thence to account for the predilection he subsequently displayed for that portion of the Scriptures.

It is plain that Napier received only the outlines of his education at St. Andrew's, for no record exists there of his having taken the degree either of Bachelor or Master in Arts; the former of which, by the rules of the University, he might have had in three, and the other in five years from the time of his matriculation. The cause of his retirement from thence is unknown, but the author of the *Memoirs* has given several

reasons for it, among which are mentioned the unsettled state of the country, and the violent temper of the Principal. Be this as it may, the future philosopher was sent to travel, and finish his education on the continent; where he is said to have visited the Low Countries, France, and Italy. The probability is, that he prosecuted his studies at Paris which was then the chief seat of the literature and philosophy of the age; and that he was compelled to return in consequence of the troubles which preceded the massacre of St. Bartholomew. During his absence from Scotland, those distractions had occurred which terminated the reign of the unfortunate Mary, and in which several of his relatives were conspicuous actors; and after his return in or about 1571, being then of age, though a pestilence ravaged the country and his paternal mansion was within the theatre of the wars which followed the death of the Regent Murray, two marriages are found celebrated, one between his father and Elizabeth Mowbray, and the other between himself and a daughter of Sir James Stirling of Keir, which took place in 1572.

From this time Napier seems to have lived in retirement with his family, prosecuting his theological and philosophical studies, improving his patrimonial estate, and occasionally taking part in the affairs of the national church, which constituted the chief object of solicitude in that age. It affords great relief to the mind to turn from the picture of desolation which Scotland then exhibited,—from the turbulence and barbarism of her sons, exemplified in the unseemly quarrels between the General Assembly and the Court of Session [p. 151], and the revolting scenes resulting from such feuds as those between the Maxwells and the Johnstones [p. 153],—to contemplate the sage Napier in his mansion, enjoying the blessings of peace, the esteem of the wise and good, and the pure gratification which the cultivation of the sciences affords. Some years after the death of his first wife, in 1579, who left him a son and daughter, he married Agnes Chisholm, by whom he had a numerous family.

In the age of Napier the church of Rome was making prodigious efforts, both in France and Britain, to uphold her power and crush the Reformation. In England, during the reign of Mary, she had excited a persecution against the reformed clergy, and in France the massacres of St. Bartholomew were intended to extirpate those who had departed from her communion. Spain had then recently put forth her energies to subdue the stronghold of the Protestant faith, and Scotland had been desolated by the conflicts arising from the opposition between the religion of the court and that of the people. In such calamitous times it was natural for reflecting men to

contemplate in the Scriptures the threatenings so frequently denounced against guilty nations; and the Apocalypse was the book in which it was supposed the signs of the times could with most distinctness be discerned. This work, which during the third and fourth centuries was considered of doubtful authority, but which was finally received as canonical in the fifth, has since been considered as indicating the circumstances connected with the state of the Christian church from its establishment to the end of the world; and consequently the interpretation of the symbols under which they are supposed to be veiled, is a subject on which the labours of theologians, both Catholic and Protestant, have been very frequently exerted.

The indications marked in the Apocalypse, necessarily obscure, and, as Sir Issac Newton observed when engaged in commenting upon the book 100 years later than Napier, capable of being understood only when the objects shall have received their full accomplishment, have permitted the ingenuity of man to make them harmonize with whatever system, from the previous bias of his mind, he may have been led to form. Hence it is not surprising that the commentators should have been completely at variance with each other, concerning the objects and the times to which the visions and prophecies refer. By both Catholics and Protestants they are believed to relate, in part, to the final judgment of man; but the former limit the portion whose fulfilment is known to the persecution of the church by the heathen emperors, while the latter consider it as comprehending the more recent persecutions exercised against themselves by the bishops of Rome.

Under the impression that the circumstances supposed to fore-show the day of judgment were coincident with the great events of his own times,—and prompted by the fancied discovery that the ruin of the papal power was fast approaching, —Napier suspended his researches in pure science, to serve the cause of religion by the composition of his great theological work, which was printed in 1593. ‘The Plain Discovery’ is divided into two treatises, in the first of which is investigated the sense of every theological term, with the dates of the events, contained in the Apocalypse; the second is a paraphrase of the book, with the historical applications symmetrically disposed. Great ingenuity and labour must have been exercised in making the events correspond to the predictions; but the curiosity of a modern reader will probably be satisfied with the remark, that Napier considers the Temple, the Throne, and the two Witnesses, to represent the church, religion, and the two testaments; the kingdoms

of Gog and Magog to designate the Mohammedans and Papists; the beast with ten horns, the Roman Empire; that with two, the Roman Pontiff; and that the world would be brought to an end before the year 1786.

The bigotry of James the Second seems to have given reason to fear a revival of such calamities as had occurred in the infancy of the Reformation; and as like causes produce similar effects, it may be conceived that the hope of strengthening the cause of Protestantism, by showing from the Scriptures that its opponents were designated as the adversaries of true religion, impelled Sir Isaac Newton, probably without the least knowledge of what Napier had done before him, to devote a large portion of his time to the writing a commentary on the prophecies, and particularly on the mysteries contained in the Apocalypse. The curious fact that two such great mathematicians as Napier and Newton should have directed their minds to the same subject in theology, may therefore be accounted for by the circumstances of their times; but it may be added that, to persons so highly gifted with intellectual power, the obscurities in the prophetic writings, like thorns in the path of science, may have served as stimuli, exciting them to the task of their removal; and it probably appeared both to the Scotch and English philosopher, that they were fulfilling the intentions of Providence in giving them the power, by exercising it for the purpose of vindicating the ways of Heaven to man.

The earliest cultivators of the sciences in Europe were men who united in their character the most opposite qualities; who may be said, indeed, to have possessed the wisdom of angels and the credulity of children; and who while displaying the most profound judgment, and adhering steadily to the strict laws of demonstration in geometrical and astronomical investigations, indulged the most absurd and unfounded fancies concerning the properties of material objects, and the influences of the celestial bodies on the lives and fortunes of men. If any excuse can be offered for such an alliance between the extremes of strength and weakness, it may be found in that almost total ignorance of natural philosophy, which through inattention to the practice of interrogating nature by observation and experiment, prevailed till a later age. The probable limits of human knowledge being thus unknown, every suggestion of the imagination, if the possibility of its being realized could be conceived, was announced as a discovery; and hence originated the projects for flying through the air, and travelling under water; the art of transmuting metals, and of discovering them under ground by the divining rod, with the mysteries

of palingenesis; all of which have been long since abandoned as visionary. Perhaps also, that intellectual power which gives birth to discoveries in science, may be inseparable from the propensity to pursue every invention through even the faintest analogies; and this propensity, before men had learned to bring their physical speculations to the test of experiment, must have often carried them beyond the field of legitimate deduction.

That the great Napier should, as was generally believed in his time, have had some secret predilection in favour both of astrology and alchymy, ought not, therefore, to appear surprising; and can by no means with justice be made the ground of a charge of intellectual weakness. His descendant, however, as if conscious that this is the point on which the glory of the philosopher appears with the least brilliance, has ingeniously spread a varnish of romance over a trait of character which it is difficult in these days to contemplate without an emotion of regret.

‘He gazed upon the stars with more than mortal aspirations; and while he was silently determining that, through his means, their eternal paths should be subjected to a more certain and rigorous scrutiny, he had caught a corner, at least, of the mantle of Cardan, and loved to trifle with those mysterious indices of futurity.’—
p. 213.

It is easy to account for the circumstances which stamped the philosopher a necromancer in the eyes of the peasantry, and ascribe the tales they related of him, to the awe inspired by his gown and cap, and his ‘jetty chanticleer;’ but the contract with Logan of Restalrig in which Napier engages by ‘al craft and ingyne’ (magic art is implied) to discover a treasure which according to report was concealed in the mansion of Fastcastell, gives reason to suspect that he was not entirely able to rise above the prejudices of his age and nation.

It would be an ungrateful task to dwell upon the warlike inventions of Napier [page 247], which display the patriotism more than the science of the philosopher; for they can only be considered as speculations formed in the retirement of the closet and wholly unsupported by experiment, or founded on conclusions rashly drawn from trials instituted on a limited scale and unscientifically conducted. Instruments for producing combustion by concentrating the rays of the sun must have been in use before the days of Aristophanes; since that writer has introduced in ‘The Clouds,’ a rogue proposing to Socrates to free himself from his debts, by melting, with a transparent stone held before the sun, the material on which the proceedings

relating to the action brought against him were traced. And the catoptrical machine of Archimedes has ever been an object of interest, from the remarkable purpose to which, on the credit due to the general opinion of antiquity, it is believed to have been employed. Admitting, therefore, the truth of the story that the fleet of Marcellus was burnt by the concentration of the sun's rays, it must be supposed that it was done by an assemblage of mirrors disposed on some concave surface, as is alleged by Anthemius, and accordant with the experiments made by Kircher, Descartes, and Buffon.

Napier gives no hint concerning the nature of the mirror which he meant to propose for 'receiving the dispersed beames of the sonne;' but the expression of Leonard Digges, whose discovery was probably the same as that of Napier, shows plainly that a combination of mirrors was intended; and it is possible that both the English and Scotch mathematicians may have taken a hint from the writings of Zonaras or Tzetzes. From the time of Roger Bacon, the laws of optics and the properties of the Conic Sections appear to have been studied in England; and it cannot reasonably be doubted that some of the more learned men in this country were aware of the fact, that rays of light which were incident, in a direction parallel to the axis, on a paraboloidal surface, would be accurately reflected to its focus, and that this is not the case with rays reflected from a surface whose form is spherical. The accurate convergence of the rays to a point does not, however, take place with pencils of light which fall on the mirror *obliquely* to its axis; and consequently the property of the parabolic mirror could only be available when the sun, the axis of the mirror, and the object to be destroyed, were in one right line. Now the philosophical engineer of Syracuse could not have had the benefit of this condition, since his mirror must have been placed on the top of a wall, the ships of the enemy below, and the sun, except at the time of setting, above him. Hence the image formed by the oblique pencils would have been distorted by a parabolical mirror as well as by one of a spherical form; and probably neither of them would have been able, in such circumstances, to unite in one spot a sufficient number of rays to produce the alleged effect. Some explanation of this kind may have been what Napier intended to give as 'a demonstration of their error who affirm the mirror to be a parabolic section;' and may account for the assertion of Digges that 'it is impossible with any one glass to fire any thing one thousand paces off, though it were a hundred foote over.' The only instrument, in fact, which modern ingenuity has been able to devise for the purpose, is one

consisting of a great number of plane mirrors so disposed that the image of the sun, when reflected from each, might fall on the object; and such were the mirrors of Buffon and Peyrard. The surface of that with which the former set fire to planks at the distance of 200 feet, was equal to about fifty-six square feet; and the latter concluded from the experiments he had made, though the justice of the opinion may be doubted, that he could burn a ship at the distance of a quarter of a league, by an assemblage of mirrors covering about 1600 square feet.

Napier's second scheme, which is of the same nature as the former, but in which the radiant object was to be a terrestrial fire instead of the sun, is well known to be visionary; but the piece of artillery whose shot was to take effect on the whole of a large surface opposed to it, would seem to be realized in the ordnance used at present for throwing spherical case shot, and the invention for destroying ships by firing into them loaded shells.

The project for sailing under water is very probably the same as that which was proposed by Cornelius Drebell, and subsequently commented on by Bishop Wilkins in his *Mathematical Magic*; and if it can be said to correspond to any contrivance in modern times, it may be that of the submarine vessel invented in America in 1787, for the purpose of enabling a man to approach under water, and affix what is called a *torpedo* to an enemy's ship. Neither of the "secret inventions" above mentioned, has a chance of procuring for Napier an honour equal to that which a random idea of the effects of steam has, through the mighty application of that power by the hand of Watt, accidentally conferred on the Marquis of Worcester; and it is probable, as the author of the *Memoirs* observes, that Napier soon became conscious how little they were likely to be of service, since he does not afterwards mention them. It would have been a highly interesting circumstance if some of the philosopher's improvements in machinery for civil uses had been preserved; particularly that which he made on the screw of Archimedes for raising water; an improvement which, from a letter of Sir Alexander Johnston [page 276] appears to have found its way to India, where it is employed for the purpose of irrigation.

No one of the many discoveries in science, has excited from the time of its publication so much attention among the learned as that of logarithms; no one has been so honoured by its daily employment in the affairs of life, from that time to the present; and perhaps it may be said, that no one is likely to constitute

while the human race exists, so important an instrument in the application of numbers to subjects connected with the pure and physical sciences.

The labour of reducing to tables the formulæ under which are comprehended the discoveries of Newton, and their developements by the mathematicians on whom at his departure his mantle fell, would have been immense, as long as the operations of multiplication and division, of raising powers and extracting roots, were to be performed by the simple rules of common arithmetic; few persons would have been willing to undertake such a task, and ages must have elapsed before the tables would have acquired the accuracy and extent which at present characterize them. The discovery of logarithms was, therefore, made at the moment it was required for the purpose of abridging that labour, and rendering the investigations of the physical, immediately available for the service of the practical astronomer. But it is not improbable that, even after the reduction of the formulæ to tables, the latter would have remained imperfectly applicable to the art of navigation, had not the genius of Napier suggested, together with his admirable invention for contracting the operations of arithmetic, his general rules for the solution of spherical triangles; and thus brought the determination of time and place upon the ocean, within the means that could be afforded by the mariner, for those objects.

The obscurity which envelopes the origin of almost every useful discovery, can hardly be said to exist about that of the invention of artificial numbers for facilitating arithmetical computations. Whatever efforts may be made to strain the propositions relating to numbers, which occur in the works of scientific men before or after the introduction of what is called the Arabic * notation into Europe down to the days of Napier; not a hint can be perceived of any method similar to his, of accomplishing that useful end.

The use of symbols to denote numbers, is doubtless almost as ancient as that of marks to express sounds, and perhaps both may be dated from the establishment of the first societies of men. The Greek notation, from the simplicity of its scale, may be conceived to be one of those which first presented themselves to persons who were impelled by their wants,

* The Arabs themselves call their numerals *Hindî*, Indian; and the fact of their reading them in the contrary order to their letters, confirms the foreign origin. To the Hindus must probably be given the credit of one of the most important inventions that have been made among mankind.

to seek some means of communicating their ideas concerning a plurality of sensible objects; and, with the exception of the intimations occasionally found in the works of the poets that the Greeks originally reckoned by fives, it is well known that their mode of counting, like that of almost every other people, was denary; both methods evidently originating in the custom of counting on the fingers either of one hand or of two. The Joloffs, one of the most advanced of the aboriginal races of Africa, to this day reckon as Proteus did, by fives*. But the Greeks never thought of the principle which distinguishes the Arabic scale, and which consists in giving different values to every numeral according to the place it occupies in the arrangement, so that any number however great, or any fraction however small, may be expressed by the use of ten characters only. They used the first eight letters of their alphabet, with an additional symbol, to represent the first nine numerals; the next eight letters with an additional symbol, denoted the terms of the series 10, 20, &c. to 90; and the last eight letters with a third additional symbol, expressed the terms of the series 100, 200, &c. to 900; an iota placed under any one of the first nine characters, made it represent as many thousands as were expressed by the former value of that character; the initial letter of 'myriad' represented ten thousand, and a numeral character being placed above that initial expressed as many myriads as were denoted by the character; and thus was formed a scale of numbers extending to a myriad of myriads.

How long before the time of Archimedes a notation to this extent had been in use in Greece, it is impossible to say. But it would seem that in the days of that mathematician, either a greater extent was not contemplated, or at most, the limits of the system were undefined; since the extent to which it could be carried was a subject of debate in some of the schools. This induced the Syracusan philosopher to compose that remarkable treatise the 'Arenarius,' in which he endeavours to prove to his royal pupil, that this notation was capable of expressing the number of grains of sand which would be required to fill a sphere equal to that of the universe.

In order to prove the possibility of determining the volume of such a sphere, Archimedes first finds that of one whose diameter is one digit; and from the known ratio which spheres bear to each other, he shows that there may be found the solid contents of a series of spheres whose diameters are respectively 1, 100, 10000, 1,000000 digits, &c., that is, in a geometrical pro-

* See *Voyage de Golbéry*.

gression whose common ratio is 100. The ratios of these masses form a series of terms in a geometrical progression whose common ratio, using the modern notation, is 100^3 ; from which series, by interpolation, the content of any sphere whose diameter is given might be obtained. Now the eight orders of numbers proposed by Archimedes may be expressed by the series 10^0 , 10^8 , 10^{16} &c.; and the philosopher concludes that a number less than that which we should denote by 10^{64} , would express the number of grains of sand which might be contained in the sphere that would fill the universe. In this research, if it may be so called, the operations are merely indicated, and Archimedes confines himself to what seems to have been meant as the demonstration of a rule for determining between which two terms, in the last mentioned series, would be contained the product arising from the multiplication of two factors taken from between any of the other terms; his rule, however, only applies to the terms themselves, of a given geometrical series beginning with unity. Of such a series he says, if any two of the terms be multiplied together, the product will be a term in the same series, and its place will be at the same distance from the larger factor that the smaller factor is from unity; also its distance from unity (reckoned by the number of terms, including the first) will be less by one than the sum of the distances of the two factors from unity.

It is not known to what extent Archimedes may have carried this principle in the work entitled *Αρχαι*, or *Principia*, to which he refers in the *Arenarius*, since that work has not come down to us; but it is plain that, instead of seeking to determine the numerical value of some great quantity, he had no other end in view than that of assigning the order in which the expression may be contained, without the trouble of multiplying together the factors of which it is composed. It is doubtful whether or not the Syracusan philosopher was aware of the general use of the above theorem, in giving the products of numbers by means of addition; still less ground is there for supposing that he had any idea of accomplishing the object of division by means of subtraction. Before such a theorem could have been rendered available for these purposes, extensive tables must have been calculated, by interpolations between the terms of the above series; and the existence of such tables, before the publication of Napier's Canon, has never been hinted at by the most zealous admirer of ancient science. It is not improbable that the theorem above stated, was a discovery made by Archimedes himself; since nothing of a like nature occurs in the works of Euclid, who lived only about eighty years before him.

In the ninth book of the *Elements* are six propositions exhibiting some properties of the terms of a geometrical progression beginning with unity, which depend on their distances from the first term; but they could have afforded no direct clue to the proposition in question.

In the works of Diophantus are found a few indications that on some occasions, the values of the digits were made to depend on their places in the numerical expression; they amount, however, only to a separation of every fifth character towards the left hand, from that on its right, by a designation in words, of the order of myriads to which the four characters on the left belong; just as on some occasions at present, every third figure is separated from the fourth, towards the left, by a comma, for the sake of more easily distinguishing the number of units, thousands, &c. contained in very high numbers. The practice is said by Pappus to have originated with Apollonius; but the mode of separation, in the examples which occur, is not uniform, and it is not certain that the Greeks entertained any just idea of thus simplifying their arithmetical scale. But if this principle had been followed up, and an analogous separation, by a word or symbol, had been made between every two digits; the second digit, reckoning from right to left, would have assumed a value tenfold of that which it expressed in its natural state; the third digit would have assumed a value a hundred-fold of that which it has in its natural state, and so on; which is precisely the law of the modern notation. It is easy to conceive that this idea, first probably reduced to practice in the lower denominations as minutes, seconds, &c. of the sexagesimal arithmetic, subsequently became, omitting the word or symbol, which must have been at length found unnecessary, the origin of the actual scale. Such is at least the link wanting to connect the Greek with the Arabic notation.

While the successors of Al Mansour were in possession of the throne of Bagdad, the patronage afforded by those princes to learned men of all nations, seems to have attracted to their court several Hindu mathematicians and astronomers, who rewarded the munificence of the sovereign by presenting the people with the nine numerals and the zero, and instructing them in the method of combining those characters according to a decimal scale, which probably had long before been invented in India..

The Hindu notation seems to have been introduced into Arabia in the tenth century; since it occurs for the first time in the works of Ibn-Jounis, who uses it (only once however) in stating the distance of the sun from the earth. It seems to

have soon afterwards become general in that country; and in the thirteenth century it made its way into Europe, for it is found in a treatise written by Leonardo of Pisa, the son of a merchant residing on the coast of Barbary, expressly, as he says, to teach the doctrine of numbers according to the Hindu method. In the fourteenth century the same notation for the first time appears in England, in the calendars of that age, accompanied by a few words explanatory of its nature; the latter circumstance sufficiently indicating that the system was then a novelty in this country. Soon after this period, it was universally adopted in Europe. But three centuries were to elapse before the Hindu or Arabic notation could arrive at the perfection which it now enjoys; and it is to North Britain that science is indebted for the means by which that perfection has been attained.

Before the invention of logarithms, great labour was incurred in performing the numerical computations required in trigonometry. The formulæ delivered by the Greek mathematicians for the solution of the astronomical propositions in which this branch of science was applied, involved the multiplications and divisions of many terms; and the assumed radius of the circle being necessarily a high number in order to obtain sufficient accuracy and avoid the inconvenience of operating on fractions, each term consisted of seven or a greater number of figures. It is, therefore, not wonderful that efforts should be made to discover trigonometrical formulæ by which the unknown quantities might be determined simply by addition and subtraction.

To this object the researches of the Arabians, in their practical astronomy, seem to have been directed; and when Albategnius had substituted the sines of arcs in place of the chords, which had been in use in trigonometry from the time of Hipparchus, and when, in the tenth century, Abul Wefa had introduced the tangents and secants, the end seemed to have been accomplished. The method of expressing the equivalents of products and quotients by sums and differences, was denominated *prostaphæresis*. Till the discovery of logarithms it continued in use; and in the sixteenth century, when complete tables of natural sines, tangents, and secants, were published the most complicated trigonometrical expression could have its value so determined. The preparatory steps were, however, in many cases very numerous, and were attended with almost as much trouble as the method was intended to obviate; so that when the discovery was made of a system of artificial numbers by which not only the ends of multiplication and

division could be gained by the operations of addition and subtraction, but the processes of involution and evolution could be superseded by easy multiplications and divisions, the prostaphæresis ceased to be employed except in analytical investigations; and the practical theorems of trigonometry were again exhibited in the form of factors and divisors. The honour arising from the discovery of the simplest possible formulæ for this purpose, is also due to Napier, who from his youth had devoted himself to the cultivation of the pure sciences. He seems early to have studied the mathematical analysis as it was then treated on the continent; and his first works of this nature, his treatises on arithmetic and algebra, though left incomplete, are worthy of a later and more learned age.

The smallest number of distinct theorems by which all the unknown quantities in spherical triangles can be determined, is nine; and as these theorems ought to present themselves to the mind of the calculator without effort on his part, it is obvious that much time and previous practice would be necessary to acquire the requisite facility in using them. By unwearied patience in seeking for a law to connect together the six theorems which relate to right-angled spherical triangles, Napier finally succeeded in observing, that in any such triangle, of the two parts or terms given and one required, either the whole three are contiguous (that is, not separated by the intervention of any of the sides or angles of the triangle, the right angle being reckoned for nothing throughout), or one of them is not contiguous to either of the other two;—and that if in the first of these cases the part which is between the other two is christened the *Middle Part*, and in the other case the part which is separated or by itself,—with the further precaution of always substituting for the hypotenuse or either of the angles, their complements,—then the rectangle contained by the radius and the sine of the middle part, is equal to the rectangle contained by the *tangents* of the other two parts where they are adjacent (or the whole three contiguous), and by the *cosines* where they are the contrary. And this curious empiric rule or piece of artificial memory, furnishes the means of readily solving all the cases of right-angled spherical triangles which can occur*. By letting fall a perpendicular, it is evident that any oblique spherical triangle can be resolved into two which are right-

* As a specimen of artificial memory of a similar kind, it may be useful to give one, which was learnt from an eminent mathematician deceased, and may be often very serviceable to practical men. The eminent individual alluded to, wanted the proportion between the diameter of a circle

angled; and the above rule is then sufficient for the determination of the parts of the oblique triangle, except when the three sides or the three angles alone are given. A theorem for the former of these two cases was invented, or first delivered, by Albategnius*; but its form rendered it inconvenient for logarithmic computation, and Napier rightly considered that his discovery would be incomplete if he could not bring it to bear upon a proposition so frequently occurring in astronomical investigations. In the course of his research, aided by the well-known fact that the subcontrary section of an oblique cone having a circular base is itself a circle, he arrived at the proportion by which, when the three sides are given, the segments made by a perpendicular let fall on the base of the spherical triangle, can be found in terms of the sides; and this proportion is so much the more easy to remember, as it differs from the corresponding theorem in plane trigonometry only by involving the *tangents* of the quantities, instead of the quantities themselves simply. By means of this theorem, the *rule of the circular parts*, as it is called, became also applicable to a triangle whose sides are given; and by employing the artifices of trigonometry, Napier subsequently deduced from it those celebrated analogies, from whence may be easily found the values of the half-sum and half-difference of two sides, or two angles, of a spherical triangle. The determination of a side of a triangle from the three angles, can scarcely be required in practical astronomy; but it may be easily obtained from the theorem for finding an angle when the three sides are given, by the aid of what is called the supplemental triangle, whose properties were, subsequently to the time of Napier, discovered by Snellius.

About the period at which the theory of artificial numbers suggested itself to the mind of Napier, and the philosopher of Scotland was engaged in the tedious processes involved in

and the circumference, and was seen scratching on a sheet of paper, in a manner which indicated some extraordinary operation. At last he burst out, 'There, Sir; Write down the three first odd numbers in pairs and cut them in half...113|355.'

This proportion of 113 to 355 is sufficient for all calculations except where extreme nicety is required. And it is given here, from a remembrance of the interest with which the mode of recollecting it has been received, by persons of the industrious classes making no pretensions to being mathematicians.

* The theorem is, (the angular points of a spherical triangle being designated by the letters A, B, C,) that $\cos. \angle A = \frac{\cos. BC - (\cos. AB \times \cos. AC)}{\sin. AB \times \sin. AC}$.

the computation of his tables, an important change was taking place in European science. Little more than half a century earlier, Copernicus had overturned the planetary theory which, from an epoch beyond the days of Eudoxus, had with few modifications enjoyed undisturbed possession of the schools of astronomy. Galileo was now laying the foundations of a theory of dynamics*, and had succeeded in presenting to philosophers an instrument through whose aid the planets, which had previously been known only as luminous and undefined points, were rendered so far accessible to human vision that their forms, the variations of their phases, and the satellites by which the most remote are accompanied, were rendered evident. Machines were then in progress for the purpose of measuring time with precision; and Kepler, availing himself of the numerous and accurate observations of Tycho Brahe, had succeeded by patient deduction, and after a labour of sixteen years, in eliciting those laws of planetary movement which are still called by his name.

At this time also, Kepler was computing the Rudolphine Tables; and he states, that when these were just ready for publication, the invention of logarithms, which then came to his knowledge, induced him to undertake the labour of changing their form purposely to accommodate them to the change which that invention had introduced into the manner of executing astronomical computations.

It is difficult to convey a just idea of the system of numbers by which such changes were made and such advantages achieved, without entering into very lengthened details; but a brief explanation of its nature may seem indispensable, in order to permit a right judgment to be formed of the industry, as well as talent, of the illustrious man, who in performing the mechanical part of his work does not appear to have been aided by any hands but his own.

It is probable that Napier had at first no intention of applying his artificial numbers, as he called them, to the purposes of arithmetic generally; his original idea seems to have been, to prepare a table of those only which might be necessary for diminishing the labour of computation in trigonometrical operations. To attain this end he adopted that value

* It may not be amiss to recall the fact, brought into notice lately by Professor Whewell, that the question of the proportion of the Power to the Weight on the inclined plane, was solved by a Belgian philosopher, best known now as the Stevinus of 'Uncle Toby,' at a period antecedent to Galileo. [See Westminster Review, No. XXXVII. p. 153, with Postscript in p. 263.]

(10000000) for the radius of a circle, which was in his time generally assumed; but he imagines as many zeros to be annexed, in the place of decimal fractions, as may be thought convenient. This term constitutes the first of a descending series in geometrical progression, whose terms, as far as the first hundred, have to one another a ratio expressed by that of the radius to a number less than it by unity; and the artificial numbers corresponding to these, constitute an ascending series in arithmetical progression beginning with zero, and having unity for their common difference. In which it is worthy of remark, that he has adopted the most convenient as well as the most natural course, in making the constant difference between the artificial numbers equal to the difference between the two first terms of the geometrical series; while any other choice would, though less simply, have answered the same purpose.

A new series in geometrical progression, beginning with the radius, and consisting of fifty terms, is then formed; in this the terms have to one another the ratio of the first to the last, of the former series; and to it is applied a second series of artificial numbers ascending in arithmetical progression, beginning with zero, and formed agreeably to the scale of the first series, the terms having 100 (nearly) for their common difference.

These may be considered as auxiliary series; for from them by means of certain simple theorems which Napier delivers, he forms a table consisting of terms in a descending geometrical progression beginning with the radius, and having a common ratio nearly equal to that of the first term to the last in the second series; and the last term of this third table is nearly equal to 5000000, or to half the radius. The artificial numbers corresponding to all these terms, are in an ascending arithmetical progression, formed agreeably to the law first assumed, beginning with zero, and having 5001 (nearly) for their common difference. The two last series constitute what Napier calls his radical table, and by an easy interpolation between the terms that compose it, the artificial numbers, or *logarithms*, corresponding to the natural sine of every minute of the quadrant from 90 degrees to 30 degrees,—that is, between the whole radius and its half,—could be obtained; and as the cosine of an angle is equal to the sine of the complement of that angle, it follows that the artificial cosines of all the angles between zero and 60 degrees were known. The artificial, or logarithmic, sines for angles between 30 degrees and zero were, by Napier, deduced from the others by means of the well-known

trigonometrical formula for determining the sine of half an arc from the sine and cosine of the whole arc. Thus the sines and cosines for the whole quadrant were determined, and Napier added a table of logarithmic tangents, which he obtained from the previously found logarithms of the sine and cosine. Subsequently, in order to render his table available for common numbers, Napier directed the given number to be sought for or interpolated in the column of natural sines or tangents; upon which the logarithmic sine, or tangent, interpolating if necessary, would give the required logarithm.

It is evident that the labour of forming these auxiliary tables would have been immense, if it had been necessary to compute all the terms of the geometrical progressions in the usual manner; but from the nature of the common ratios assumed by Napier, it happens that every term, after the first, is capable of being found, very nearly, from that which precedes it, by the subtraction from that preceding term, of a certain fractional part of itself; and the operator, by means of some theorems ingeniously applied, could always correct the errors of his work as soon as they became capable of affecting sensibly the truth of his results. This particular construction of a geometrical series, in correspondence to the terms of the assumed series 0, 1, 2, 3, &c., is the basis of Napier's title to the honour of being the inventor of logarithms. It would be vain to look in the works of preceding mathematicians, for an instance of such a construction, or for any such applications of the auxiliary theorems to obtain correct values of the terms. And it must be added, that the contrariety in what may be called the directions of the two series, entirely forbids the supposition that he developed the theorem of Archimedes, or the logarithmic properties of series alluded to by more modern writers, or even that he took a hint from them, since in every such case, the two series ascend or descend together.

It is known that during the concoction of his system, Napier permitted some one to give information to the Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahe, that a work was in preparation by which the labours of men of science would be materially abridged. For this knowledge we are indebted to Kepler, who, in a letter to his correspondent Cuger, published among his epistles by Hansch, asserts, when speaking of the logarithms of Napier among the improvements in trigonometry, that a certain Scotchman had, in 1594, written to Tycho a letter containing a promise of such numbers. This letter must have been written before Kepler had associated himself with the astronomer, and has long since been lost; but Kepler must have believed what he wrote, and the

fact of such a communication, joined to his own letter addressed to Napier in 1619, which the author of the *Memoirs* has printed from the copy of Kepler's *Ephemeris* for 1620 in the Bodleian library, afford conclusive evidence that the discovery of logarithms was at this time by Kepler unhesitatingly ascribed to Napier.

In the letter just referred to, is a passage which might lead to the supposition that Kepler had for many years been acquainted, though in a slight degree, with that property of artificial numbers which he acknowledges that Napier had generalized. His words are, '*Deprehendi magnâ gratulatione, generale factum abs te exercitium illud numerorum, cujus ego particulam exiguam jam à multis annis in usu habebam.*' He also observes that his method, which he had employed in computing parallaxes, was only applicable to very small arcs; a circumstance which seems to imply that he used the arcs themselves, instead of their sines or tangents in computing the sides of spherical triangles of small extent; as is done at present in reducing the horizontal parallax of any celestial body to the corresponding parallax in altitude, latitude, &c. Whatever his method may have been, it must have been radically different from the system of Napier, or he would not have made a request that he would put the world in possession of the processes by which his logarithms were computed. It may be added, that in the *Supplement* to his *Chiliad* of logarithms published in 1625, Kepler designates this system of artificial numbers the Napierian discovery, which he describes as the most useful that had been made since numbers had been introduced into Europe; and he expressly asserts that Napier was its author. It is also worthy of observation that Kepler stating in the same *Supplement* his conversation with the mathematicians of Germany in 1621 on the subject of Napier's logarithms, which had been within a few years introduced into that country, does not intimate that any doubt was then entertained concerning the right of Napier to the merit of the discovery, but relates that objections were made to them on the ground that the theory was not susceptible of a rigorous demonstration; as being founded on an hypothesis involving motion, which was considered foreign to the spirit of pure geometry.

In fact Napier, in the definition of his logarithms, exhibited them as lines generated by a point moving uniformly, while the corresponding natural numbers are represented, nearly, by the successive remainders of a given line (the radius of a circle), when there are taken from it portions generated by a point moving

along it with such a variable velocity that the several increments may bear a constant ratio to the said remainders; the times of describing the increments, both with the uniform and the variable motion, being supposed equal. But this is nothing more than an indication of the means by which, with more facility than by the common arithmetical rules, a series of numbers might be formed very nearly in a descending geometrical progression; thereby constituting a series including all the natural numbers between zero and that which is equal to the radius, to which the corresponding terms of the arithmetical progression (indicated by the lines described with uniform motion) might serve as logarithms.

The hypothesis of flowing lines might, however, have been dispensed with by Napier, and the proof of the construction of his table have rested upon the nature of proportion simply; the errors to which the numerical values of the computed terms in the series are subject, arising only from the fractions which it becomes necessary to neglect in order to avoid an overwhelming labour in the computations. These errors are so far diminished by the auxiliary theorems, that only those are left which can produce no sensible inaccuracy in any application of the logarithms to the most delicate researches of pure or mixed mathematics.

After the testimony given as above related, in favour of Napier's claim to the invention of logarithms, the assertion of Kepler in his introduction to the Rudolphine Tables published in 1627, that 'the logistic indices,' (the zero and accents denoting degrees, minutes, seconds, &c. in the sexagesimal arithmetic), 'had conducted Justus Byrgius to the same logarithms many years before the publication of Napier's work,' cannot but appear remarkable. This is the first mention which Kepler makes of Byrgius, and no explanation is given by him of the relation between the said indices and the logarithms of Napier; but a disciple of the same Byrgius states, in a work published in 1630, that twenty years previously his master had calculated a Table of progressions with their differences, and had published it at Prague in 1620; and he thence infers that to Byrgius the discovery of logarithms is due. Unfortunately however for this mathematician and artist, the date proves that his Table must have come out subsequently to the period at which that of Napier had become common in Germany, and at which (1617) Kepler himself acknowledges in his letter to Napier that he had seen it at the above-mentioned city. The partiality of the disciple for his master may account for the inference; but it must have been without inquiry, and in reliance

on some unsupported assertion made by the friends of Byrgius, that Kepler ascribes to the latter the independent invention of logarithms.

It may be observed here that Delambre, in his *Histoire de l'Astronomie Moderne*, inclines to an opinion, founded on certain passages in the *Fundamentum Astronomicum* and in the work *De Astronomicis Hypothesibus* published respectively in 1588 and 1597 by Ursus Ditmarsus, that some species of logarithms had been invented at a time much earlier than that to which Napier's first conception of his system is to be referred; but all that can be ascertained through the obscurity in which Ditmarsus by the confession of his contemporaries has enveloped his relation, is that he was in possession of two methods of constructing a Table of Sines; one, which he says was invented by Byrgius, consisted in the employment of an arithmetical progression arising out of the theory of angular sections for finding the variable increments of sines corresponding to certain increments of the arcs; and the other, which he considers chiefly as his own, consists in using simple proportions for finding some of the sines when others have been determined. These methods evidently relate only to the formation of Tables of Natural Sines, and not a word is stated concerning any adaptation of the theorems to the objects of Napier's discovery.

The opinion that Napier might have received a hint of the construction of artificial numbers from the supposed discoveries of Byrgius and Ditmarsus, must fall to the ground; since it is evident that neither Kepler, the greatest mathematician and computer of his age, nor any of his numerous correspondents or pupils, were acquainted with any invention of that nature except the Canon of Napier, when Kepler wrote his letter above alluded to. And if a circumstance of such importance could have escaped the inquisitive spirit of Kepler, how small is the probability, that in a country remote from the continent, and whose condition with respect to science and social order was very different from the Scotland of the present day, Napier, living in retirement and holding no communication with the mathematicians of England or Germany, should have obtained a sight, or even any account, of the works of Ditmarsus (Byrgius did not commit his ideas to paper); or, if he had, that he alone should have possessed the key of the enigmas in which the pretended discoveries were enveloped, and which had baffled the skill of the continental mathematicians. Or if those works or any account of the supposed logarithms of Byrgius had reached England, why were they unknown to Briggs, who was, then, nearer than Napier to the channel of communication with

the continent, and whose genius so immediately appreciated the vast accession of power which the sciences had gained through the discovery made by the philosopher of the north? It would be in the highest degree unjust to Napier, to refuse him the honour due to his penetration, on the bare possibility that another may have anticipated him, when of that anticipation no proofs were ever known to exist?

The tables of Geometrical and Arithmetical progressions which were published by Byrgius, at Prague in 1620, and which were accidentally discovered by Kœstner, differ from those of Napier in as much as both the natural and artificial numbers form ascending series; the latter constituting a progression whose common difference is ten. On contemplating these tables however, it will be readily seen that the terms are nothing more than continuations of those in Napier's canon, the logarithms forming a series below zero, but without the negative sign; the natural numbers begin with 100000000 (which may be considered as a unit, or as the radius in Napier's system) whose logarithm is zero, and extend to 1000000000, whose logarithm should be equal to that of one tenth of the radius, according to Napier; but from errors in the computation it differs from it in the last five figures. In fact, as Napier's natural numbers constitute a series of the sines of arcs from zero to radius; those of Byrgius may be considered as a series of secants, from radius up to ten times that term. It is easy now, to imagine that the logarithms may have been determined by a method similar to that employed by Napier; the geometrical progression of natural numbers being obtained by the continual additions of certain fractional parts of each preceding term, instead of continual subtractions. The computer has manifestly, however, been gifted with a degree of patience inferior to that of the Scotch philosopher, in applying the auxiliary theorems for the purpose of correcting his processes on account of the fractions neglected; since the errors of his higher numbers are so great, that they must have rendered his table nearly useless.

The most that can be conceded to Byrgius is, that he may have early had a perception of the logarithmic properties of certain series. Precisely as much may be granted to Grammateus and Stifelius; and probably to many other mathematicians between the days of Napier and those of the celebrated author of the *Arenarius*. It can easily be conceived that such properties were often observed by men while seeking those combinations of numbers that constitute what were called the magic squares, which during a long

time were considered as an important object of scientific investigation; and in which generally, the sums or products of the numbers in the parallel and diagonal lines were constant, while the numbers themselves were in arithmetical progression. Napier alone gave life to the principle of progressions, by showing how such series might be formed, each consisting of an indefinite number of terms following each other according to a given law, and how their logarithmic properties might be rendered available for the purpose of superseding the more laborious operations of arithmetic.

It would appear that it fared with Napier, as it subsequently fared with the more illustrious Newton. Their contemporaries not only started objections to their reasonings, but spared no pains to seek for evidence, that the modern doctrines were drawn from hints suggested in the works of the men of other times. As the one was said to have derived his principle from the works of Archimedes, Ditmarsus, and Byrgius, so it was pretended that the other, in his theory of gravitation, had only developed the ideas of Anaxagoras, Kepler, and Hooke. The fluxions of Napier and Newton were equally animadverted on, by those who found it easier to blame than to emulate those great mathematicians; and to answer the objections urged against the principle, gave ample trouble to the immediate disciples of the latter. Admitting, however, a departure from the spirit of ancient science, the formation of geometrical figures by motion is not essential either to the nature of logarithms or to the infinitesimal analysis, and was only adopted as a convenient method of facilitating the conception of an approximate value of results which could not be expressed in finite terms; and in which as the error is always less than anything assignable, it may be disregarded in any numerical result.

Now that men are familiarized with this species of analysis, and that it has been found to be a mighty engine in the highest orders of physical researches, it is difficult to form an idea of the timidity of those who first thought of making it the basis of their theories. It was an apprehension of the objections likely to be made to this novelty in science, that caused both Napier and Newton to postpone for years the publication of their works, and thus afforded foreigners an opportunity to share with them the honours due to their discoveries. In the first edition of his Canon, Napier withheld the explanation of his rules for computing the artificial numbers, till men should have satisfied themselves of the truth of the numbers by recomputations made according to the strict processes of arithmetic. The hand of death prevented him from fulfilling

his intention of subsequently giving it ; but it was made public by his son in the edition of 1619.

At home the discovery of Napier met with a ready reception ; its importance was instantly appreciated and means were sought to give it such improvements as might render it subservient to all the requisites of general science. The age of great men in England was not yet come. Cambridge, since the nurse of so many celebrated mathematicians, had then no name as a school of science ; but Gresham College in London, immediately on its institution, had the honour of patronizing in Briggs a professor afterwards designated the wonder of his age, who devoted himself to the study of what he calls ' the noble invention then lately discovered,' and was destined to bring to perfection a system of numbers which while yet in infancy was deprived by death of its parent. The day of knowledge was, however, then dawning upon Britain. In a few years from this time, arose the great luminaries Wallis, Barrow, and Newton, whose penetrating influences may be said to have brought forth all the mighty talent which has subsequently been developed both here and abroad.

When an invention has been brought to light, it is in general more easy for an indifferent person, possessing an equal degree of talent, to see in what respect it may be improved, than for the inventor himself, who is fettered within the particular train of ideas by which he was led to the discovery ; and who, if he has advanced far in the reduction of his theory to practice, naturally feels a repugnance to remodel his work, in which great labour will certainly be incurred without a chance of adding much to the credit he is conscious of deserving as an inventor. He is tempted, therefore, to disregard an improvement, which though it may facilitate the application of the discovery to the purposes for which it was intended, to him who has long familiarized himself with the subject will hardly seem to afford an additional convenience. On the other hand, the man to whom a new discovery is made known, being unbiassed by the prejudices which influence the inventor, dwells more upon the probable improvement than upon the original idea ; and his success is facilitated, by the incitement arising from the hope of signaling himself by at least some modification of that idea, which while it may render it more serviceable to man, may procure for him a share in the honour of the discovery. That the favoured person who has the felicity of giving birth to some useful invention, incurs a risk of losing a great portion if not the whole of the honour which he would otherwise have gained by his discovery, from a neglect to put it in the most convenient

form, is manifest from the difficulties which have ever arisen in adjusting the conflicting evidence concerning his merit and that of those who have been joined with him in bringing the subject to perfection.

The author of the Memoirs has repeated (page 408) an interesting account, from the relation made by John Marr to William Lilly, of the visit made by Briggs to Napier, which affords a lively picture of the simple manners of the times. The visit does equal honour to the head and heart of the English mathematician. Filled with esteem for the philosopher of Scotland, and anxious to render the homage due to original genius; believing it, at the same time, to be his first duty to communicate the change he meditated in the system to the man most interested in its progress, the inventor himself; he is found, during the intervals of his public duty, undertaking what before the modern rapidity of travelling and the agency of steam had brought the capitals of the island within a few hours distance from each other, must have been a long and wearisome journey, in order to see one who had wrought so great a change in the arts of computation. The hospitality of the Laird of Merchiston induced Briggs to prolong his stay with him for a month, during which time he made known the improvement he had devised, and received from his host the information that he had himself long since meditated a change in his original scheme, of a similar nature. That Napier had contemplated a change, the Englishman must have been aware; since, with an apology for the imperfection of the Tables, there was given in the first edition of the *Canon Mirificus* (1614) a notice to that effect (page 412 of the Memoirs), and since the information above mentioned was accompanied by the suggestion of a modification which Briggs, with a noble candour, acknowledges to be so far superior to that proposed by himself, that on his return to London he abandoned in its favour the tables he had already commenced.

The degree of patient industry exhibited by the earliest computers in determining the logarithms of the prime numbers for the formation of the tables, almost exceeds belief. Unaided by the formulæ which have since been discovered for expressing the logarithms of numbers, those indefatigable labourers for the benefit of posterity were obliged to perform an immense number of repetitions of the most difficult process in arithmetic, the extraction of roots; they thus involved themselves in extensive operations, all requiring the utmost care, and numerous revisals, in order to prevent their work from becoming useless by the errors which it would have been impossible to avoid. For ex-

ample, Briggs, in the 'course of his operations to determine the modulus of his system, anxious to obtain the utmost possible degree of accuracy, had to extract the square root of ten, the square root of that root, and so on, no less than fifty-four times successively, each extraction being carried as far as thirty-two places of decimals. By such laborious processes did this mathematician form his great table of the logarithms of thirty thousand natural numbers as far as fourteen places of decimals. The work was accomplished in about five years, and is contained in the *Arithmetica Logarithmica* which he published in 1624. But not yet thinking his task completed, this extraordinary man immediately afterwards employed himself in the computation of his great table of Natural and Logarithmic Sines and Tangents to every hundredth part of a degree; the sines and their logarithms extending to fifteen places of figures, and the Tangents and their logarithms to ten. This superb monument of human industry is contained in the *Trigonometrica Britannica* which was published in 1633.

The discovery of the fluxional or differential calculus, by giving birth to general methods of finding analytical expressions for the quadratures of curves, soon led to the determination of the hyperbolic spaces comprehended between the curve, either asymptote, and ordinates drawn parallel to the other asymptote. Now, by the theory of curves, when such ordinates, and consequently the corresponding abscissæ on the asymptote, are in geometrical progression, the said spaces constitute an arithmetical progression; and hence they may be said to be logarithms of those abscissæ. These areas being, therefore, expressed by formulæ in infinite series, Sir Isaac Newton, as early as 1666, showed how such formulæ might be employed in the construction of logarithmic tables; and several English mathematicians of eminence, subsequently directed their inquiries to the means of facilitating such constructions. But science is particularly indebted to the researches of John Bernouilli and Euler, for the discovery of the most rapidly converging series for this purpose; and the calculus of finite differences has furnished easy processes, which are particularly applicable to the determination of the logarithms of prime numbers above 10000. It has been well observed, however, that the elegant formulæ which the modern analysis has supplied for abridging the labours of the computers of tables, must be considered rather as objects of scientific speculation than of practical utility; since they came too late for the end which they should have served. The tables, once calculated, remain good for ever; and these were, almost from the first, sufficiently

accurate and extensive for the purposes to which they were to be applied.

But the mighty analysis for which the world is indebted to Newton, extended as it was after his death by the great mathematicians of the continent, has given rise to an application of logarithms which cannot be supposed to have occurred to the mind of their inventor, but which justly constitutes an addition to his fame. Besides holding, in the form of numbers, the humble rank of handmaids to arithmetic, and merely serving the simple though important office of facilitating the working of examples in proportion, in involution, or in evolution; they are found, symbolically represented, forming a large class of expressions susceptible of being operated on by the rules of differentiation, and of being used, as means, in the performance of such operations on expressions of other classes. Numerically, logarithms have been employed to find the approximate ratio between such powers of numbers as from the greatness of the exponents it becomes impossible to express. The principles of logarithms have given rise to numerous curves, some of which have been rendered subservient to the purposes of altimetry and geography. The logarithmic symbols also enter to a vast extent into the formulæ of analytical mechanics, and into the most important propositions of physical astronomy. The observation of the author of the *Memoirs* may therefore, with propriety, be quoted in this place.

‘With how few of the conquests here enumerated is that of Napier not identified. To be named first among the great landmarks of an æra of calculation, is certainly due to him, because the mechanical discovery of the telescope, though applied a few years before the promulgation of logarithms, has no pretensions to such intellectual claims. The century which commenced with the *Canon Mirificus Logarithmorum*, and was followed by the *Norum Organum Scientiarum*, deserved to be closed by the *Principia Mathematica*; and thus it is that Napier, Bacon, and Newton, created the transcendent æra of science; and, to use a congenial phrase, brought up so gloriously the lee-way of old England.’—p. 374.

After dwelling at such length on the most important circumstance in Napier's philosophical life, a short notice of his *Rabdologia*, or art of ascertaining by inspection the results of multiplication and division, is all that can be offered. To have omitted the notice entirely, would have been improper; because the means were considered highly important in the days of the inventor, and the description of the apparatus will form an indispensable portion of any future history of instrumental arithmetic.

Perhaps from the earliest times, the use of an Abacus or counting-table, was general among persons not acquainted, or not familiar, with the processes of a written or symbolical arithmetic; and from the testimony of Herodotus, it appears that an instrument for computation was employed by the Egyptians and Greeks; the former of whom may have derived it from sources still further eastward, where, in the form of the *Schwan Pan*, it is found at this day. The Romans, who never were a scientific people, certainly made great and general use of mechanical means for performing computations; and from them such means descended to the nations of modern Europe, among whom they can hardly be said to have been abandoned till the middle of the seventeenth century. The earliest treatises of arithmetic published in England, contain rules for using the counters or stones by which the operations were performed, as well as those for the management of the Arabian notation; and the former are expressly said, to be chiefly intended for those who are unable to write.

But while this species of arithmetic was still in common use, Napier, whose mind must have been ever directed to the means of simplifying the arts of computation, invented for that purpose the system of rods (which, from being made of ivory or bone, received and have generally retained the equivocal denomination of *Napier's bones*), expressly to facilitate the performance of the operations of multiplication and division. The rods were in the form of square prisms, and each of the four lateral surfaces was divided from top to bottom into nine squares, of which the upper one was marked with one of the ten figures in the Arabic notation; on the others were marked successively downward, all the products of the figure at the top with the numbers 2, 3, 4, &c. to 9; and the squares being divided into two parts by a diagonal line, the unit's digit in the product was placed in the lower triangle and the ten's digit in the upper; an index rod was also formed, on which were inscribed, from top to bottom, the natural numbers from 1 to 9. In using the rods for multiplication, those were arranged side by side which were headed by the several figures in the multiplicand, in the order in which they were given, with the index rod on the left; then the product to be obtained from each figure of the multiplier separately, was found by simply adding together diagonally, in every two adjacent rods, beginning on the right hand, the numbers lying in the same parallel with the multiplying figure on the index rod. Analogous operations procured the quotients in division; and rods differently numbered were employed for extraction of roots.

The Logarithms themselves were, however, soon after their invention, made the means of extending the operations of instrumental arithmetic and sparing the use of the pen in calculation. In 1623 Mr. Gunter, the professor of astronomy at Gresham College, by taking the extents of the logarithms of natural numbers from a scale of equal parts decimally subdivided and whose length was equal to the assumed extent of the logarithm of ten, and applying them to a line drawn on a ruler, formed a logarithmic scale; this, with similarly constructed scales of logarithmic sines and tangents, constitutes the instrument which has ever since been called by his name, and which is, or rather was, employed by seamen for obtaining by inspection the results of the common proportions in navigation and practical astronomy. The instrument was subsequently improved, by graduating two lines logarithmically and making them slide by the side of each other, so that the application of the compasses was superseded by bringing the antecedents of the proportion on one scale, in contact with the consequents on the other; and, in order to afford greater accuracy by procuring a great extent for the lines without giving the instrument an inconvenient length, the graduations were, soon afterwards, applied to the circumferences of two concentric circles, and to the curved length of a spiral line. The latest application of the artificial numbers to instrumental arithmetic, was made by Dr. Roget in his Logometric Scale, of which an account was published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1815. By placing on a line the second logarithms, or logarithms of the logarithms, of natural numbers up to the tenth power of ten, and, combining the scale with Gunter's simple logarithmic line, he has formed an instrument capable of exhibiting the powers or roots of numbers; of resolving exponential equations; and which may perhaps be made available for many other purposes in pure mathematics.

The splendid triumph of mechanism now in the course of being executed by Mr. Babbage, may indeed be considered as a means of performing arithmetical operations; but its uses are of a far higher nature than that of affording a rude approximation to the result of a simple proportion, since it can exhibit, and even execute on copper plate, the sum of any number of the terms of a series, whatever be the law of their formation, to any required number of places of figures, and without a possibility of error. It will consequently be the means of giving the highest degree of perfection, not only to the tables of logarithms, but also to those immense works which render the sciences, particularly that of Astronomy, subservient to the purposes of life.

After the death of the illustrious subject of the Memoirs, Robert Napier obtained possession of his father's papers; and he seems to have applied himself immediately to the task of arranging and copying them, probably at the request of Briggs, who was then professor of geometry at Oxford, and to whom they were addressed. Among the mathematical works were the philosopher's treatises on arithmetic and algebra; a short account of which, as they now appear at the end of the Memoirs, will be given in conclusion.

As a specimen of the philosophical manner in which Napier classifies the subject of arithmetic, it may be stated that he divides quantity into genera and species; the first of which are distinguished into vocal nomination and written notation; and from the last of these comes computation. This is again divided into simple and compound; the first of which has two branches denominated primitive and derivative; the former comprehending addition and subtraction; the latter, multiplication and division, involution and evolution. The second division of computation comprehends proportion, and what is called disproportion; the first of which exhibits the usual mercantile rules, and the other constitutes a certain part of Algebra, to which branch of science Napier refers it. Distinction is made of quantities into abundant and defective; the former of which is explained to mean quantities *maiores nihilo*, and the latter *minores nihilo*; and Mr. Napier here takes occasion to observe, that Horsley and Hutton, Leslie and Playfair have fallen into the mistaken opinion that Albert Girard, in order to denote what are usually called positive and negative quantities, first used the above expressions. A second distinction of quantities is into integral and fractional; the origin of which last kind of quantity from division, is explained in the treatise, with rules for operating on the fractions now called vulgar, which are nearly identical with the rules at present in use.

The treatise on Geometrical Logistics shows that by this term Napier meant the branch of analysis now called the arithmetic of surds. The honour of having been the first to publish the part of arithmetic which relates to quantities of this kind, is certainly due to Girard; but it is evident that Napier was in possession of it at a much earlier time; he was, in fact, the inventor; and its application to a higher department of science is the great Algebraic secret alluded to in the treatise. Napier refers to Algebra, as the subject of a fourth book; but the fragment of which the author of the Memoirs has given extracts, is proved to have been written at an earlier period than the arithmetic; it seems probable however, that it was intended to stand as part of a great mathematical work which was never finished.

The algebraic notation employed by Napier, cannot but be considered as inconvenient when compared with that which is now used. It must have required considerable attention to distinguish the powers or roots of the known, from those of the unknown quantities; and it must have been impossible to apply it to the more complicated of the modern expressions. The classification of the subjects may, perhaps, with some justice, be said to be carried to an unnecessary extent, and to partake too much of the taste for minute distinctions which prevailed in that age. For example, the sign plus or minus, when preceding the first term of an equation, is called *ductrix*, and before any of the other terms it is called *intermediate*; the known and unknown quantities are considered as of two distinct orders, the first belonging to the order of *number*, the other to the order of *thing*, conformably to the ancient practice of designating the required quantity by the word *res* or *cosa*; also radical quantities or surds are denominated *universals*, doubtless because every root may be expressed by a proper symbol; and the roots of quantities composed of terms connected by *plus* or *minus*, one or more of which terms are surds, are called *universalissima*.

In the chapter relating to the preparation of equations for solution, the usual rules for the transposition of terms are described; it is shown that all the terms may be brought to one side of the equation, leaving zero on the other; and that the greatest co-efficient of the unknown quantity may be made positive, if originally otherwise, by changing the signs of all the terms in the equation. The co-efficient of the unknown quantity is made to disappear by division; and quantities affected by roots, are got rid of by raising the equation to the requisite power. This subject concludes the philosopher's interesting fragment on Algebra. The succeeding parts of such a work must have consisted of the means by which equations might be resolved; and a reference is in one place made to such parts, as if they had been composed. Unfortunately by some accident they have not been preserved; yet enough exists to justify the author of the *Memoirs* in concluding (page 500), that 'the inventor of logarithms was not a mere calculator who had made a lucky hit in a path where others were close behind him; but that had he only published his treatise on Logisticks, without having invented the logarithms, he would have taken the place of Vieta, have anticipated the triumphs of Harriot, and, at a still earlier period, have placed Britain in the very highest ranks of those countries from which analytical science has received its great impulses.'

early history of the family of Merchiston which the *Memoirs* display, deserve the commendation of every friend to letters on account of the diligence with which the writer has sought out the circumstances adduced in correction of the errors into which historians have fallen with respect to that family. And when it is added that the book is well written, with less of prejudice in favour of the man of whom Scotland is justly proud, than might be expected from one who may reasonably consider his own glory enhanced by that which he derives by reflection from his ancestor,—and that it throws light upon the characters of the men of science who were the contemporaries of Napier—it will probably be granted that scarcely any work of a like nature has so many claims to a favourable reception from the public.

The author of the *Memoirs* passes, with a word of notice only, over the apocryphal history of the family from which he is descended; he even abandons to the writers of romance the popular legend according to which the founder of the family changed the name of Levenax, or Lennox, for that of *Nu-peer*; and he shows that the earliest ancestor of the great Napier, in lineal male ascent, acquired the lands of Nether Merchiston by grant from James I. before the year 1438. The three first Napiers of the branch of Merchiston appear to have been provosts of Edinburgh; consequently they must have been merchants of the higher class, to which in those days many of the nobility belonged; and the intimate connexion of this family with that of Lennox, is explained by the marriage of the third Napier with a daughter of one of the grandsons of Duncan the eighth Earl.

Napier commenced his public education in his fourteenth year, and the writer of his *Life* has discovered that he was matriculated at St. Andrew's in 1563, where he boarded with Principal Rutherford, of whose temper, by the way, no very favourable account is given. Here the young man caught with enthusiasm the religious spirit of the times; and as his first impressions were drawn from the lectures delivered on the Apocalypse by Christopher Goodman, it is easy from thence to account for the predilection he subsequently displayed for that portion of the Scriptures.

It is plain that Napier received only the outlines of his education at St. Andrew's, for no record exists there of his having taken the degree either of Bachelor or Master in Arts; the former of which, by the rules of the University, he might have had in three, and the other in five years from the time of his matriculation. The cause of his retirement from thence is unknown, but the author of the *Memoirs* has given several

wrong idea of it. What it was endeavoured to impress,—what was noted as the new and curious fact,—was that if an instrument is constructed (like the one in question) with the sounds of the perfect or mathematical scale, each of these sounds approaches very nearly to one of the sounds in the equable division into 53, with this further remarkable property, that the indications as to the magnitude of the intervals between the respective sounds, derivable from adding or subtracting the numbers or *indices* that attach to the approximate sounds found existing in the scale produced by the equable division into 53, *hold strictly true under the correct or mathematical division*, to an extent which though necessarily not unlimited, is almost inexhaustible in practical application. This is manifestly what the French would call a 'major' oversight; in fact a representing of the thing as exactly what it is not. No shorter course can be pursued upon this occasion, than to invite any person interested, to read the two or three first pages of the article on the '*Enharmonic Organ*' in the Westminster Review for January 1835; with a warning,—to prevent the risk of being run away with by the same mistake as the Essayist,—that the divisions in the interior of the circle there represented are the true, or mathematical, or if preferred the Pythagorean divisions, without a fraction of temperament of any kind; that their near accordance with the division into 53 equal parts as represented on the exterior of the circumference, is what may be called accidental, or mere matter of fact; and that the inference desired to be impressed is, that it is just as cheap to play in the mathematically correct divisions as in the imperfect ones of the temperament of 53 equal parts, and that the numbers or indices which designate the latter, may be usefully employed for the calculation of the others.

The account given of the instrument, is also exceedingly inaccurate, and leads to the impression that the writer has not inspected the reality.

'Though the instrument is limited to the most essential notes for the keys from five sharps to four flats inclusive, it must be very complex, as it contains no less than 29 sounds in each octave, viz. 0, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 22, 23, 25, 26, 30, 31, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, (53 Octave). To afford a complete series, similar to the above, on each of the 12 keys (page 47), 18 additional sounds would still be required, viz. 10, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 27, 28, 32, 33, 35, 38, 41, 42, 49, 50, 52, making in all 47 sounds in each octave; and if the remaining 6 sounds, 2, 7, 24, 29, 46, 51, were added, the instrument, as in the scale of 19 equal intervals, would yield a full series on any one of the 53 sounds. Great credit is due to this under-

taking ; but it would be too much to expect from it complete success, as the superabundance of keys must prove an insuperable objection to the execution.'

'The scale of 19 sounds in the octave, which gives great accuracy to the harmony, though not to such theoretical minuteness as the scale of 53 sounds, would, on account of its simplicity and easy adaptation to the construction of the instrument, be a useful improvement in the correctness of the harmony, without infringing on its practicability as regards the performer. It is to be hoped that some persevering experimental musician will construct an instrument on this scale, and give it a fair trial.'—p. 53.

It will generally be concluded from this, that the instrument with the perfect intervals presents a 'superabundance of keys,' at all events above 19, in the octave. Whereas the fact is that the division which gives the mathematical or accurate sounds, presents only 16 ordinary sounds or finger-keys in the octave on any one finger-board, the difference from a common finger-board consisting in the Seconds and Sevenths, major and minor, being double, or having a second finger-key in a retired situation in addition to the common one*. In addition to these, there are found on different boards, one, two, and three finger-keys of a perfectly distinct form, which are required to complete the number of keys from five sharps to four flats inclusive ; but even in the extreme case, the whole number on any one board does not exceed 19. It is certainly apprehended, that by the introduction of various finger-boards, the playing on any one board, at all events in the keys which do not require the use of the extraordinary finger-keys, is rendered much less complicated than on a finger-board which should divide the octave into 19 equal parts. This last kind of finger-board, in fact, is nothing new ; but was applied to harpsichords in times past, which were known by the name of harpsichords with a key for A sharp and another for B flat.

The object of introducing discussions of this kind here, is to endeavour to direct the attention of musical performers, and particularly those on perfect instruments like the voice and violin kind, to the question whether the *duplicity of the Dissonances* is not the solution of the difficulties that attach to the correct division and execution of the musical scale.

* In this place may be mentioned an alteration which has been suggested by practice, consisting in assigning to the *acute* Second (major and minor) the usual place on the board, instead of to the *grave* as was the original construction.

ART. V.—*Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Artists : comprising Painters, Sculptors, Engravers and Architects, from the earliest ages to the present time.* By John Gould.—Second Edition. 2 Vols. 12mo. Wilson, Royal Exchange. 1835.

IT is a question worthy of some consideration, whether a work like the present would be best accomplished by one who was himself an artist, or by one who possessing certain other qualifications, knew nothing about the Arts, either in theory or practice. Doubtless the work itself is the only thing with which the public is permanently concerned ; but the critic may be permitted to analyze the powers of an author, as well as balance the results of his labour, especially where they present an extreme illustration of a rather curious proposition.

Enthusiasm for a particular class of objects in art, is the consequence of an excitement of the imagination and sensibility in one whose nature has a certain affinity with such powers as were called into action in the original production of these objects. Enthusiasm in a particular pursuit, requires a similar degree of affinity with the contemplated result, *i.e.* with the powers which have always been requisite for its accomplishment ; the extent of practical capacity being commensurate with that degree. Enthusiasm is not generally accompanied with matter-of-fact knowledge, experience, and sound judgment ; but in a ratio with the amount of such quality and such acquirements possessed by an individual, will be the probable success of his undertaking. But nature has set limits to the strongest feelings, by causing them, in almost all cases, to revolve in a circumscribed orbit, so that the faculties being wrought to the extreme with reference to one class of objects, shall naturally be incapacitated from duly appreciating those of a different nature. To expect otherwise, would be to ask for a universal intelligence, like that of Shakspeare. In the absence of so rare an endowment, is it not a feasible argument, that a work of diversified compilation would be best accomplished by one who had no particular feelings to indulge in any part of the subject matter ? The worshipper of the Cartoons turns aside his lofty intelligence from the elaborate labours of Gerrard Dow ; his imagination does not echo to his heart the inward groans of those ' who smalle seals engrave,' and he utterly despises the minute skill and remorseless patience devoutly bestowed upon flower-paintings, with their affecting episodes of the fly and the drop of water. This is not to be wondered at ; but they all have their value, inasmuch as they contribute to the delight and satisfaction of numbers. The admirers of primitive power are few ; those who love art for the sake of nature, are not many ;

the largest class by far, is made up of those who admire Art for itself only, *i. e.* with no further reference to nature than serves to prove the excellence of the copy. And this sort of admiration is seldom abstract; it is commonly alloyed with envy and the restless desire of tangible possession.

When a talented Artist writes on works of art, and on its professors, it is scarcely possible that he should not be influenced to a very great degree in his judgments, by the circumstances of his own education; by those models of excellence which have most commanded his admiration and wrought upon his feelings, and to which his most arduous studies have been devoted. The amiable Vasari was a very intelligent and equitable man; Sir Joshua Reynolds no less so; but the former had his favourites, whom he sometimes eulogized as though there were no other painters extant; and the latter, notwithstanding his gentlemanly 'spiriting,' affirms roundly in his Discourses, then qualifies, equivocates, and finally surrenders himself up to his private feelings, in which self-love has of course its due share and gives a corresponding bias to his judgment. Not to mention the idiosyncratic partialities of Fuseli, let it be granted for argument's sake, that Bryan, Pilkington, Cunningham and others have held an accurate and unprejudiced balance in all their opinions on art and artists; yet this will not greatly affect the question, for the present work differs materially from that of Pilkington and the rest, being literally a compilation, without any original criticisms, and almost without an original opinion. All previous works of the kind have been influenced by the individualities of private judgment; Mr. Gould has no private judgment about the matter. With him one man is as good as another, until he has collected the evidence. He depends entirely upon the verbal testimony. He is not in the least startled, so gradual is the process, at any amount of fame arrived at; neither does he become an enthusiast under any circumstances. He is quite ready to place any obscure name at the top of his list,—provided a sufficient number of authorities can be discovered to warrant the promotion. He had no idols when he commenced; he has none now he has concluded. They are beautiful or otherwise, according as he has found them 'written.' He carefully collects all opinions, and gives the average. He is as innocent in mind and touch of all enthusiastic feeling for Art, and the works of its devotees, as though he had never seen a dozen pictures in his life; and it is a great question (speaking advisedly, but in all good feeling and respect) whether he would know a Cuyp from a Gainsborough if hung in different rooms, or even a Claude from a landscape of Rubens.

These negative qualities in a compilation, must of course carry with them the corresponding imperfections. Where the number of conflicting opinions is nearly equal, it requires a definite judgment in the compiler to know what authorities, ancient and modern, are of the most value, that he may give his general estimate accordingly. In many important instances where this was requisite, the author has failed. He prefers giving the contradicting opinions,—sometimes in the same article,—balancing one sentence against another, and leaving the reader to judge for himself. In all other respects he has succeeded. Of a thoroughly honest and pains-taking character, and of entire modesty, Mr. Gould possesses the additional qualifications for such a task of research, in that inexhaustible perseverance, which (with the exception previously stated) no difficulties of art, science, language, technicality, or conflicting versions of facts, have been able to withstand. His Biographical Sketches, as a work of factual reference in all matters concerning the life and labours of Painters, Sculptors, Engravers, and Architects, combines the information in small compass of many huge folios; and after certain emendations in the future editions, will quietly ‘shelf,’ as for the benefit of the curious only, nearly all previous works of similar character. .

The instigations of nature are always wonderful, and sometimes mysterious. A wide and fertile field is open for speculation, as to what sudden ingress of thoughts, when and where and under what circumstances, could have first induced the author to undertake so arduous, and as might have been imagined, so uncongenial a work. Certainly nobody could have conjectured, without some previous intimation, that it was conceived, planned, and probably in part executed, among ‘lowing herds and obstinate swine.’ Far rather would the imagination have depicted its dawn and origin in the serenely meditative mood of some grey-headed gentleman of the very ‘old school;’ surrounded by illuminated missals and black-letter folios; with spectacles on nose high endorsed; a fine cameo on his little finger; and further characterized by a handsome *ancien régime à l’Anglaise* pig-tail, while seated with a massy rummer of richly-coloured negus before him, in the Rose Chamber of some venerable Club-house.

The work is preceded by an introduction of an Historical, Biographical, and Professional character.

‘Arts are commonly divided into *useful* or *mechanic*, *liberal* or *polite*. The former are those wherein the *hand* and *body* are more concerned than the *mind*; of which kind are most of those which furnish us

with the *necessaries* of life, and are popularly known by the name of *trades*; as baking, brewing, carpentry, smithery, weaving, &c. The latter are such as depend more on the labour of the mind than that of the hand; they are the produce of the *imagination*, their essence consists in *expression*, and their end is *pleasure*. Of this kind are poetry, painting, music, sculpture, &c.—*Introduction*, p. i.

This is very meagre and circumscribed philosophy. The highest order of poetry and of painting embodies the noblest sentiments and images of abstract power and pathetic morality. Even portrait painting (except where the individual has his face painted for himself) may often convey a feeling of too deep a character to be designated merely as pleasure. Nor would the qualification of a 'melancholy' pleasure, render the definition quite correct.

'In taking a slight sketch of the various branches of the *fine arts*, we shall not by a slow and tedious process attempt to conduct our readers through the long and rugged path, by which alone even a moderate degree of excellence may be attained: we shall rather, by a short inquiry into the fundamental principles of the art, and a reference to the examples of the greatest masters, endeavour to draw their attention to the proper application of that mechanical skill, by which have been produced such admirable specimens of the genius of the human mind.'—*Ib.* p. i.

Mechanical skill is the necessary medium between the imagination and the senses; but it is not well to say that it produces works of genius. Perhaps the Author means that its 'proper application' is that of embodying the noblest conceptions or selecting the finest models of nature.

'The art of Painting gives the most direct and expressive representation of objects; and it was doubtless for this reason employed by many nations, before the art of writing was invented, to communicate their thoughts, and to convey intelligence to distant places. The pencil may be said to write a universal language; for every one can instantly understand the meaning of a painter, provided he be faithful to the rules of his art.'—*Ib.* p. i.

This tends to justify the previous objection to 'mechanical skill' being the producer of specimens of genius. The "rules of the art" are the very subordinate cause of excellence; they may fill the world with artists, but will never make a great painter, except as relates to their mechanical assistance. In speaking of Guido, the author says, 'though he did not understand the principles of the *chiaro-scuro*, yet he sometimes practised it through a *felicity of genius*.' The finest things have continually been effected in this way; never by mere rules.

' His skill enables him to display the various scenes of nature at one view ; and by his delineation of the striking effects of passion, he instantaneously affects the soul of the spectator. Silent and uniform as is the address which a picture makes to us, yet does it penetrate so deeply into our affections, that it seems often to exceed the power of eloquence. Its effects are sometimes truly wonderful. It is said that Alexander the Great trembled and grew pale on seeing a picture of Palamedes betrayed to death by his friends, as it brought to his mind an acute recollection of his treatment of Aristonicus. Portia could bear with unshaken constancy her final separation from Brutus, but when she saw, some hours after, a picture of the parting of Hector and Andromache, she burst into tears.'—*Ib.* p. ii.

Does not the author here justify the objection started at the commencement, viz. that the end of painting was not confined to pleasure, but involved the deepest thoughts and emotions ?

' But of all pictures, none are so interesting in the display of figures, none so powerful in effect, as the historical. This branch of the art maintains the same superiority over all others, which tragedy has acquired over epigrams, pastorals, and satires. In such pictures there must be dignity of subject, combined with propriety of expression ; but *unity of design*, that is, the connexion of the subordinate figures with the principal one, forms their great excellence. This unity of design is displayed in many celebrated pictures, such as the Tent of Darius, by Le Brun ; St. Paul preaching before Felix, by Raffaele ; &c. —*Ib.* p. iii.

The author, it is presumed, means their ' great excellence' in an artist's sense. It is not satisfactory however, to find Le Brun and West placed by the side of the ' prince of painters' in any sense. But Mr. Gould makes some amends,—possibly through an oversight,—by excluding both these artists from the body of his work, and noticing them only in the Introduction and Appendix. The next extract is characterized by the natural good sense of the author.

' Much has been said of the pyramidal group, the serpentine line, the artificial contrast ; and, upon doctrines like these, Lanfranco, Cortona, Giordano, Maratti, and many others, their predecessors as well as followers, formed a style better calculated to amuse the eye, than to satisfy the judgment. An inordinate but ill-directed thirst of variety is the basis of this artificial system ; contrast is succeeded by contrast, opposition by opposition ; but as this principle pervades all their works, the result is no variety at all, and their conduct may be compared to that of the voluptuary, who, grasping at every enjoyment that presents itself, acquires satiety instead of pleasure.'

' If Raffaele can be said to have regulated his compositions by any particular rule or maxim, it was that of making each as unlike the

other as possible, consistent with propriety of expression. Thus, in the cartoon of Christ giving the keys to Peter, the Apostles all crowding together to be witnesses of the action, occupy the principal part of the picture, and form a group in profile; the Saviour, although in the corner of the picture, being, nevertheless, rendered evidently the principal figure, by the insulated situation given to him, as well as by the actions of the Apostles, who all press forward towards him, as to the centre of attraction.'—*Ib.* p. iv.

Mr. Gould has been entangled in so many Lectures, Discourses, &c. that he has seldom been able to extricate any one free opinion of his own in an entire state.

'A very high degree of excellence in design is, perhaps, considered the greatest difficulty of painting. Many of the works of Raffaele, and his school, leave nothing to be desired on the score of composition and expression. Colouring was carried to the highest pitch by Giorgione, Rubens, Rembrandt, and others of the Dutch school; but any thing approaching to perfection of design, if we except some of the figures of the great Michel Angelo, is rarely to be witnessed in the productions of modern art.'—*Ib.* p. v.

Does the writer mean to say, that Raphael could not draw?—that he did not know the figure?—that he could not invent attitudes?—that he never did 'any thing approaching to perfection' in the different parts of design? Does he find the average arguments of various authors prove this of Raphael, from the fact of his not having made so learned, and frequently extravagant, a display of anatomical knowledge and perspective, as Michael Angelo? Yet Mr. Gould acknowledges at page viii the 'purity of design' in the former, and it could not very justly be termed pure if it were not correct; while at page xxxi it is said, that after Raphael 'had contemplated the cartoons of Michel Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci, he, in a great measure, divested himself of the dryness of his first master, and blending the boldness of Michel Angelo with his own graceful ideas, he formed a style of design more perfect than his model; and at last struck out a manner peculiar to himself, and superior to all others.'

'Leonardo da Vinci was the first artist of modern times who treated the subject of chiaro-scuro scientifically; but although he gave great force and softness to his pictures, yet the system which he recommended, and generally adopted, of relieving the dark side of the figures by a light back-ground, and the light parts by a dark one, prevented that expansion and breadth of effect which Correggio soon after discovered could only be attained by a contrary mode of conduct,—that of relieving one shadow by another still darker, and of uniting several light objects into one great mass.'—*Ib.* p. vii.

It appears rather an equivocal compliment to the great Leonardo's scientific treatment of *chiaro oscuro*, when it is said in the same sentence, that the best success 'could only be attained by a contrary mode of conduct.' The science of optics, rather than the art of colouring, is afterwards briefly treated; but the following extract, in its reference to Da Vinci, is very interesting.

'Every undivided ray, let it be ever so fine, is a little bundle of blue, red, and yellow rays, which, while combined, are not to be distinguished one from another, and form that kind of light called *white*; so that white is not a colour *per se*, as the learned Da Vinci (so far, it seems, the precursor of Newton), expressly affirms, but an assemblage of colours.—*Ib.* p. viii.

The author very sensibly recommends the study of the old masters for fine colouring, premising that care should be made in the selection, 'as some have improved by time, while others have lost their life and freshness.' He finely adds, that 'the student may make himself ample amends for any injuries which his originals may have received from the hands of time, by turning to truth, and to nature which never grows old, but constantly retains its primitive flower of youth, and was itself the model of the models before him.' When the author does venture an idea of his own, it is generally a good one. He thinks that the academies of painting 'should have models for colouring as well as designing;' and justly denounces that 'preposterous fulness and floridness of colouring which is at present so much the taste.' He says, 'what statues are in design, nature is in colouring.' This is not so happy; it would be as fair to say, 'what Titian is in colouring, nature is in design.' The next extract is his boldest and his best.

'When a boy is possessed of good talents, and has so strong a passion for the arts, that scarcely anything can restrain him, there can be little fear of his doing well, if suffered to follow the bent of his inclination; but without this nothing should induce him to engage in a profession of so arduous a nature, and which requires such unwearied application. He may learn to draw the correct outline of buildings, and other regular objects by the rules of perspective; but the forming fine pictures, so as to affect the mind, is an art not reducible to rule; and though much may be taught, yet much more will ever depend upon the mind of the artist. Here it is that the existence of a quality which distinguishes one man from another, is so obvious.'—*Ib.* p. xiii.

But Mr. Gould's diffidence (or else it is the quintessence of quiet sarcasm) now rises to alarm him with the sense of his presumption in advocating the possible existence of natural powers whose bent of inspiration should be followed; and he

trigonometrical formula for determining the sine of half an arc from the sine and cosine of the whole arc. Thus the sines and cosines for the whole quadrant were determined, and Napier added a table of logarithmic tangents, which he obtained from the previously found logarithms of the sine and cosine. Subsequently, in order to render his table available for common numbers, Napier directed the given number to be sought for or interpolated in the column of natural sines or tangents; upon which the logarithmic sine, or tangent, interpolating if necessary, would give the required logarithm.

It is evident that the labour of forming these auxiliary tables would have been immense, if it had been necessary to compute all the terms of the geometrical progressions in the usual manner; but from the nature of the common ratios assumed by Napier, it happens that every term, after the first, is capable of being found, very nearly, from that which precedes it, by the subtraction from that preceding term, of a certain fractional part of itself; and the operator, by means of some theorems ingeniously applied, could always correct the errors of his work as soon as they became capable of affecting sensibly the truth of his results. This particular construction of a geometrical series, in correspondence to the terms of the assumed series 0, 1, 2, 3, &c., is the basis of Napier's title to the honour of being the inventor of logarithms. It would be vain to look in the works of preceding mathematicians, for an instance of such a construction, or for any such applications of the auxiliary theorems to obtain correct values of the terms. And it must be added, that the contrariety in what may be called the directions of the two series, entirely forbids the supposition that he developed the theorem of Archimedes, or the logarithmic properties of series alluded to by more modern writers, or even that he took a hint from them, since in every such case, the two series ascend or descend together.

It is known that during the concoction of his system, Napier permitted some one to give information to the Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahe, that a work was in preparation by which the labours of men of science would be materially abridged. For this knowledge we are indebted to Kepler, who, in a letter to his correspondent Cuger, published among his epistles by Hansch, asserts, when speaking of the logarithms of Napier among the improvements in trigonometry, that a certain Scotchman had, in 1594, written to Tycho a letter containing a promise of such numbers. This letter must have been written before Kepler had associated himself with the astronomer, and has long since been lost; but Kepler must have believed what he wrote, and the

The biographical sketch of the great and versatile Leonardo da Vinci, is admirably executed; combining every important view of his life, character, and powers, in the space of three or four pages. It is like the outline of a fine cartoon. Michael Angelo follows next. This is by no means so good; being chiefly made up of quotations from English artists,—great ones certainly,—tending to show that Raphael was immeasurably inferior! Yet not one of the sounding quotations, includes so much good sense as the author's own unassuming addition.

'In estimating the character of Michel Angelo, we must judge of him, like Bacon, by his times, and must consider what progress had been made since the revival of the arts; how few ancient statues had been discovered, and how little of the principles of art had been then defined. It is not so much his works that remain; those of his pencil have long lost all their freshness, and most are fast fading to decay; but it is the great and universal change which his genius effected that will make him always illustrious. The graceful, the elegant, and the refined style of the ancients could not perhaps be surpassed; but the grand and the terrific seems to have been his peculiar province. In invention, vigour, energy of mind, and knowledge of form, he led the way.'—*Ib.* p. xxviii.

The sketch of Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino (the third and last of the great triumvirate) as head of the Roman school, is full of good sense and impartiality. Having made up his notice of Michael Angelo with quotations from Sir Joshua, Fuseli, Flaxman, and Lawrence, the author thinks it unnecessary to bring them in array a second time; and after very fairly showing that Raphael was indebted for his style almost as much to the antique Sculptors, to Leonardo, Masaccio, and Bartolomeo Baccio, as to the great Buonarrotti; he adds, that to describe the works of Raphael 'justly, in proportion to their merit, would demand an understanding as large as his own.' In declining all further quotation from the above-named British artists, it is probable Mr. Gould could find little or nothing that he deemed unbiassed and satisfactory. He does not appear to have read the life of Raphael by Quatremere De Quincy; but how much more ought he to have made a few extracts from the works of Hazlitt, with whose critiques on Art he seems quite unacquainted.

In a short account of the 'Venetian school,' Titian is treated very unhandsomely. He whose pencil was courted by Emperors, Kings, Popes and Cardinals, ought to have found, if not favour, more justice from the pen of the compiler. There must have been something extraordinary in the man, to occasion Charles V. to exclaim, after being painted the last time he sat

to Titian, 'This is the third time I have triumphed over death !' During one of the sittings, the painter happened to drop his pencil, which the Emperor immediately picked up, and presented to him, saying that 'to wait on Titian was service for an Emperor.' Some of the nobles of the Court having manifested a jealousy against the artist, Charles said to them, 'I can never want a Court of nobles. I can make a thousand of you when I will ; but God alone can make a painter like Titian.' Northcote says truly of his portraits, that 'life itself scarce seems more alive ;' and that 'it is they who look at you, more than you who look at them.' Mr. Gould does not appear aware of the existence of Northcote's 'Life of Titian,' or of 'Northcote's Conversations,' wherein so much able criticism on Art is to be found. He however speaks in very just terms of Titian as a colourist, in the previous pages of the Introduction.

The 'Lombard school' is well described, especially with regard to Correggio and Lodovico Carracci. The 'French school' is not so well. Sundry French artists are brought forward to be compared with Raphael, and to sink in the comparison. This is hardly just towards any of the parties ; neither was it necessary, except with regard to Le Sueur. Nicholas Poussin, at least, was quite capable of standing upon his own ground. The 'German school,' wherein the author says that 'Albert Durer owed everything to his own genius,' is briefly mentioned. The 'Flemish school' is described as being the first that brought oil-painting into general practice. 'John of Bruges was the founder of painting as a profession in Flanders : Rubens was the founder of the art.' It is also well said of the latter, that 'his figures appear to be the exact counterpart of his conceptions, and their creation nothing more than a simple act of the will.' The 'Dutch school' is justly described ; though Mr. Descamps does not use an agreeable expression in speaking of the 'work-shop' of the mighty magician Rembrandt. Mr. Gould does some justice to him in the body of the work ; not much in the Introduction. The 'English school' is very fairly executed.

SCULPTURE. The historical treatise under this head, is full of interest. It excites the mind to curious speculations concerning the ancient Mexicans and Egyptians ; the eastern traditions as to the father of Abraham being a statuary ; the South-Sea idols ; the Isthmian and Pythian games, where Plato wrestled, while Pythagoras carried off the prize at Elis ; the ivory statue of Jupiter Olympius, which M. de Pauw calculated would consume the teeth of 300 elephants ; and the monumental figures in England after the Restoration, who were 'clad

in Roman armour, their heads and shoulders sustaining enormous wigs ;' &c.

ENGRAVING. The rise and progress of engraving are summarily treated. The remark on Albert Durer is a ludicrous fact. 'Confining his labours almost wholly to religious and legendary histories, he turned the New Testament into the history of a Flemish village. The habits of Herod, Pilate, Joseph, and their dwellings, utensils, and customs, were all Gothic and European; his Virgin Mary was the heroine of a *kermis*.' Much is here comprised in a short compass; but scarcely enough. It does not bring the subject down to the present time. The wonderful advances in the art, especially in mezzotinto scraping (as in Martin's works), and in wood engraving (as in the exquisite specimens contained in Mrs. Austin's 'Story without an End'), might at least have merited some brief allusion.

ARCHITECTURE. This is Mr. Gould's masterpiece. Setting aside the differences of theoretic speculation, it is a model of historical and scientific compilation.

The 'Explanation of technical terms' is characterized by much good sense. It is confined to painting; but ought not a few others to have been added?—inasmuch as most general readers might form a tolerable guess concerning antique, contrast, design, grace &c, who would be rather puzzled with the architectural phraseology of 'ribs and transoms, archivolts and imposts, splayed jambs, polyfoil, cuspidated figures, crockets,' &c.

The **BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES**, forming the body of the work, are, with the exception of sundry ill-chosen criticisms on the greatest men, capital compilations; brief, characteristic and authentic. Having treated Gerrard Dow rather cavalierly at the outset, it may be as well to do him justice by giving the sketch entire.

'**DOUW** (Gerhard), a celebrated Dutch painter, born at Leyden in 1613, and died in 1674, aged 61. He received his first instructions in drawing and design from Bartholomew Dolendo, an engraver, and also from Peter Kouwhoorn, a painter on glass; but at the early age of fifteen he became the disciple of Rembrandt. In that famous school he remained three years, and then found himself qualified to study nature, the most unerring guide. Though his manner appears different from that of his master, yet it was to Rembrandt alone that he owed that excellence in colouring by which he triumphed over the artists of his country. His general manner of painting portraits was by the aid of a concave mirror, and sometimes by looking at the object through a frame with many exact squares of fine silk; but the latter custom is disused, as the eye of a good artist seems a more competent rule, though the use of the former is still practised by

painters in miniature. It is almost incredible what vast sums have been given, and are given at this day, for the pictures of Douw, even in his own country, as also in every part of Europe; for he was exceedingly curious in finishing them, and patiently assiduous beyond example. Sandraart relates, that having once, in company with Bamboccia, visited Gerhard Douw, they could not forbear admiring the prodigious neatness of a picture which he was then painting, in which they took particular notice of a broom; and expressing their surprise at the excessive neatness of the finishing of that minute object, Douw told them he should spend three days more in working on that broom before he should account it entirely complete. In a family picture of Mr. Spiering (Douw's principal patron), the same author asserts, that Mrs. Spiering sat five days for the finishing of one of her hands that leaned on an arm chair. Douw was incontestibly the most wonderful of all the Flemish masters. Every thing that came from his pencil is precious, and his colouring hath exactly the true and lovely tints of nature; and his pictures are remarkable not only for retaining their original lustre, but for having the same beautiful effect at a proper distance, as they have when brought to the nearest view. The most capital picture of this master in Holland was not very long since in the possession of the widow Van Hoek, at Amsterdam; it was of a larger size than usual, being three feet high, by two feet six inches broad, within the frame. In it two rooms are represented; in the first (where there appears a curious piece of tapestry, at a separation of the apartments) there is a figure of a woman giving suck to a child; at her side is a cradle, and a table covered with tapestry, on which is placed a gilt lamp, and some pieces of still life. In the second apartment is a surgeon's shop with a countryman undergoing an operation, and a woman standing by with several utensils. The folding doors show on one side a study, and a man making a pen by candle-light; on the other side, a school, with boys writing, and sitting at different tables; every part, and every particular object, being expressed with so much beauty, truth, and force, as is scarce to be comprehended. It was his peculiar talent to show in a small compass what other painters could express in a much larger extent.—*Houbraken, Sandraart, Pilk.*

The method adopted by the compiler, of spelling names in a different manner from that to which everybody is accustomed, (however correct he may be), and also of giving the surname before the christian name without further reference, occasioned much vexation in the former edition of the work. A man might have been an admirer of Titian and Guido all his life, without knowing that the one was Vecelli, and the other Reni. Who would have expected to have found Giorgione under the cognomen of Barbarelli? This discrepancy has been corrected in the present edition, but not entirely; for Pordenone the daring rival of Titian, Iachiacone whom Northcote characterizes as 'an excellent Venetian painter' [see also Redolfi. p. 229], do not

appear anywhere. The compiler calls Canaletti, Canal; Fuseli, Fuessli; and Octavius Van Veen, whose name is omitted in the body of the Dictionary, Van Been in the Introduction; and so of others. Scarcely any of the eminent Greek painters mentioned in Bryan's work, and as few of the great sculptors of antiquity whose names have been handed down in a simple unequivocal form, are discoverable. But if the sculptor of the *Venus de Medicis*, of the *Three Graces*, (said to be Socrates, who first studied as a sculptor under his father Sophroniscus,) or the architects of the stupendous edifices of Grecian art, are omitted as of dubious authenticity, what can be said in excuse for the omission of the name of the immortal Phidias, the sculptor of the Olympian Jupiter, the Minerva of Athens, the Theseus and all the glories of the Parthenon. Surely the most important of these names must be in the book;—but where? Not to be able to find them after a laborious search, is the same to the possessor as if they were not there. It may, however, be conceded that such a work as the present cannot approach perfection except by the emendations of various editions, and that its compilation with so few faults would have driven almost any man but the author out of his senses.

The sketch of Titian in the body of the work, makes some amends for the 'dry notice' of him at page xxxv of the Introduction; but it grievously wants a few extracts from the writings of Mr. Hazlitt. The sketch of Vandyck is excellent, and does him the utmost justice without being overcharged. As Mr. Gould has no partialities, so he is no enthusiast.

The sketches of Reynolds, Barry, West, Fuseli, Lawrence, and other first-rate English artists, are not more lengthy or complimentary than is consistent with an honest desire to promote the encouragement of native talent, and with a dedication to the present President of the Royal Academy. They contain nothing fulsome, nor even any intentional flattery. The sketch of Sir Joshua is perhaps the best; brief and judicious; that of West, the most interesting in its details, but spoiled by a concluding quotation that drags Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Shakspeare, into the comparison. These efforts always do more harm than good to a man's fame. West is very admirable upon his own stage; but he should not be lifted up into 'the highest tabernacle.' The sketch of Lawrence is lost in an almost interminable catalogue of his portraits, his changes of lodgings, his brothers and sisters marriages, his funeral ceremonies, his ring and snuff-box presents, &c. Doubtless it is all true; but the whole truth renders it tiresome. Canova, Flaxman, Nollekens, &c. are all well executed;

though something too elaborate in their catalogues. Alluding to Nollekens, the author being of 'the old school' sententiously observes, 'For a long series of years he was most extensively and liberally patronized, particularly by his late Majesty, with whom he was a great favourite; a circumstance highly to his honour, for no man was a sounder judge of character than George III.' No man was a sounder judge of cattle than Morland, and his 'horses, dogs, cows, and pigs' are pronounced by the author to be 'faithful representations of rural nature.' Snyders, the unequalled delineator of the passions of animals, is well sketched. It might have been anticipated that his terrific combats of wild boars, bear-hunts, &c. would have been more particularized. But the author is strictly impartial; he simply states the fact, and finds no luxury in it.

The name of Ranson, the engraver of the Elgin marbles, does not appear anywhere in the work. There is a very indifferent notice of the justly valuable engravings of Morin and Woollet, about whom Messrs. Colnaghi and Molteno would 'eloquently discourse;' but of Blake it is well observed, that 'the pure-minded Flaxman pointed him out as a melancholy instance of English apathy.' The sketch of the painter Cipriani is poorly executed, while that of Bartolozzi the engraver of his designs, is comparatively overcharged. Of the Chevalier Piranesi,—the compiler never can have seen one of his etchings,—it is merely said that 'he was remarkable for a bold and free style' and 'generally drew upon the plate at once.' This is but a meagre account of the man whose masterly hand has given us the noblest scenes of ancient Italy, with all the freshness of life and motion contrasted with stupendous desolation and immobility. These remains of the mighty past, are interspersed with numerous characteristic figures of vital energy, who seem identified with the forms of nature, and with the secret and forlorn soul of those wrecks of power, whose grandeur in decay, placing them above commiseration, reconciles the spectator to the thought of their approaching communion with the dust. But for these stately wrecks there can be no oblivion, so long as one faithful copy of the works of Piranesi remains.

Of the anecdotal part, there is not much in the body of the work, and it seems to have been almost excluded from the original design; but the Appendix contains some excellent specimens. The sketch of the eccentric engraver Sharp, is a matter-of-fact romance; a more amusing biography, combined with just and generous criticism, was scarcely ever put to paper. It shows that the author has capabilities beyond the antiquated, hair-powdered, glass-and-pin dryness of manner, in which the great

mass of 'the gentry' are formally handed up and down his pages. The sketch of Telford the engineer and architect is good.

It is singular that in the way of anecdote, the compiler should not have availed himself of many characteristic and amusing facts relating, not only to the old masters, but to those of modern date. The lives of Blake and Cosway would have furnished him with materials almost as extraordinary as those he has found with regard to Sharp.

The extracts from 'Reminiscences of Eminent Painters, by C. J. Nieuwenhuys,' may be very serviceable to picture-dealers and collectors. It also contains two anecdotes which are new and interesting. Rembrandt, when a young man, walked from Leyden to the Hague, to dispose of a picture. He sold it for 100 guilders; at which he was so elated, that he determined to ride home by the diligence. When the vehicle stopped to enable the passengers to take some refreshment, Rembrandt refused to alight, lest he should happen to lose his newly acquired treasure. The horses chanced to take fright, and nobody being at hand to stop them, they ran away with Rembrandt, who sat alone in the inside. They reached Leyden in safety, and stopped at their accustomed inn; when, to the astonishment of the spectators, young Rembrandt quietly alighted, and without giving them the least explanation, hastened to communicate his success to his parents. The other anecdote relates to the sale of Rubens's *Chapeau de Paille*, and exhibits an enthusiasm for the productions of art that is far from common at the present day. 'Strangers from all parts arrived to be present,' and the 'distinguished amateurs of several foreign countries were collected together. The inns at Antwerp were so full, that many persons had the greatest difficulty to obtain lodgings.' It appeared 'from the multitude of people that crowded towards the Rue de Venice, as if they had been led more by the attraction of a feast, than of a public auction. Happy were they who had taken the precaution of being in the sale-room at an early hour, for it was impossible at last from the pressure of the crowd, to get near the house.' It was eventually sold to M. L. J. Nieuwenhuys 'for 35,970 florins, which, including the auction-duty, is about 3,000*l*.'

The Dictionary is a most laborious, and on the whole a very successful compilation. The chief matter of some hundreds of volumes is condensed into two small duodecimos. As this is all it aims to do, by this only can it be fairly judged; and not by any standard of original criticism.

ART. VI.- *History of Scotland*. By Patrick Fraser Tytler, Esq.
F.R.S.E. and F.A.S.—Edinburgh. Vols. I-V. 1828-1834.

IN a former number [XXVI] of the *Westminster Review* a notice was given of the three first volumes of Mr. Tytler's *History of Scotland*. Since which have appeared two more volumes, containing some very important matter. The opportunity is therefore taken of reviewing some of the leading features of Scottish history.

The *History of Scotland* named at the head of this article, displays much research, and considerable skill, as well as much impartiality, in dealing with evidence. To say that it is the sort of history which either Thucydides or Tacitus would have written had they lived in Britain at the present day, and participated in all that the lapse of two thousand years has added to the world's experience and to man's knowledge of himself, would be about as correct as to affirm, that it combines the political economy of Smith and Ricardo, with the legislative philosophy of Bentham and the vivid dramatic narrative of Schiller and Scott. It is nevertheless a valuable accession to historical literature; and for the fidelity and pains-taking displayed in the execution, its author is entitled to the thanks of his countrymen.

The following is a tabular view of the reigns down to the end of Mr. Tytler's Vth volume.

Began to Reign.	Death Year.
Alexander II.	Feud between the families of Athole and Bisset (1242) out of which Mr. Tytler thinks the claim of England upon the Scottish crown arose. - - - 1249.
1249. Alexander III.	Killed by his horse falling over a cliff. During the greater part of his reign the country was kept in a state of misery by the feuds and intrigues of the nobles. - - - 1285.
1285. { Margaret of Norway. to John Balliol. 1306. { Interregnum. }	During which a large portion of the nobility sided always with the strongest party, consequently for the most part with Edward I. of England. - - -
1306. Robert Bruce.	With all the powers and prestige of a successful leader, not able to lessen materially the power of the nobles. - 1329.
1329. David II.	Treachery and conspiracy against the government by a portion of the barons, combined with Edward Balliol - 1371.
1371. Robert II.	Opposition of the Earl of Douglas. Increase of the power of the nobles. Tytler III. p. 63. - - - 1389.
1389. Robert III.	Disorganized state of the country in consequence of the turbulence and intrigues of the barons—Inhuman murder of the king's eldest son, the duke of Rothesay—King dies of a broken heart in consequence of the death of one son and the captivity of the other. - - - 1406.
1406. { Regency of Albany and Murdoch. }	Rebellion of the Lord of the Isles—Battle of Harlaw. - - 1424.
1424. James I.	Endeavours to strengthen the government, and protect the lower orders from oppression, and therefore murdered by a party of the nobles - - - 1436.

1436. James II. Distress of the people occasioned by the feuds of the nobles (Tytler IV. 25)—Exorbitant power of the Earls of Douglas, and lawless conduct. William eighth Earl of Douglas assassinated by the King in Stirling Castle. - - 1460.
1460. James III. Defeated by his rebellious nobles, and after the battle murdered—flated on account of his taste for architecture and music, and his encouragement of the professors of those arts - - - - 1488.
1488. James IV. The Lowland districts quieted by the King's engaging the most powerful of the resident nobles in a 'band' to that effect - 1513.
1513. James V. Died of a broken heart in consequence of the disgrace caused by the nobles deserting his standard at a critical moment - 1542
1542. Mary. Cardinal Beaton assassinated by a party of the nobility who were in the pay of Henry VIII. Proved by Tytler from State Papers. Vol. V. c. 5.

Of ten princes, counting from Robert Bruce to Mary, seven, or more than two-thirds, died a violent death. Out of these seven the nobility murdered two, James I and James III; and caused the death of three, Robert III, James V, and Mary. Add to this King's sons, Regents, and Ministers too numerous to mention, assassinated or 'done to death' by them.

It is to be observed too that during the three centuries tabularized above, there does not occur a single reign, nor an *interregnum* either, according to the authority of Mr. Tytler who is admitted on all sides to be a trustworthy and impartial historian, in which both the King and the country did not grievously suffer from the base intrigues and the lawless oppression of these feudal nobles.

'Whatsoever is consequent to a time of Warre,' says Hobbes, 'where every man is enemy to every man; the same is consequent to the time wherein men live without other security, than what their own strength, and their own invention shall furnish them withall. In such condition, there is no place for industry; because 'the fruit thereof is uncertain: and consequently no culture of the earth; no navigation, no use of the commodities that may be imported by sea; no commodious building; no instruments of moving and removing, such things as require much force; no knowledge of the face of the earth; no account of time; no arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, continuall feare, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short.'—*Leviathan*, c. 13.

The above passage is, with some exceptions*, remarkably

* The ecclesiastical and military architecture of the times may perhaps be considered one of these; for though it can scarcely come under the category of commodious building, yet it seems to imply the use of 'instruments of moving and removing such things as require much force.' The age, however, was eminently deficient in commodious private dwellings, as in everything that contributes to general comfort. In whatever had reference to warmth, light, ventilation, cleanliness, it was very nearly as backward as the wildest savages.

applicable to the state of Scotland during the whole or the far greater part of the period treated of in these volumes. Hobbes has deduced his conclusions from the laws which he found to pervade humanity. It will be no uninteresting and no unimportant inquiry, to endeavour to learn how far a particular series of recorded phenomena falls under the general rule he has announced.

It may *in limine* be objected to the application of the above passage to the case of Scotland, that Scotland formed a political society, independent and supreme, that therefore it possessed laws, and consequently, in a certain degree, civilization. In the foregoing argument the premises are true, the deductions from them not so. It is true that Scotland was a political society, independent, and sovereign or supreme. She has good right to affirm so, for she purchased that sovereignty and that independence by no trifling expenditure of the toil and blood of the bravest of her sons. But it does not follow from this, that she had a government capable of bestowing on her the advantages of good laws, or even capable of enforcing the observance of such laws as she possessed. Scotland was in that anomalous state, —in which, however, most countries are at some period of their existence,—where the form of government is separated from its substance. In form, during the greater portion if not the whole of the period embraced by the design of Mr. Tytler's history, the Scottish government was a monarchy, in substance an oligarchy, or aristocracy in the specific meaning of the term. The business of making laws for the good of the kingdom at large, and enforcing them when made, lay chiefly with the king or *one* in whom the sovereignty resided. But this *one* being often not more powerful than some individual of the other *ones* composing the oligarchy, and almost always less powerful than several of them united, his laws became a dead letter whenever they interfered with the interests real or supposed of any considerable number of the oligarchical body. Instances might be accumulated from Mr. Tytler's History, of the utter inefficiency of laws made by the King, to curb the licentiousness of the powerful and serve as a protection to the weak*. The reader may be enabled to form some conception of the state of law which the Kingdom of Scotland enjoyed in more ancient times, from the following description of the administration

* In the language of an ancient historian quoted by Mr. Tytler, 'the Douglasses would frequently take a progress to punish thieves and traitors, yet none were found greater than in their own company.' Tytler vol. v. p. 214. The following circumstance also shows that there was no law to

of justice so late as the seventeenth century, given by Mr. Mark Napier in his memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of logarithms. He is speaking of a half-brother of John Napier, who became a Lord of Council and Session. 'In those rude and ardent times,' he says, 'we can imagine a full exhibition of "the fifteen" to have resembled a menagerie at feeding, and well worth double price to have witnessed. A full attendance, however, was rarely to be counted on. A judge in his place one day, was gone the next. It might be "Auld Durie," the President, carried off in his walks as if by demons, and concealed no one could tell where; or Hallyards, murdered on the shore of Leith; or Edzell, sent to Dumbarton Castle for his share in a desperate feudal combat, fought on the High-street during the previous night; or the whole court adjourned to make room for the criminal trial of their brother Cliftenhall's only daughter and heiress, who was "taken to the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, and there bound to ane staik, and burnt in assis, quick, to the death," for witchcraft. Among these, or such like, sat Alexander Napier, whose *dictum*, so encouraging to litigation, was "niver imbrace dishonorabell agriment, for all is dishonorabell where thair is not eie for eie, and tuith for tuith;" and who moreover read his session-papers in the stars, and wrote his interlocutors in the twelve houses of heaven, being a most learned judicial astrologer.'

The ordinary state of things then, in the ancient realm of Scotland, was a state of anarchy, in other words, a state, to a certain extent, of 'war of every man against every man;' in which the simple of mind and the weak of body would naturally become the prey of the cunning and the strong. In such a state of society, strength of body would be in high estimation and demand; while the highest quality of mind for the production of which there would be any encouragement, would be prudence, or a knowledge of what was best for a man's interest in a narrow sense, or pretty much what is termed by Hobbes, his immediate 'conservation and delectation.' Of the higher qualities of intellect, those which are exercised in the advancement of the sciences and the arts, there would be no cultivation, there being

punish the powerful. In the feud between the houses of Athole and Bisset which ended in the ruin of the latter, William Bisset, the chief of that family, having been accused of the murder of Patrick earl of Athole by his relatives the Earl of March and David de Hastings, offered, in the words of Mr. Tytler, 'to prove that he had been fifty miles distant when the murder was committed.' He also 'offered combat to any man who dared abide the issue, but he declined a trial by Jury, on account of the inveterate malice of his enemies.'—Tytler, vol. i. p. 3.

none of that security which is necessary for its success. This last circumstance is particularly deserving of being noted. The importance of it to the ruling few is great, for it would seem to promise a perpetuity of their dominion. So long as they could prevent the production of any higher intellectual qualities than prudence and cunning, and therefore the necessity for the employment of such in the business of government, they might reasonably hope to be able to produce within the precincts of their own circle a quantity equal to the demand*, and, consequently retain the reins of government exclusively in their own hands. And this principle, it must be observed, has been more or less acted on in the case of most monopolies of the supreme power, whether by one or a few of the members of the political society. The principle, however, is manifestly inconsistent with the cultivation of the higher powers of the mind, and therefore with the cultivation of those arts and sciences which are necessary for any material advancement in the condition of man upon the earth.

Of the above principle the Scottish Aristocracy, rude and uncultivated as were their minds and limited as was their knowledge, seem to have been not unaware. This appears from the affected contempt, but real jealousy and dislike, with which they viewed any devotion to letters or arts. They regarded the character of 'bookman' as synonymous with the practice of sorcery or the black art, and at the same time tantamount to being 'no gentleman.' Mr. Tytler says [vol. iv. p. 328] that the great fault of James III in the eyes of his nobility, a fault for which they murdered him, 'seems to have been a devotion to studies and accomplishments, which in that rude and warlike age, were deemed unworthy of his rank and dignity.'

The following is evidence from Mr. Tytler on the subject:—

'In the struggle in Scotland, which ended by the death of the unfortunate monarch, it is important to observe that although the pretext used by the barons was the resistance to royal oppression, and the establishment of liberty, the middle classes and the great body of the people took no share. They did not side with the nobles, whose efforts on this occasion were entirely selfish and exclusive. On the contrary, so far as they were represented by the Commissioners of the burghs who sat in Parliament, they joined the party of the King and the clergy, by whom very frequent efforts were made to introduce a more effectual administration of justice, and a more constant respect for the rights of individuals, and the protection of property. With this object

* 'Prudence,' says Hobbes, 'is but experience; which equal time equally bestows upon all men, in those things they equally apply themselves unto.'—*Leviathan*, c. 13.

laws were promulgated, and alternate threats and exhortations upon these subjects are to be found in the record of each successive parliament; but the offenders continued refractory, and these offenders, it was notorious to the whole country, were the nobility and their dependents. The very men whose important offices ought, if conscientiously administered, to have secured the rights of the great body of the people,—the justiciars, chancellors, chamberlains, sheriffs and others,—were often their worst oppressors; partial and venal in their administration of justice; severe in their exactions of obedience; and decided in their opposition to every right which interfered with their own power. Their interest and their privileges as feudal nobles came into collision with their duties as servants and officers of the government; and the consequence was apparent in the remarkable fact, that, in the struggle between the Crown and the Aristocracy, wherever the greater offices were in the hands of the clergy, they generally supported the Sovereign; but wherever they were intrusted to the nobility, they almost uniformly combined against him.

When we find the popular historians departing so widely from the truth in the false and partial colouring which they have thrown over the history of this reign (James III), we may be permitted to receive their personal character of the monarch with considerable suspicion. James's great fault seems to have been a devotion to studies and accomplishments which, in this rude and warlike age, were deemed unworthy of his rank and dignity. He was an enthusiast in music, and took great delight in architecture, and the construction of splendid and noble palaces and buildings; he was fond of rich and gorgeous dresses, and ready to spend large sums in the encouragement of the most skilful and curious workers in gold and steel; and the productions of these artists, their inlaid armour, massive gold chains, and jewelled-hilted daggers, were purchased by him at high prices, whilst they themselves were admitted, if we believe the same writers, to an intimacy and friendship with the sovereign which disgusted the nobility. The true account of this was probably, that James received these artizans into his palace, where he gave them employment and took pleasure in superintending their labours,—an amusement for which he might have pleaded the example of some of the wisest and most popular sovereigns. But the barons, for whose rude and unintellectual society the monarch showed little predilection, returned the neglect with which they were unwisely treated, by pouring contempt and ridicule upon the pursuits to which he was devoted. Cochrane the architect, whose genius in an art which, in its higher branches, is eminently intellectual, had raised him to favour with the King, was stigmatized as a low mason. Rogers, whose musical compositions were fitted to refine and improve the barbarous taste of the age, and whose works were long after highly esteemed in Scotland, was ridiculed as a common fiddler or buffoon; and other artists, whose talents had been warmly encouraged by the sovereign, were treated with the same indignity. It would be absurd, however, from the evidence of such interested witnesses, to form our opinion of the true character of his favourites, as they have been

termed, or of the encouragement which they received from the sovereign. To the Scottish barons of this age, Phidias would have been but a marble-cutter, and Apelles no better than the artisan who stained their oaken wainscot.—Vol. iv. p. 327 *et seq.*

If, moreover, circumstances should occur so extraordinary as to produce a powerful demand for some higher qualities than mere cunning and courage, or at least for those in a higher degree than they existed in the aristocracy at the time; and if that demand should be supplied from a class below that of the ruling few; the individual or individuals supplying the demand would be regarded by the Oligarchical body with extraordinary jealousy and dislike. Thus when Wallace arose, and succeeded, by the aid of the lower orders, in driving out the English; instead of meeting with gratitude, he encountered nothing but the most bitter hostility, not only open, but, what was worse, concealed. The crime of Wallace was his being the deliverer of his country,—being at once the most valiant soldier, and the most prudent and intelligent commander that ever led that country to victory, and *not* being of the order of the greater barons. This was a crime never to be pardoned, an insult to be washed out only with blood. But in this act of treachery and murder, by which they expunged from the rolls of honour of their country the name of the man who had been that country's greatest benefactor, the Scottish Aristocracy do not stand alone. Other Aristocracies in other countries and other times have exhibited a similar spirit, from the Roman patricians who hated Marius*, down to the English Tories who also hate men for being, like Marius, 'no gentlemen.' Even the English Whig Aristocracy,—perhaps the most mongrel thing of the kind that has appeared upon earth,—when discussing the question of appointing a man to a certain office, do not ask 'Is he fit for the duties of the office?'—but 'Is he a gentleman?'

But to the successful permanent operation of this principle, two conditions are essential. One is some degree of union among

* It is a curious circumstance that among the causes of Patrician hatred towards Marius, may be enumerated his introduction of the law for rendering secret voting more efficient, in other words the *BALLOT*. (*Lex Maria de ambitu, et ut pontes angustiores fierent præcipiens. Anno ab U. C. 634.*) Heineccius Hist. Jur. Rom. § 101. Ritterus in a note says:—'Jussit lex Maria, ut pontes angustiores fierent, eam ob causam, ne quis inspicere tabellam, ne rogare de suffragio, aut appellare ferentem posset. Observat C. Ernesti in Ind. L.L. ex Plutarchi Mario, pag. 407, eam, quia potentia procerum erat opposita, Cottam et Metellum Coss. impugnasse senatus-consulta, sed frustra. However it was too late to save Rome. Assuredly both Marius and the Consuls knew what they were about, the former in advocating, the latter in opposing *Vote by Ballot*.

the members of the governing body; the other is that they possess sufficient motive in the insecurity of their power, to cultivate the qualities, viz. courage and prudence, which are necessary to maintain that power. Now it is remarkable that the existence of the former of these conditions in a very high degree, is incompatible with that of the latter. For a close and steady union produces security of power; and continued security produces indolence, and a negligence of the duties necessary to maintain that power. It was thus the Venetian Aristocracy fell. From want of union, again, the great nobles of France succumbed to one of their number who was called King, and thence became Monarch in the proper sense, or Sovereign. However, Aristocracies have generally fallen by the action of the two causes combined; by security engendering incapacity, and dissension then coming in to add to the weakness produced. Thus fell the Roman, and perhaps thus the British Aristocracy; though in investigating any modern instance, i. e. of the last two or three centuries, a new element enters into the problem by reason of the more rapid and complete diffusion of knowledge by the invention of printing. It would seem from the difficulty of obtaining the two elements in the necessary proportions, that this sort of government is not calculated for duration. It would seem further to follow from the above, that two other conditions necessary to the well-being of an Aristocracy of the sort in question, are a low state of civilization, and a state of external war,—the former in order that the Aristocracy may be able to produce within their own body the adequate supply of the talents necessary for government,—the latter that those talents may not for want of exercise cease to exist. The fulfilment of the former condition, for the reason assigned a few sentences back, has become more difficult than formerly, and is likely every year to become still more so. Those persons will form a very inadequate idea of an Aristocracy such as the Scottish was in the times here treated of, who take their idea of it from the English nobility of the present day. The long undisturbed possession of uncontrolled power, obliterates at last all traces of the qualities by which that power was acquired. Having a complete command over the wills of his fellow-men, and therefore a complete command over those pleasures which the services of his fellow-creatures procure for him, the English Aristocrat of our day, or at least of days but very lately gone by, is deprived of one of the strongest and steadiest of the impulses to the exercise of those faculties, which, if the Aristotelian logicians may be believed, constitute the difference that separates man from the other animals. There is no fierce struggle for

existence, none for bettering his condition, scarce any even for distinction, that intrudes to break the dream which constitutes what to him is life. Absorbed in that delirium of the senses, and delivered from the necessity of all ruder exertion of his mental or bodily powers, he is equally guiltless of those abstruser meditations in which the sage's existence passes away.

But most unlike to the corporal languor or to the mindless inanity of this 'lord of wantonness and ease,' was the turbulent existence of the strong-limbed, iron-nerved, and active-minded barbarian, who in Scotland in the olden time might truly say,

'My sword, my spear, my shaggy shield—
They make me lord of all below.'

An important feature in all rude states of society, is not only the indistinctness with which the limits of the Sovereign power are marked out, but the uncertainty as to the hands in which that power is lodged. A consequence of this is, that each member of an Aristocracy will, in such a state of things, depend, though not for mere existence, for nearly all his importance, upon his own exertions. As his body will be hardened by the constant fatigues of marches or war, his mind will be exercised in certain of its faculties, by a constant search after expedients to counterwork the plots of enemies or rivals. Thus was formed such a character as that of Alexander Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, commonly known by the appellation of the 'Tiger Earl,' who is described by Sir Walter Scott as bearing in his countenance while yet a boy, 'the signs of premature manhood and early thought.' This person having lost a battle against the King's party led by his feudal foe, through the treachery of an ally who went over to the enemy in the heat of the action, and being obliged after the most desperate efforts to take to flight, was afterwards overheard in his own castle, while cursing in the bitterness of his heart the traitor who had caused his defeat, to declare that he would willingly have taken seven years' roasting in hell to have won that battle*. Such a man was a savage indeed, but a hardy, enterprising, and energetic savage, and as unlike as can well be conceived to the voluptuous and indolent noble of another age.

The following passage, describing an event of the reign of James II in the year 1445, throws further light on the character of these feudal barons, who, as Mr. Tytler observes, 'have been admired by superficial inquirers.'

* Tytler, vol. iv. p. 106.

'The religious house of Arbroath had appointed Alexander Lindsay, eldest son of the Earl of Crawford, their chief justiciar, a man of the most ferocious habits, but of great ambition and undaunted courage, who, from his fierce aspect, and the extreme length and bushiness of his beard, was afterwards commonly known by the appellation of the "Tiger, or Earl Beardy." The prudent monks, however, soon discovered that the Tiger was too expensive a protector, and having deposed him from his office, they conferred it upon Ogilvy of Innerquharity, an unpardonable offence in the eyes of the master of Crawford, who instantly collected an army of his vassals, for the double purpose of inflicting vengeance upon the intruder, and violently repossessing himself of the dignity from which he had been ejected. There can be little doubt that the Ogilvies must have sunk under this threatened attack, but accident gave them a powerful ally in Sir Alexander Seton of Gordon, afterwards Earl of Huntly, who, as he returned from Court, happened to lodge for the night at the castle of Ogilvy, at the very moment when this baron was mustering his forces against the meditated assault of Crawford. Seton, although in no way personally interested in the quarrel, found himself, it is said, compelled to assist the Ogilvies, by a rude but ancient custom, which bound the guest to take common part with his host in all dangers which might occur so long as the food eaten under his roof remained in his stomach. With the small train of attendants and friends who accompanied him, he instantly joined the forces of Innerquharity, and proceeding to the town of Arbroath, found the opposite party drawn up in great strength on the outside of the gate. The families thus opposed in mortal defiance to each other, could number amongst their adherents many of the bravest and most opulent gentlemen in the country; and the two armies thus composed, exhibited a splendid appearance of armed knights, barbed horses, and embroidered banners. As the two lines, however, approached each other, and spears were placing in the rest, the Earl of Crawford, who had received information of the intended combat, being anxious to avert it, suddenly appeared in the field, and galloping up between the two armies, was accidentally slain by a soldier, who was enraged at his interference, and ignorant of his rank. The event naturally increased the bitterness of hostility, and the Crawfords, who were assisted by a large party of the vassals of Douglas, infuriated at the loss of their chief, attacked the Ogilvies with a desperation which soon broke their ranks, and reduced them to irreclaimable disorder. Such, however, was the gallantry of their resistance, that they were almost entirely cut to pieces; and 500 men, including many noble Barons in Forfar and Angus, were left dead upon the field. Seton himself had nearly paid with his life the penalty of his adherence to a barbarous custom; and John Forbes of Pitsligo, one of his followers, was slain; nor was the loss which the Ogilvies sustained in the field their worst misfortune; for Lindsay, with his characteristic ferocity, and protected by the authority of Douglas (at that time Lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and consequently bound as the King's representative to put down such

lawless proceedings), let loose his army upon their estates, and the flames of their castles, the slaughter of their vassals, the plunder of their property, and the captivity of their wives and children, instructed the remotest adherents of the justiciar of Arbroath, how terrible was the vengeance which they had provoked. What must have been the state of the Government, and how miserable the consequences of those feudal manners and customs, which have been admired by superficial inquirers, where the pacific attempts of a few monks to exercise their undoubted privilege in choosing their own protector, could involve a whole province in bloodshed, and kindle the flames of civil war in the heart of the country.'—Vol. iv. p. 57.

There are some points of resemblance, and more of difference, between the Scottish Aristocracy and the ancient Roman, the consideration of which may tend to throw light upon this subject.

The Roman Aristocracy had some features that distinguish it from all others that have ever existed. In our own times the English Aristocracy has been seen to owe its power to directing the legislature. The most powerful professional orders of the state, the army, the law, and the priesthood, though on the whole devoted to its interests, were not exclusively formed out of its ranks. But in the case of the Roman Oligarchs, they not only formed the legislators, but the lawyers, the priesthood, and the military orders. Thus the same man is sometimes found Jurisconsult, General, Pontifex Maximus, Consul, Dictator. This was the great source of their power; it was also the cause of their destruction. For though their power was based in the poverty and ignorance, in other words the weakness of the people, their destruction too most surely proceeded from the same people, goaded by poverty and revenge, and guided by a leader, like Julius Cæsar, sagacious, daring, and eloquent. This is the state of things favourable to military despotism; but this is an aristocracy, not a democracy.

Between the accomplished Roman oligarch in his better days, and the Scottish, the difference was great. The Roman was carefully and systematically instructed in the art of war, and such, and such only, of the arts of peace, as were to be the source of power, the foundation of dominion over those who themselves aimed at universal conquest. Thus, they made their law, and particularly their *actiones legis*, a mystery into which a plebeian soul could never penetrate. Thus, unlike the feudal aristocrat who considered all letters and arts whatever (with him war did not rise to the dignity of an art) as unbefitting his rank, the Roman patrician was in some degree lettered, though notwithstanding imbued with but little of the humanity of letters. Thus, too, his courage, unlike the robber-ferocity or knight-

errant bravado of the feudal chieftain, cool, steady, collected, partook of that iron discipline, which conducted him to uninterrupted victory and universal empire.

Among the points of resemblance, were the non-existence in either case, of a middle class; and also, that as the feudal chieftain was accounted powerful in proportion to the number of his vassals, or in other words to the strength of his 'following,' so the Roman noble's power might to a certain extent be measured by the number of his clients. And as the shadow of sovereignty in Scotland attempted in vain by legislative enactment to diminish the magnitude of those feudal retinues; so likewise did the Roman sovereign shadow,—as appears from the attempt to pass such laws as the *Lex Fabia de ambitu, vel numero sectatorum*. There is a circumstance connected with the attempt to pass this law, which marks a point of resemblance in the two cases under discussion, which could hardly have been expected. Heineccius says of the *lex Fabia*, '*Sed eam perlatam esse non comperio, quippe cui tenuiores restiterunt, teste Cicerone pro Muranâ**.' This would seem to argue an ignorance of their true interests in the Roman *tenuiores*, that could scarcely be exceeded by that of the *tenuissimi* of the 'sauvages Ecosais,' or still more 'salvage' Celts. However, upon the whole, the Roman *plebs* was far stronger than any populace of modern times, at least till lately; and among other causes, principally from the bulk of it being collected in a body in one place, the capital of the empire, and possessing the form of legislative power. These two circumstances combined, gave rise to a leading distinction between the Roman aristocrat and the Scottish. The former perpetrated his acts of injustice and oppression under the semblance of law, the latter in contempt and defiance of law.

It is worth remarking here, how little a system of *ingrafted* laws appears to have power to form the national character. The Roman law has been ingrafted into most of the nations of modern Europe. Yet in not one have the nobility adopted the policy† of the Roman Aristocracy, of engrossing in their own

* Hist. Jur. Rom. § xciv. It is not improbable that the law was brought in by some discontented or popularity-hunting patrician, of whom there were many; exemplifying the disunion, the element of their destruction above alluded to.

† Blackstone's remark on this subject is characteristic. He says, Comm. B. 3. Ch. 8. 'The concealment [of the laws from the people] was ridiculous.' He saw nothing of the deep policy of the concealment of the law from the people by the Patricians and Pontifices.

persons the legal knowledge as well as the military rank of the state. And there was more in it than the mere technical legal knowledge; there was the acquisition of certain habits of attention and thought. The consequence is, the noblesse of France as of Scotland were mere men of the sword,—‘swash-bucklers,’—without the knowledge or the habits of mind to fit them at once for political and military leaders. Hence the Dictators of the ancient world were the patrician Syllas and Cæsars; of the modern, the plebeian Cromwells and Napoleons. Almost all the efficient kings have had, if not absolute adversity, at least difficulties to struggle with in the early part of their career. Alfred, Robert Bruce, Henry IV of France, Frederic of Prussia, are striking examples of this. Observe too, how the sons of those very men, who have not had the stern but efficient teacher Adversity that educated their fathers, and wanted the iron discipline of the Romans, have turned out. The sons of Robert Bruce and Henry IV, David II of Scotland and Louis XIII of France, are among the very weakest and most worthless of recorded kings. The Roman nobility were educated to be statesmen as well as soldiers. How the feudal nobility had been educated, is well expressed in the following significant anecdote related by Camden.

‘A nobleman about the Court having said to Mr. Pace, one of the secretaries to King Henry VIII, “that it was enough for noblemen’s sons to wind their horn, and carry their hawk fair, and to leave study and learning to the children of meaner men,” Mr. Pace replied, “Then his lordship and the rest of the noblemen must be content to leave unto the sons of meaner persons the managing of affairs of estate, when their own children please themselves with winding their horns, and managing their hawks, and other follies of the country.”’—*Camden’s Remains.*

There does not appear to be an instance in Scottish History of any rising of the people generically so called, of the large class of the political community which Bishop Bramhall called ‘that underfoot of people,’ analogous to the *Jacquerie* in France, the insurrections of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw and others in England, and of the Van Artevelde in Flanders. The Scottish Commons seem to have reserved their outbreking for the epoch of their Reformation in religion, in which they had a greater share than the same class in England, or perhaps in Germany.

The effects of a combination of ignorance and hunger have already been touched upon. Enthusiasm has been defined by a witty and occasionally profound writer, to be a ‘*commotion d’entrailles.*’ With truth it may be affirmed that there is no better breeder either of ferocity or fanaticism, than the vapours

of an empty or disorganized stomach. In the case of the French Revolution and others, the madness took the road to massacre; in that of the Scottish Reformation it followed the path of fanaticism, and exercised itself in demolishing the strong holds of the Catholic hierarchy. It would have been better employed, under favour be it spoken, against those of its godly and most Christian aristocracy. However, the Scottish 'underfoot' evinced its existence, and that was something. Heaven prospered the work it had commenced; and the world began to learn that Scotland contained something besides a horde of barbarians, barons or nobles, human beings who varied their usual occupation of 'winding their horns and managing their hawks,' by robbery and murder, by wasting the lands and burning the dwellings of all who were weaker than themselves.

There is one particular phenomenon, one 'prerogative-holding instance' as it would have been called by Bacon, recorded in the 5th volume of Mr. Tytler's History, so singular and significant that it deserves especial and separate attention.

Allusion has already been made to the unceasing intrigues of the Scottish nobility. Those intrigues were frequently with the English court against their own King and country. Scarcely a reign was altogether free from them; they were particularly conspicuous in the war of liberty under Wallace and Bruce, and they threw an overwhelming weight into the English scale. One of the most important of the new points which by the researches of Mr. Tytler have emerged into light, is the conspiracy for the assassination of Cardinal Beaton detailed in the latter portion of his 5th volume. It appears from evidence of unquestionable authority preserved in the State-Paper-office, that a portion of the Scottish aristocracy who have hitherto been much lauded for their zeal in the cause of the Reformation, and whose actions have been regarded solely as the consequence of that holy zeal, were actuated by considerations considerably more substantial. Everybody knows how much the Scottish nobles profited by the breaking up of the Catholic Church in Scotland. In other countries, at least part of the vast wealth of that hierarchy was applied to the purposes of learning. But in Scotland the aristocracy swallowed the whole, for which their country has been thanking them ever since, inasmuch as they delivered the Scottish presbyterian clergy from the temptations of Mammon. How pleasing it must have been to those wholesale professional robbers, to do a benevolent action and make such an excellent speculation in the way of trade at the same time! But according to Newton's enunciation of the 3rd Law of Motion, as action and reaction are equal and in opposite directions, it would seem that

whatever proportion of the Mammon of unrighteousness they took off the souls of the clergy, recoiled upon and adhered to themselves. Accordingly they do not appear to have been content with doing the job, and pocketing the proceeds in the ordinary way of business, but they must have some hard cash in hand into the bargain; and hard cash they had, as is proved from the following account extracted by Mr. Tytler [vol. v. p. 472] from a minute of a letter from the Duke of Suffolk to Henry VIII's pensioners in Scotland, under the date of December 1543.

	Sterling.
To the Earl of Angus	200 <i>l</i> .
of Glencairn	200 marks.
of Cassillis	200 marks.
To the Master of Maxwell	100 <i>l</i> .
To the Sheriff of Air	100 <i>l</i> .
To the Laird of Drumlauryk	100 <i>l</i> .
To the Earl of Marshall, John Charters, the Lord Gray's friends in the North 	300 marks.
To Sir George Douglas and his friends in Lothian and Merse 	200 <i>l</i> .

It is well known that Henry VIII had designs upon the crown of Scotland, and it was to promote those designs that he kept the Scottish nobles in his pay. It was also for the ability and energy with which he opposed them, that he hated Beaton. The whole nature of the transaction will be best explained in the following extract from Mr. Tytler.

‘The plot is entirely unknown, either to our Scottish or English historians; and now, after the lapse of nearly three centuries, has been discovered in the secret correspondence of the State-Paper-office. It appears, that Cassillis had addressed a letter to Sadler, in which he made an offer “for the killing of the cardinal, if his Majesty would have it done, and promise, when it was done, a reward.” Sadler showed the letter to the Earl of Hertford and the council of the North, and by them it was transmitted to the king. Cassillis’s associates, to whom he had communicated his purpose, were the Earls of Angus, Glencairn, Marshall, and Sir George Douglas; and these persons requested, that Forster, an English prisoner of some note, who could visit Scotland without suspicion, should be sent to Edinburgh to communicate with them on the design for cutting off Beaton. Hertford accordingly consulted the Privy Council upon his Majesty’s wishes in this affair, requiring to be informed whether Cassillis’s plan for the assassination of his powerful enemy was agreeable to the king, and whether Forster should be despatched into Scotland. Henry conveying his wishes through the Privy Council, replied, that he desired Forster to set off immediately; to the other part of the query, touching the assassination of the cardinal,—the answer of the Privy Council was in

these words :—" His majesty hath willed us to signify unto your lordship, that his highness reputing the fact not meet to be set forward expressly by his majesty, will not have to seem to do in it, and yet not misliking the offer, thinketh good, that Mr. Sadler, to whom that letter was addressed, should write to the earl of the receipt of his letter containing such an offer, which he thinketh not convenient to be communicated to the king's majesty. Marry, to write to him what he thinketh of the matter ; he shall say, that if he were in the Earl of Cassillis's place, and were as able to do his majesty good service there, as he knoweth him to be, and thinketh a right good will in him to do it, he would surely do what he could for the execution of it, believing verily to do thereby not only an acceptable service to the king's majesty, but, also a special benefit to the realm of Scotland, and would trust verily the king's majesty would consider his service in the same ; as you doubt not of his accustomed goodness to those which serve him, but he would do the same to him." In this reply, there was some address ; Henry preserved, as he imagined, his regal dignity ; and whilst he affected ignorance of the atrocious design, encouraged its execution, and shifted the whole responsibility upon his obsequious agents. On both points, the King's commands were obeyed ; Sadler wrote to Cassillis, in the indirect manner which had been pointed out ; and Forster, in compliance with the wishes of the conspirators, was sent into Scotland, and had an interview with Angus, Cassillis, and Sir George Douglas ; the substance of which he has given in an interesting report now in the State-Paper-office. It is evident, from this paper, that both Angus and Cassillis were deterred from committing themselves on such delicate ground as the proposed murder of the cardinal, by the cautious nature of Sadler's letter to Cassillis, who, in obedience to the royal orders, had recommended the assassination of the prelate, as if from himself ; and had affirmed, though falsely, that he had not communicated the project to the king. These two earls, therefore, said not a word to the envoy on the subject ; although Cassillis, on his departure entrusted him with a letter in cipher to Sadler. Sir George Douglas, however, was less timorous, and sent by Forster a message to the Earl of Hertford in very explicit terms :—" He willed me," says the envoy, " to tell my lord lieutenant, that if the king would have the cardinal dead ; if his grace would promise a good reward for the doing thereof, so that the reward were known what it should be, the country being lawless as it is, he thinketh that that adventure would be proved ; for he saith, the common saying is, the cardinal is the only occasion of the war, and is smally beloved in Scotland ; and then, if he were dead, by that means how that reward should be paid." Such was the simple proposal of Sir George Douglas for the removal of his arch-enemy ; but, although the English king had no objection to give the utmost secret encouragement to the conspiracy, he hesitated to offer such an outrage to the common feelings of Christendom, as to set a price upon the head of the cardinal, and to offer a reward and indemnity to those who should slay him. For the moment, therefore afterwards, the

scheme seemed to be abandoned by the earls, but it was only, to be resumed by Brunston.'—Vol. v. p. 387.

It would appear from this, that the project of limiting the depredations of unchecked power by saturation, is at best but a devout imagination; and no less so the much-vaunted security, of a large stake in the country, 'against injuring the country. Here is a set of men who possessed, it might be thought, every thing that the heart of man could desire, broad lands, ancestral fame, hereditary rank, titles, honours,—offering to sell their country and their stilettos together, for a paltry sum of ready money. The whole affair marvellously resembles Sancho Panza's scheme for deriving advantage from the government of his island, by selling the people for slaves, and putting the money in his pocket.

But this is only part of the phenomenon alluded to. The other part regards those who have comparatively a *small* stake in the country.

In Scotland as in other European countries, the formation of a middle class had been for some time going on in the towns, consisting mainly of persons engaged in commercial pursuits. At this time the Scottish merchants carried on a considerable foreign trade; and shortly after the proclamation of a peace between the two countries, a fleet of their ships had sought shelter from a storm in an English port. Here they were seized, and, under the pretext that they were carrying provisions into France, their cargoes were confiscated. Soon after, Henry instructed Sadler, his ambassador, to propose to the Scottish merchants the restitution of their property, under the condition that they would assist him in the execution of his projects against the independence of their country.

'These brave and honest men, however, spurned at the proposal with which they declared themselves greatly offended; affirming, that they would not only lose their goods and ships without farther suit or petition, but would willingly forfeit their lives, rather than agree to a condition which would make them traitors to their native land: a memorable contrast to the late conduct of the nobility, and a proof that the spirit of national independence, which, in Scotland, had long been a stranger to many of the proudest in the aristocracy, still resided in healthy vigour in the untainted bosoms of its citizens.'—Vol. v. p. 351.*

Now the value of the phenomenon is, that it is not an insulated or anomalous one, but analogous to a whole series of such re-

corded in the period of history under review, and is merely selected for especial consideration as being clearly and completely developed. During the war of independence under Wallace and Bruce, if things had been left to the management of the majority of the nobles,—in other words, but for the determined resolution, the high, fierce, indomitable spirit, the unwearied and reiterated efforts, the sweat and the blood of the lower orders as they are called, the ‘underfoot,’ the ‘*turba proletaria*,’ Scotland would have been a province of England, and in what condition she would have been as regards prosperity and happiness, some conjecture may be formed by looking at the present state of Ireland. Now this well-attested phenomenon, recurring with almost invariable regularity for at least three centuries in a country’s existence, proves one thing at least,—that under certain circumstances a *large* stake in a country is no security against, and a *small* stake in a country no security for, neglecting or betraying that country’s interests.

Even to say, that in judging of men’s disposition to political good or evil, the question of property or a stake, whether great or small, in the country, has nothing at all to do,—would be going farther than the evidence warrants. One thing more, however, may be concluded from that evidence;—that the conduct of the Scottish aristocracy displays an absence of any other consciousness of moral right and wrong, than is contained in the ideas of power and weakness. With them for the powerful there was always support, glory, honour, and a throne; for the weak, desertion, the dungeon, the gibbet, and the grave. And through all times, through evil report and good report, even amid apparent contradictions they have with singular constancy preserved this attribute. For three hundred years they have been seen engaged in uninterrupted intrigues for the purpose of introducing innovations. Now, the men who boast of representing their ‘ancient blood’ and historical renown, with a few honourable exceptions as happens* in the case of most rules, vigorously oppose every attempt at innovation. But their principle remains unchanged. It has been seen what were the innovations their ancestors intrigued to introduce. The innovations they opposed, were such as Burgh and Parliamentary Reform. And what was the state of things they were so anxious to preserve? It is notorious that a very few years

* It is curious that one of these exceptions, Lord Panmure, is the representative of one of the very few honourable exceptions to the traitors who supported Edward I. His ancestor Sir Thomas Maule held out his castle at Brechin, till he was killed upon the ramparts, with his last breath commanding his men not to surrender.

ago, political honesty was a thing absolutely unknown in Scotland. A Scotchman would have laughed in your face, if you had mentioned such a thing; and would have supposed that you either were mad or had a design upon him. Everything was bought and sold, nearly if not quite as much as in the latter days of the old French monarchy. Venality stalked abroad at noon-day. Power as of yore, but now chiefly seen in the form of money, was the standard of morality, the favourite god. The most powerful were the broad-domained and coroneted nobles. What their morality was, may be judged from the fact that they were proud of the ancestries spoken of in the preceding pages. They had not refined, either, upon their ancestors, as their French and English brethren had. Their vices consequently were coarse and brutal; and this was the standard of a nation's morality.

It has been seen, then, that in the political society examined, the ordinary form of government was in name monarchy, in fact a sort of oligarchical anarchy. This would be a fine subject for the genius of the constitutional-balance-mongers; conceive a nicely balanced equilibrium between the three powers of government, the monarchical, oligarchical, and anarchical! It is evident that the country could not have gone on without occasional interruptions, to this state of anarchy. The whole tendency of such a state being towards defeat and ruin by divided councils, wasted energies, and relaxed discipline, it was absolutely necessary to change it totally, if either internal quiet or foreign victory were to be looked for. Accordingly under such regents as William Wallace or Andrew Moray, and such Kings as Robert Bruce or James I, a sort of dictatorship *pro tanto* was established. But the exercise of this dictatorship, this 'vigour beyond the law,' was a dangerous office among those barons of the 'bloody hand;' it cost Wallace and James I. their lives. The sort of character best calculated for such trying occasions, is described in the following passage of Mr. Tytler.

'About this time (1338) Scotland lost one of its ablest supporters. Sir Andrew Moray the regent, sinking under the weight of age, and worn out by the constant fatigues of war, retired to his castle at Avoch, in Ross, where he soon after died, upon which the High Steward was chosen sole governor of Scotland. Moray, in very early life, had been chosen by Wallace as his partner in command, and his future military career was not unworthy of that great leader. His character, as it is given by Winton, possesses the high merit of having been taken from the lips of those who had served under him, and knew him best. He was, says he, a lord of great bounty, of sober and chaste life, wise and upright in council, liberal and generous, devout and charitable, stout, hardy, and of great courage. He was endowed

with that cool and somewhat stern and inflexible character of mind, which peculiarly fitted him to control the fierce temper of the feudal nobility, at a period when the task was especially difficult; and it may be added, that, when the bravest, despairing for their country, had saved their estates by the sacrifice of its independence, Moray scorned to follow such examples, and appears never to have sworn fealty to any King of England. He was buried in the little chapel of Rosmartin; but his body was afterwards raised and carried to Dunfermline, where it now mingles with the heroic dust of Bruce and Randolph.'—Vol. ii. p. 53.

An analysis of the principal acts of the Scottish aristocracy for nearly three centuries, shows only that their acts were the necessary consequence of their position. They obeyed the laws that govern man's nature, as the planet in its course round the sun obeys certain laws of matter. The inference is not that they should individually be held up to extraordinary reprobation as the perpetrators of certain pernicious acts; but that care should be taken in time to come, that no individuals or classes of individuals are placed in a position which leads to the perpetration of the like.

ART. VII.—1. *The Forms of Deeds and Documents in England and France compared and exemplified, in a Letter to the Lord Chancellor.*—Paris; Galignani. London; Saunders and Benning. 1835.

2. *The Mechanics of Law-making.* Intended for the use of Legislators, and all other persons concerned in the making and understanding of English Laws. By Arthur Symonds, Esq.—London; Churton. 1835.

IT has passed into a proverb, of the truth of which every day's experience bears witness, that our Deeds and Laws are alike disgraceful to both lawyers and legislators; and it is matter of natural surprise, that this much thinking and very practical people, who have so long confessed the evil, have not bestirred themselves to discover a remedy. It must be attributed in some degree to the hidden mystery that has, up to this present, been about all things legal, political, medical, scientific. The inscrutable aspect of these things, was created by the force of technicalities expressed in a dead language; and the public generally were pretty much in the condition of a child playing with that most forbidden of all curious things, a watch;—their inquisitiveness and wonder were roused, but they dared not touch what they knew not how to make again. Fear checked the wanton impulse.

The authors of the works placed at the head of this Article,

have attempted to unfold the mystery; to show its worthlessness; and how the more worthy part may be accomplished.

Mr. Okey, the author of the first book, gives several examples of English and French Deeds of the simplest nature; which for the sake of better displaying the differences, he prints on opposite pages. The result is, that the difference in conciseness, is three or four to one in favour of the French; while in clearness they admit of no comparison. He attributes the greater brevity of the French documents to the existence of a Code. But the following is his own exposition of the matter.

‘Much of the conciseness of French Deeds may be attributable to their containing frequent reference to the *codes*, certain articles of which are applicable to their construction, execution, and effect; and as nothing could more ill accord with the style of the *codes* than verbose or tautologous expressions, so nothing better conveys their intention, than a plain and simple application of their provisions. In this respect, the French possess an advantage—the codes are written in a language intelligible to all—the Frenchman, in difficulty, turns to them, and generally finds some leading principle to assist him in the management and disposition of his property. It is not pretended, with these apparent advantages, that France is less prolific than England or any other country in litigation; but this arises from other causes, which form no part of the present inquiry; whilst it is a fact, which speaks most strongly in favour of the modes of conveyancing there adopted, that questions arising upon the construction of Deeds will be found to form a very slight, perhaps the least portion, of the lawsuits in France.’—*The Forms of Deeds &c.* p. 7.

It is of little use to expose an evil which is admitted. What is wanted is to find the cause and the remedy.

The cause may be found in the absence of any standard or form, to which the parliamentary lawyer may refer for a model;—in the disposition to doubt, which is the result of legal education;—in the state of the law, which is so ambiguous that no one can declare positively what it is;—and perhaps in the manner in which laws are introduced into the Legislature and passed by it, without any revision by a competent and responsible officer.

It would be very silly to tell any sensible person who can read the Bible, the language of which is the most simple of any book that can be named,—that laws cannot be made so that intelligent people shall understand them;—that it is good for the people that they should be obscure;—that the number of the penalties, the intricacy of the procedures, the contradiction of the requisitions, the moral disproportionate-

ness of the prohibitions, is such, that if they could read, their minds would be seized with alarm, or disgust.

It cannot be supposed that anybody would claim a vested interest in the ignorance of the people, or a right to the emolument of an excessive verbiage; and still less is it likely that any members of the Legislature would contend that the law ought to be a hidden word to themselves.

How rich a treasure is annually expended on the making of laws,—and such laws! But it cannot be wondered at, seeing that the members of the Legislature, whenever their own private concerns render deeds necessary, are ‘ready and willing,’ to pay the expense of the unnecessary length, with the stamp-duty, measured thereby, to boot.

The ‘*Mechanics of Lawmaking*’ treats of the entire subject, somewhat cursorily, in parts. Its object is to show, that in every particular,—in the arrangement,—language,—classification,—contents,—of our Acts of Parliament, and the agency by which the law is ‘prepared, made, promulgated, superintended, enforced, and amended,’ the legislative system requires reform.

But the most practical and ready remedy which it proposes, is that all laws should be revised by a single Office, charged with this function from year to year. There are other reforms which imply a change of system so extensive, and for which those who have the influence in these matters are so little prepared, that a long period must pass away before they can be accomplished.

There is, however, one other reform, that might be almost as easily effected, and be productive of results equally beneficial; which is, the proposed classification of the statutes of each Session,—in order that everybody might know whether that part of the law in which he had a peculiar interest had or had not been changed, and that the Legislature might be better apprised than it is of what is going forward.

As long ago as 1816, this subject has been under the notice of the Legislature. When Sir Robert Peel introduced his reforms of the Criminal code, it was recurred to;—and at several other periods it has been spoken of in a marked manner in the Houses of Parliament. Considering that the subject is not a party one,—that the reputation of the gentry of England, and the security and value of their properties, are affected by the present state of things,—it is singular that no further progress has been made in this kind of reformation. No one is bold enough to set the example, or persevering enough to incur the drudgery; and so for evermore the laws of England will be a dead letter

to the body of the people, unless some minister or public functionary be charged with the execution of the duty. Whether that minister is styled of Justice or of Public Instruction, is of little consequence; the duty should not be left undone. The people are to be taught to love and obey the law,—and for this end, the law must be simple, as well as just.

ART. VIII.—1. *Sur les Créances réclamées de la France par la Russie au Nom du Royaume de Pologne.*—Paris. 1835.

2. *On the Russo-Polish Claims on France.* (From the periodical *Le Polonais* published monthly in Paris by a member of the Polish Diet. Number for February 1835.)

3. *A few more words on the Polish question.* (From *Le Polonais*, Number for March 1835.)

IT is well known that Prince Lubecki, formerly minister of finance in the Kingdom of Poland, who was deputed by the national government of that country to St. Petersburg to enter upon negociations with the Emperor Nicholas, deceived the expectations of those who had judged him worthy of being entrusted with such an important mission; that he remained at St. Petersburg instead of returning to Warsaw to render an account of the result of his mission; and that he has been at Paris now nearly a year, charged with a special mission by the Autocrat, to demand payment of a debt which the Russian government professes to have a right to claim in the name of Poland.

The arrival of Prince Lubecki in Paris, his numerous and brilliant suite, his immediate and successive interviews at the Tuileries, created a great sensation in France. It was evident that the success or failure of the Financier-Prince's mission would have great influence on politics in general; either by reconciling the cabinets of St. Petersburg and of Paris, between which a misunderstanding had so long existed, or by adding fresh vigour to the dissensions which kept them at variance. Thus did the payment of the debt claimed by Russia become a European question, and was very shortly considered such, not only in France but in other countries, where even at the present time the anxiety with which its solution is looked for is daily increasing.

The public Press, notwithstanding matters perhaps of greater importance, has exhibited it in every light; the representatives of the French nation have largely commented on it, and several writers have endeavoured to elucidate it, some by merely taking

a financial view of it, others by urging the political incidents to which it has given rise. None of these works appears more worthy of notice than that *Sur les Créances &c.* It is the production of a man fully competent to judge of the financial points of the question, from his having previously to the last revolution in Poland occupied an important station in the financial department of that country; of one who possesses a thorough knowledge of political matters, which he discusses as calmly as he strenuously defends their results. The work, which is anonymous, is understood to be from the pen of M. Kulbacki.

Russia claims from France, in the name of Poland, and in virtue of the Treaty concluded at Vienna in 1815 and its subsequent Convention, certain sums due to the treasury and inhabitants of the kingdom of Poland, the then duchy of Warsaw. These claims she founds on the following items.—

First.—For certain bonds exchanged by the government of the duchy of Warsaw, against certain monies known under the denomination of *Sommes de Bayonne*, confiscated from Russia, and made over in 1808 to that duchy by the Emperor, but which in 1815 were restored to the Prussian government.

Secondly.—For monies advanced and supplies furnished by the duchy of Warsaw, on account of the French government from 1806 to 1813.

Thirdly.—For certain claims of the Saxon government on France; which were made over to Poland subsequently to the last settlements with that country.

On the other hand, France alleges certain debts due to her by Poland, proceeding mostly from specie and supplies advanced by the French government on account of the duchy of Warsaw; and also alleges the right which French citizens conceive they have, to the revenues of the property they possessed in that country in virtue of donations of the Emperor Napoleon; for although this property was confiscated in 1813, the former owners were nevertheless allowed to enjoy the revenues of it up to the 1st of June 1814. On examination of the title deeds produced by both parties, which with a view of effecting a final settlement were collected by the late ministers of finance in Poland, Russia set forth that there is an actual balance due by France to Poland, and without stating the precise amount ratèd it at nearly twenty millions of francs.

In refutation of the claims of Russia, the author of the work *Sur les Créances*, examines the titles of which the Russian government avails itself, either to effect a final settlement, or to claim payment of sums which might ultimately be proved to

be due to the kingdom of Poland. He refers to the political occurrences of 1815. The Treaty of Vienna, the diplomatic origin of the claims in question, was concluded during the Congress of Vienna, by England, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, the arbiters of the destiny of Europe. Up to the present period no new Treaty has been substituted in its stead. Now it was enacted by this Treaty, that the kingdom of Poland, formerly the duchy of Warsaw, should be united to Russia, but still be governed by a distinct constitution and administration. This Treaty which allowed the Emperor of Russia to take the title of King of Poland, guaranteed to the inhabitants of ancient Poland a national representation and national institutions. 'For this very reason,' observes the writer, 'the Russian government, is obliged to found its negotiations with France relative to the Polish claims, on that same Treaty. Consequently, these claims can not possibly be admitted, until all the clauses of that Treaty be completely fulfilled, and until the Autocrat become the legitimate representative of Poland as constituted in 1815.'

It remains then to see, how far the stipulations of the Treaty of 1815 have been fulfilled by the Emperor of Russia. The writer shows that, even previous to the revolution of 1830, the Emperor had broken his engagement; that this last revolution had proceeded in the first instance from the actual violation of the fundamental laws of the country; that neither the urgent representations of the Polish Diet, nor the insurrection, had succeeded in compelling the Autocrat to do justice to the country; and that though other nations did not think proper to second the claims of Poland, France and England demanded of the cabinet of St. Petersburg that the *status quo* of 1815 should be maintained with regard to Poland, the junction of which nation to Russia was a European arrangement subject to certain conditions. The writer then recalls to mind, that the King of the French in his speech at the opening of the Chambers in 1831, and the Deputies in their address in reply to the speech from the throne, gave solemn assurance, that *Polish nationality should never be annihilated*. None of the rights of Poland were infringed by the Diet; even after it had quitted the country with the army, it incessantly invoked the stipulations guaranteed by the Treaty of 1815. Although Poland was doomed not to be blest with an entire independence, she had still an incontestable right, a right not to be influenced by the fate of arms, to claim those national and liberal institutions which had been guaranteed by the European powers.

Did the Russian cabinet pay the slightest attention to these

representations? Did it in any one instance fulfil its solemn protestations? No; after the downfall of the national government, it acted more falsely than ever; conceiving it possessed the same absolute power over Poland as over Russia, it introduced into the former country modifications directly adverse to the obligations it had contracted. Poland lost her constitution, and with it was bereaved of all her ancient institutions; she became a Russian province subjected to a military government. Her inhabitants, deprived of their national distinction, were declared one and the same with the Russian nation. Measures were adopted to annihilate everything connected with national institutions. The Polish language was prohibited in the ancient provinces; laws which had been in force for centuries before, were repealed; and a series of acts, most barbarous and hostile to the civilization and dignity of nations, committed. Numbers of persons, without distinction of age or sex, were condemned by courts-martial and frequently without any judicial formality whatever, and in spite of a pretended amnesty, several times proclaimed to deceive Europe, were banished to the deserts of Siberia; whole families were transported to the Caucasus, and there subjected to a perpetual and hard military duty, to an everlasting bondage; the youth enrolled in Russian corps employed in Asia; children torn from the arms of their parents, who had taken no part whatever in the revolution, and carried into Russia; the national religion oppressed by the continued decrease in the number of churches and priests, and the creed of which the Autocrat is the self-constituted chief, substituted in its stead; the establishments of public instruction suppressed, the libraries stripped of their valuable scientific works of every description, private property confiscated, and wanton and unheard-of cruelty everywhere exercised*. Such are the scenes the barbarians of the north have thought proper to display to Europe in the 19th century.

* Some idea of the acts of wanton cruelty of which Russian policy has been guilty towards Poland, may be formed from the following extract of a monthly periodical published in Paris.

‘Not contented with depopulating and plundering Poland, the Russian government, of which the thirst for revenge seems insatiable, seeks every opportunity of corrupting the morals of that ill-fated nation, with which view punishments or recompenses are awarded. We have already alluded to the orders bestowed on the commissioners appointed to try the persons indicted at Warsaw for state crimes, as a recompense for their zeal in having found those persons guilty and condemned them with promptitude and severity. We stated that one of those judges, who expressed his intention of returning an equitable verdict, was punished by banishment. We will now relate certain facts which prove that the government, not

In consequence of these acts the Cabinets of London and Paris were obliged to renew their diplomatic representations; and as the Court of Russia audaciously maintained that the treaty of 1815 had not been violated, the Cabinets protested against this shameless interpretation. The Courts of Austria and Prussia no longer wore the mask, but joined Russia; a convincing instance of which is the conduct of the latter towards the Polish soldiers and officers who had sought refuge in these countries; they were cruelly dealt with, and most of them compelled to submit to the yoke of Muscovy. But the Cabinets of England and France still continued their protestations, and were now joined by the Parliaments of the two nations, who urged their respective governments strenuously to follow up their representations. In 1832, the Polish cause became the subject of Parliamentary debates in England, followed by ministerial declarations in favour of Poland; and at a later period, it is believed, was the object of an extraordinary mission to the Court of St. Petersburg. In France, the

contented with destroying even the germ of noble and generous sentiments, now seeks to weaken the ties of kindred, to destroy the sacred union of families.'

'One inhabitant of the name of André Melniczuk, of Podolia, in a village of the district of Olgopol, had been forcibly enrolled in the Russian regiment of Azof. He contrived to escape and return to his native hearth, to the hut of his father. The latter, instead of protecting his son and concealing him from the pursuit of the authorities, and well aware of the severe punishment which awaited the refractory soldier when discovered, had the barbarity to seize upon his son and give him up to the authorities, but without claiming the reward granted to informers. This fact having come to the ears of the Emperor, the unnatural father received a special order, and his action was published as laudable throughout the imperial dominions.'

'Madame Szpek, the mother of a family, for not having informed against her own son, accused of having taken an active part in the late insurrection, has just been sentenced to ten years imprisonment, and to be compelled to sweep every day in a Russian military hospital.'

'We will add another fact to prove the inveteracy of the government against what ought to be held most sacred and respected by man. At the plundering of a place of worship of the Catholic persuasion by the Russians, these last, not contented with giving it up to the professors of the Greek faith, carried their system of destruction still further, penetrated into the tombs and tore from the place of sepulture the ashes of the founder of the church, the Count Potocki, and those of the celebrated poet Trebecki. The account of this laudable action was published by a journal which would seem to sympathize with Russia rather than with Poland (the *Gazette de France*). We will here observe that the tomb of the Count Potocki was not respected by the Russians, notwithstanding the important services he had rendered to Russia in his life-time. A sad but moral lesson for those who devote themselves to the interests of another country against those of their own.'

Chamber of Deputies which was formed that year, also pronounced in favour of Poland in its address to the throne, which was concluded by the following memorable words. —

‘If the voice of European policy, which, we are confident, will not always speak in vain, has not been hitherto attended with success, at least let the appeal of humanity be henceforward listened to.’

In 1833 the Polish cause having again become the subject of debates in the House of Commons, it was then acknowledged that the existing state of that nation was a manifest violation of the Treaty of Vienna. The ministry having concurred in this opinion, avowed that the people of Poland, the victims of a political crime unprecedented in the history of nations, are at present labouring under unmerited persecution and oppression; that according to the precise tenor of the Treaty of 1815, Poland, for the interests of Europe, ought to possess a constitution, and be placed under the safeguard of the said Treaty; that consequently the contracting powers in the Treaty of 1815, have a right to enforce the execution of the clauses stipulated therein. One of the St. Petersburg Journals endeavoured to refute these declarations of the British ministry, by contending that the intervention of France and England would be unjustifiable, and that the Treaty had not been encroached upon; but the French *Monteur* refuted the argumentation of the Russian publicist, concluding thus :—

‘In the present century, justice will not sanction, nor wisdom advise, any Government publicly to declare an entire nation to deserve punishment, thus exercising over that country an assumed right of conquest, unacknowledged by the civilized world.’

The Chamber of Deputies, in the Session of 1834, far from losing sight of the question, again called the attention of the government to Poland in two addresses. The first was as follows :—

‘France, as a contracting party in the European Treaties, has endured, and still endures with extraordinary disinterestedness, the division of territory established at such prejudice to her interests. She has made no effort to change it; but she has not recognized, nor can she recognize, in any other power, the right of annihilating or altering, without her consent, what has been established without her concurrence, or what exists by previous assent, &c. The Chamber of Deputies is well assured that the Government has protested against the actual condition of Poland, and that strong and persevering remonstrances will be made in favour of that brave and unfortunate nation.’

The Chamber in the second address, referring to the equilibrium of Europe, states positively that that equilibrium has been

greatly endangered by the persecution exercised towards Poland.

The writer having fully developed the facts relative to the situation of Poland, draws from them the following conclusions :—

‘That the kingdom of Poland is at the present moment in an entirely different state from that assigned to it by the Treaty of 1815, on which are grounded the claims of the said kingdom on France.’

‘That this difference, which arises from the conduct so iniquitous and contrary to the rights of nations of the Emperor of Russia, is seconded only by the Courts of Austria and Prussia, the accomplices of Russia in the enslaving of Poland.’

‘That France and England protested against this state of things, which has not, nor can ever have, the slightest shadow of legality.’

‘That the Polish Diet also protested.’

‘Consequently the Emperor of Russia can have no legal right to represent Poland in his negotiations with France, nor claim sums due by France to Poland.’

‘That the Cabinets of London and Paris, in protesting against the present state of Poland, have acted according to the wishes of the representatives of England and France, who have acknowledged that the present state of Poland is inconsistent with the tranquillity of Europe.’

‘That the French Government, by entering into negotiations with Russia relative to the reimbursement of sums claimed as due to the kingdom of Poland, would not only be acting in direct opposition to its own sentiments and against the rights of that country, but above all in contradiction to the wishes of the French nation, and the general interests of Europe.’

The author further states, that the inhabitants of Poland have an undoubted right to the sums in question, and have all preserved their vouchers ; but he does not purpose entering into any lengthened details on this subject. He merely suggests, by the way, that the refugees at present residing in France, might be allowed to establish their rights in presence of the competent authorities. This favour might for the present be merely extended to personal claims for the reimbursement of sums for which France is originally indebted. Among these, particular attention ought to be paid to the pensions resulting from donations, as also all pensions for orders granted to the military, and guaranteed by Article 19 of the Treaty of Paris of 15th April 1814, which Article up to the present day has never been enforced.

This work was already published, and continuing to occupy the public mind with the Russian demands, when discussions more or less violent appeared in the official journals, and were held in the Chamber of Deputies. The signal for these

debates was given by the *Journal de Francfort*, a journal which has in several instances created political complications, in some degree probably in consequence of its being printed in the French language. It will be recollected, that it was from the *Journal de Francfort* that Buonaparte, when in Egypt, learned the alarming events which were passing in Europe, and which at once induced him to give up the Oriental expedition. Even in the present day, several important results have been produced on matters which were originally brought to light by the same publication. Its opinions and observations on the present question are rather obscure. It is subject to the censorship of the German Diet, and sometimes serves as its official or semi-official organ; it is edited by M. Durand, a French legitimist, who held an eminent station at the French bar under M. de Peyronnet, and who has subsequently edited the *Journal de la Haye*. He is the correspondent of the *Gazette de France* (a Carlist Journal), and of the *Journal des Debats* (which belongs to the French ministry); from which it may be inferred that he is a party in this affair with the French Cabinet, who are perhaps glad, on any pretence, to bring the Russian negotiations before the public. The *Journal de Francfort* is most decidedly the organ of the Russian Government. The majority of M. Durand's subscribers are in that country. For a long time back, it has been used as an organ of the Chancery of St. Petersburg. It is most probable that the article inserted relative to Prince Lubecki's mission, was either sent by the Russian embassy at Paris, or from the Prince himself. Its object was to declare that Prince Lubecki had been charged with the mission at the solicitation of the French government.

The *Moniteur* published the following paragraph in reply, by which the financial part of the question is fully explained.

'The intimate alliance which had existed since the Treaty of Tilsit between France and the Duchy of Warsaw, and the long residence of French troops in Poland, had created several reciprocal debts.'

'These would have been annulled by the peace of 1814, if they had not been guaranteed by an additional Clause agreed to by France and Russia; a Convention signed at Paris settled the execution of the Clauses. The operations for liquidating these debts commenced at Warsaw in August 1818, but certain obstacles postponed them until 1829. They were at that period about to be resumed in Paris by the mutual consent of the two Governments, when the unforeseen events which took place in France and Poland in 1830, prevented the departure of the Commissioners from Poland, which would otherwise have been officially announced to the Diet of Warsaw in the Emperor Nicholas's Speech at the opening of the Session on the 28th May 1830.'

‘These Commissioners have at length arrived in Paris, and are now actively employed with those appointed by the French Government, in finally settling all the arrangements relative to the reciprocal claims of the two countries as guaranteed by the above-mentioned additional article of 30th May 1814.’

This declaration of the Official Journal created a general feeling of indignation; the late vote of the Deputies on the American Question, was at that time anticipated; and from the above official communication it was naturally inferred that the Government led by fear, and by the system of ‘peace at any price,’ would sign bills of exchange to any amount that might be demanded whether justly or unjustly; public opinion was above all irritated at the officious kindness of the French government towards Russia, who most assuredly had in return no good feeling towards France. M. Isambert, a Deputy of the Opposition and one of the most distinguished Members of the French bar, undertook to expose to the representatives of the nation the grievances of the people on this occasion, and also to explain to the Assembly his reasons for objecting to the recognition of the Russian debt; and was seconded by M. Odillon Barrot. He grounded his observations on the following arguments.—

‘That the Convention of 27th September 1816, not having been ratified, nor published either in the Bulletin des Lois or in any other official publication, cannot be obligatory on France, especially as it was never submitted to the Chambers.

‘That all claims on the French nation having been finally settled by the Conventions signed by the great European powers, the additional article to the Treaty of Vienna of 30th May 1814 and the several clauses of the Treaty of 30th March 1815 must be considered as annulled by the stipulations consented to in 1818, and expressed in positive and general terms.

‘That a time for the liquidation of all sums due to private individuals, was fixed by the Convention of 20th November 1815, as proved by a diplomatic despatch of the Emperor Alexander in 1817.

‘That the Duke of Richelieu when President of the Council expressed himself to that effect in a speech in the Chamber in 1818.

‘That the claims of private individuals on the Duchy of Warsaw, and particularly on the loan of twelve millions of francs contracted at Paris by the King of Saxony in the year 1811, are no obstacle to the Government being freed from all demands anterior to 1814, particularly as the above loan is secured by

the salt mines of Wicliczka ; that even if the contrary were the case, the Russian Government could not at the present period represent the kingdom of Poland constituted in 1815, which is now only nominal, its charter and nationality having been annihilated by the Autocrat himself.

That other reasons could be presented to the kingdom of Poland if it now existed as constituted by the Treaty of 1815, in the event of its acting by its national representatives.

That consequently France is in no way bound by any steps ministers may take relative to the question either now or hereafter.'

M. de Rigny, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, seconded by M. Thiers Minister of the Interior, argued in opposition.

That the claims in question were specially guaranteed by the additional article of the Treaty of 30th March 1814, and confirmed by the Treaty of 1815, as is proved by the following extract.

'The Duchy of Warsaw being now administered by a provisional Council appointed by Russia, the high contracting powers will appoint a Commission to inquire into the liquidation of any reciprocal claims which may exist between France and the Duchy of Warsaw.'

That this country had been excepted from all the stipulations which were then agreed to by the other powers, as being peculiarly situated with regard to France.

That by the Conventions of 1815 and 1816, it was stipulated by what means the reciprocal debts of these nations were to be liquidated, and these conventions could not be considered secret, as they were always in force, and the latter was ratified and annexed to all the then existing Treaties.

That the Convention of 1818 was not specially applicable to this question, and that with a view of having it finally settled, the Duke of Richelieu dispatched a French Commissioner to Warsaw in the course of the same year, with written instructions to that effect in his own hand.

That the *Moniteur* of the 19th August 1818, subsequently to the liberating Convention, contained a notice to persons interested in the liquidation of this claim.

That the operations of the French Commissioners having been postponed by the liquidation made by Russia with Prussia, it is not until now that they could be resumed in Paris, where all the necessary documents have been collected.

Therefore, the continuation of these operations is the more indispensable, as the interests of French Citizens are at stake, and the Chamber of Deputies have referred the Ministers to the petitions relative thereto. Besides, the Government has

intimated that the liquidation in question, far from being burdensome to France, may be considered favourable to her interests.'

After these speeches, and as the question had not been formally submitted to their deliberation, the debate having arisen from an interpellation, the Deputies passed to the order of the day, but not without evincing that they were most decidedly averse to the liquidation. Public opinion and the press had anticipated a precise declaration on the subject from the Chambers. The extra-parliamentary discussion was then resumed with energy and perseverance; all the independent Journals protested against the Russian claims; the language of the Carlist prints was equivocal. An ably written article on the subject appeared in the February number of *Le Polonais*, by a member of the Polish Diet. The unassuming editor of this monthly periodical, is of a family to whom Poland is indebted for several brilliant exploits, not only in the field of battle but in the tribune of the National Assembly. His publication treats of the history and literature of Poland, but is more particularly destined to defend the political interests of that ill-fated country. The fact of this periodical being now in its fourth year, will sufficiently mark the talent of the editor, and the incessant sympathy of the French nation towards the Polish cause.

The author of the paragraph inquires in the first instance whether the liquidation would not be equally prejudicial to Poland and France. This question would have been superfluous had the kingdom of Poland now been in its former state, and particularly if it were yet ruled as previously to the last Revolution, by a Constitutional and National Government; for in that case the system of mutual liquidation, as the most simple means of acquitting France towards Poland, would be allowable.

'But now,' he adds, 'when we behold Poland subjected to a foreign and absolute domination, when we consider that that once independent nation is now merely a Russian province, ruled similarly to Bessarabia or any other situate in the centre of the Russian Empire, now, we say, that system would be void of the least shadow of justice. To liquidate demands by making others good, is discharging them reciprocally; now if France were to acquit the sums demanded in the name of Poland either in ready money or by counter-claiming of Poland sums due to her for certain supplies made to the Duchy of Warsaw, this mode of payment would have been acquiesced in by the kingdom of Poland, had it been a constitutional State with a National Government.'

By this method of liquidation, the claims from abroad would become charged upon the nation, and the payment of them would be effected by the sums designated in the budget, provided they were not subject to mortgage like those of the public Treasury. Can a similar guarantee be depended on at the present period, when Poland is ruled by a foreign and absolute Government, which considers the public money as belonging to the ruler?

In this state of things a reciprocal liquidation of foreign debts would be nearly equivalent to their extinction.

This difference is still more appalling to Poles who subsequently to the last Revolution were compelled to fly their country and seek refuge in a foreign land.

These exiles having been deprived of their fortunes by the confiscations exercised in Poland, had still some slight guarantees for their losses in the sums their country claimed from France. Many of them are personally interested in these claims, either as original creditors, most of them having served in the French army, or as the heirs or consignees of such. Therefore a liquidation with Russia on the basis of the reciprocal evaluation of the claims, would be tantamount to a new confiscation of Polish property, and the unfortunate refugees would thus be deprived of the last remnant of their fortunes. This measure would be profitable only to the Czar, by adding to the confiscations he has already so inhumanly decreed.

The interpellations addressed to the French Ministers in the Chamber of Deputies on the 23rd and 26th January being still the general topic of the press, the Journal *Le Polonais* has given a more fully detailed article to elucidate the question.

The points in litigation are between Paris and Warsaw. Poland occupied by French troops; the Polish army devoted to the interests of France; the Duchy of Warsaw created by Napoleon; the Empire protecting that Duchy; these are the events which gave rise to the debts and sums reciprocally advanced, of which the liquidation is now claimed.

Things are now altered. The Duchy of Warsaw, which during the period of its existence would have negotiated in its own name, is now extinct. It is, as it were, twice deceased. The ally and *protégé* of France, it first became dependent on the Emperor Alexander, who was constituted its guardian by the European powers assembled at Vienna; at a later period, falling a prey and victim to the emperor Nicholas, it was spoliated, divided, and politically annihilated. By diplomacy it is considered no longer in existence, its death-warrant having been signed by a European treaty; and though deceased a second time

in consequence of the violation of this same treaty, the Duchy in spite of the usurpation of Russia, cannot have forfeited the rights it had acquired. As a nation never dies, what by protocols is termed death should be looked upon as a momentary impotency, as a species of minority. However, this impotency, it is to be hoped, will not last for ever,—this minority will end sooner or later.

The author examines the state of the question in the three principal periods to which it relates; from 1807 to 1812, 1815 to 1830, 1831 to 1835.

1807—1812. If we were now at that period, all that has been said in the chamber, on both sides of the question, would not have been said; no interpellation would have been addressed to the ministry, and the question relative to the reciprocal claims of France and the duchy of Warsaw, freed from any foreign consideration, would not have been deemed more intricate than a common settling of accounts. The different sums, and the proof establishing those sums, might have been disputed, but common arithmetic would have decided the point without difficulty. And it is easy to be convinced the affair would have been settled without delay. Besides, had there been any contestation, it would have been between friends and natural allies, and easily decided; on one side would have been seen a powerful empire ruled by a model of cautious policy; on the other side, a state in the infancy of its national restoration, influenced by France, and attached to that country by the most noble and elevated sentiments of patriotism; and neither of the two allies, it is not to be doubted, would have deviated from the spirit of the negotiation. The documents to be referred to were:—

1. The treaty of Tilsit of 7th July 1807, in virtue of which the Duchy of Warsaw was constituted*.

2. The constitutional Act of the duchy of Warsaw†.

3. The convention of Bayonne of 10th May 1808, as the principal instrument of the financial relations between the two countries‡.

4. The title deeds of the debts.

1815—1830. The disasters of Napoleon having caused the military occupation of the duchy of Warsaw by the Russians,

* See the *Bulletin des Lois*, series IV. No. 151.

† See *Collection des Constitutions. Chartes, et Lois Fondamentales des peuples de l'Europe*, by Dufaur Duvernier and Guadet, 1830. Vol. 4, page 73.

‡ See *Recueil des principaux Traités*; by Martens, Göttinguen 1817. Vol. V. No. 7, page 173.

and subsequently the invasion of France, the abdication of Fontainebleau, and the meeting of the congress at Vienna;—this duchy, which was destined to become the focus of an independent Poland, to which the army remained faithful, and in fact did never serve, carry arms, nor march against France*,—this duchy was given up to the Emperor Alexander, who was to govern it under the title of constitutional king of Poland.

To the four documents referred to above, the seven following may be added as relating to the period in question.

5. The treaty of Paris of 30th May 1815, in which it is stipulated in favour of the duchy of Warsaw, by an additional clause, that the claims of the latter are to be liquidated by a special commission†.

6. The treaty of 3rd May 1815, between Russia and Prussia.

7. The Treaty of the same day, between Russia and Austria.

8. The general act of the Congress of Vienna of 9th of June 1815, all three regulating the future destiny of the new kingdom of Poland constituted in lieu, and inheriting the rights of the Duchy of Warsaw‡.

9. The definitive Treaty of peace between Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, and France, of 20th November 1815, of which a separate article stipulates that a special commission shall be sent to Warsaw to liquidate the claims of the Duchy of Warsaw, and annuls the Convention of Bayonne§.

* It must be by some involuntary mistake that M. Isambert made use of the following words in the Chamber of Deputies, on the 26th January:—

‘ Polish corps were compelled to march against France, along with the Russian corps in the war of 1815.’

That this never was the case, M. Isambert will himself admit, if he will only call to memory that the project of the Emperor Nicholas to send the Polish army against France in 1830, fifteen years afterwards, was one of the principal causes of the Revolution which broke out on the 29th November of the same year at Warsaw.

† Additional Article.—‘ The duchy of Warsaw having been under the administration of a provisional council established by Russia ever since that country was occupied by her arms, the two high contracting parties have agreed to appoint immediately a Special Commission, composed on both sides of an equal number of commissioners, who shall be charged with the examination and liquidation of their respective claims and all the arrangements relative thereto. The present additional article shall have the same force and effect as if inserted verbatim in the patent treaty of this day.’—See *Bulletin des Lois*, series 5, No. 16.

‡ For these three acts, see *Histoire du Traité de Vienne*, by Hassan, vol. iii. pages 3, 36, 115.

§ Separate article with Russia. See *Histoire du Congrès de Vienne*, vol. iii. page 333.

10. The Convention concluded between France and Russia on 27th September 1816, instead of the separate Article of the Treaty of 20th November 1815, by which France engages to liquidate the sums paid by the Duchy of Warsaw in virtue of the Convention of Bayonne*.

11. The Convention between Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia and France on 25th April 1818, which acquits France of all ultimate payments, with the exception of the Polish claims reserved for a separate liquidation†.

A thorough examination of the acts of four successive years, proves that in spite of the spirit of plunder which predominated at that period, there was an exception made in favour of an ancient and faithful ally of France, and the sums due to the Duchy of Warsaw were considered distinct and separate, and although the claims of all other foreign nations on France were summarily dealt with, those of the Duchy of Warsaw were reserved for a special liquidation.

1831—1835. In this third period, things are totally altered. There no longer exists a Duchy of Warsaw as created by the Treaty of Tilsit, nor a Kingdom of Poland as constituted by the Congress of Vienna. The nation to which Europe, not daring to render it independent as she would have desired, had granted a national existence and a charter to constitute that nationality, that nation is now reduced to a state of abject servility as a province dependent on the Empire of Russia. That once powerful nation is now deprived of its liberty, its constitution, its army, its tutelary institutions. This state of things, illegal in every respect, and arising from the tyrannical abuse of conquest, is sanctioned by no public European act, but was consented to under the protestations of France and England, and the silence of the other powers.

To form a correct idea of this epoch, as relates to the unacknowledged rights of Poland, the following documents, independent of those indicated for the former periods, must be read.

* See *Journal des Débats* 26 January 1835.

† *Article 5*. 'By the stipulation contained in the foregoing articles, France is completely freed both in capital and interest prescribed by article 18 of the Convention of 20th November 1815, of all debts mentioned in the Treaty of 30th May 1814, and the Convention of 20th November 1815, and claimed according to the form prescribed by the said Convention, so that the above-mentioned debts are as far as regards France, to be considered extinct and annulled, and can never again be set up as a claim against her.'—See *Histoire du Congrès de Vienne*, vol. iii. p. 365.

12. The Charter given to the Kingdom of Poland, 27th November 1815*.

13. The Manifesto of the Polish Diet of 10th January 1831, which contains the complaints of the nation against the Russian Government, and in which the late Revolution originated†.

14. The Speech from the French Throne on 23rd July 1831, and the address of the Chamber of Deputies of the same year, stating that the real rights of Poland are not forgotten by France‡.

15. The Ukase of 26th February 1832, whereby the Charter is abolished and Poland reduced to a province§.

16. The three debates in the English Parliament of 18th and 28th June and 9th July 1833, on three motions of R. C. Fergusson, Esq.; which show that England protested against the violation of the rights of Poland||.

From comparing the history of the three foregoing periods, may be drawn the following conclusions.

First. That none of the changes that Poland may have undergone since 1807, have invalidated the rights she legally acquired by the constitution of the Duchy of Warsaw.

Secondly. That during the first of the above-mentioned periods, these rights would have been discussed without interference, and the claims of the Duchy attended to and granted.

Thirdly. That during the second of these periods, the Kingdom which succeeded to the Duchy would have treated through the medium of its constituted King, and France would doubtless have discharged such debts as were duly substantiated.

Fourthly. That, during the third, that is the present period, everything having been overturned in Poland by brute force, and arbitrary power having succeeded to a legal and national constitution established by Treaties, France cannot and ought not to treat on the Polish claims with Russia, much less to liquidate them.

The author for a moment allows, that if a liquidation were to be effected, it might possibly, as far as regards pecuniary arrangements, be favourable to France. He quotes the semi-official *Journal des Debats*, of which the number of 27th January contained the following remarkable paragraph.

* See *Collection des Constitutions, Chartes et Lois Fondamentales des peuples de l'Europe*, by Dufaure Duvernier and Gaudet. 1830, vol. iv. p. 85.

† See *Annuaire Historique Universelle*, 1830. Appendix page 180.

‡ See the same for 1831. Appendix p. 55, and of text 247.

§ See the same for 1832. Appendix page 184.

|| See Report of the Debate in the House of Commons, 18th April 1832, 28th June 1832, and 9th July 1833, extracted from the *Mirror of Parliament*.

'If we owe anything, no ministry in the world dare propose to the Chamber of Deputies to grant an indemnity to Russia as heir to Poland.'

He shows that even if the French Treasury were to be a gainer by this liquidation, France would be acting in direct opposition to her own policy, to her own interests.

'If you consent to indemnify Russia as succeeding to the rights of the Polish nation, you sanction the violation, ratify the annihilation of the Polish Charter, and you will constitute yourselves a party to an act of iniquity. Russia is deeply interested in attaining this object, and a sum amounting to several millions paid to France, would not be considered by her too exorbitant; as by this small sacrifice, her actual position, now only provisional, precarious, and extra-legal, would at once become constituted, invariable, and legitimate. Of how little profit would this result prove to France! She will no longer have a right to make use of that honourable and independent language in her future transactions with Russia, which so becomes her dignity; she will have openly confessed her weakness and her error, in previously demanding the execution of Treaties.'

It will be perceived, that these remarks greatly involve the policy of Great Britain in one point of view. She has joined in refusing to uphold Russia in the violation of the constitution and nationality of Poland; Lord Palmerston gave lengthened and clear explanations on this point to Parliament on the 9th of April 1833. Tranquilly to stand by and witness the Russo-French liquidation, an act which would be equivalent to a passive acknowledgment on the part of France of the usurpations of Russia, would be contrary to the dignity and interest of the British nation.

ART. IX.—1. *Thoughts upon the Aristocracy of England.* By Isaac Tomkins. Gent.—Fifth Edition. London; Henry Hooper. 1835. pp. 23.

2. *A Letter to Isaac Tomkins, Gent. Author of the Thoughts upon the Aristocracy.* From Mr. Peter Jenkins.—Fifth Edition, with a postscript. London; Henry Hooper. 1835. pp. 11.

3. *A Letter to Isaac Tomkins and Peter Jenkins on Primogeniture.* By Timothy Winterbottom.—Fourth Edition. London; William Pickering. 1835.

THESE pamphlets are worthy of attention, not so much for the novelty of what is said in them, as for the manner in which it is said, and for the quarter from which they are commonly believed to proceed. Various publications on the liberal side, have been for years laying bare the interests of

the Aristocracy, so as to make them apparent even to the dulllest and least penetrating minds; and the results, not the least of which is to be considered the appearance of such works as these, with the sensation produced by them, show that they have not laboured in vain. Yet there are some minor points which have never, it is believed, been so thoroughly made visible, as they are here by the handy-work of Messrs. Isaac Tomkins and Peter Jenkins. One of them is, the *social* (speaking of it as distinguished from the *political*) influence of such a caste as our aristocracy. One of the forms under which this influence has exhibited itself, is what has been called Fashion. Some one has expressed a wish that Voltaire were alive in England, to write the philosophy of fashion. The following remarks of Isaac Tomkins, Gent., might form a chapter, or at least notes for a chapter, of such a work. He is speaking of what is called high society, the society to wit, not merely of the nobility or titular aristocracy of England, but of 'all their immediate connexions, and all who live in the same circles, have the same objects, and from time to time attain the same privileges.' For with regard to these latter,—viz., those who are not immediately connected by blood with the House of Lords,—Mr. Tomkins remarks in his plain but forcible manner;—'They are admitted to the same familiarities; they receive the same respect from those who foolishly look up to rank, and yet more foolishly gaze at fashion; they find the avenues to power as well as distinction open to them; they are born even to a political supremacy which others earn by working for it and deserving it. What difference in society is there between a lord's second son, or indeed his eldest, and the son of a rich squire, especially if he be of old family, that is, if his father and grandfather have been squires before him?'

The following is Mr. Tomkins's account of the society in which these people live, the 'exclusive circles' as they are sometimes termed. The account coincides wonderfully with the view given in the preceding number of this Review (*Art. Aristocratic Revelations*) from the accounts furnished by the 'fine folks' themselves.

"But surely," the country or the city reader will exclaim, "there must be something extremely captivating in this fine society, which makes it so much run after, and gives it so much sway, not only over the fashion, but even over the policy of the country!" For that it does exercise such influence we cannot deny. Statesmen pass much of their time in it: they discuss their measures of a party nature before the empty women and the frivolous youths who compose it. They

are not a little moved by the opinion which has dominion in these select circles; they are prevented from making useful appointments of men unknown to these arbiters and arbitresses of fashion—and therefore despised by them—but who would be still more despised if they were known, because they are men of learning and sound sense. The same statesmen are also kept from taking an interest in many good works—as in humane and philanthropic pursuits—and in supporting wise measures of improvement founded upon profound views of human nature and of man's wants, by the same tone of ridicule with which, within these sacred precincts, all mention of such things is sure to be greeted. Lastly, as those circles are drawn round the very *focus* of all hatred and contempt for the people, they are the very hotbeds of Toryism and intolerance; nothing being more certain than that the Women of Fashion and all the young Aristocrats (perhaps more or less of all parties) hate Reform,—look down upon the people,—desire more or less openly to have a strong, arbitrary, Tory government, and would fain see the day dawn upon military power established on the ruins of the national representation.

“What, then,” our honest yeoman's son, our worthy tradesman's daughter, may properly ask, “What is it that gives the Aristocratic circles all this extraordinary influence; and first of all, why is the admission into Aristocratic society so very highly prized, that we of the middle classes are ready to leave father and mother, and brother and sister, and cleave unto them, if we can only, at the cost of such sacrifices, obtain admittance within their pale?”

‘First, it must be admitted that there is a very great, a very real charm, in those circles of society. The elegance of manners which there prevails is perfect; the taste which reigns over all is complete; the tone of conversation is highly agreeable—infinately below that of France indeed—but still most fascinating. There is a lightness, an ease, a gaiety, which to those who have no important object in view, and who deem it the highest privilege of existence, and the utmost effort of genius, to pass the hours agreeably, must be all that is most attractive.’

‘After this ample admission, let us add, that whoever, after passing an evening in this society, shall attempt to recollect the substance of the conversation, will find himself engaged in a hopeless task. It would be easier to record the changes of colour in a pigeon's neck, or the series of sounds made by an *Æolian* harp, or the forms and hues of an *Aurora Borealis*. All is pleasing; all pretty; all serviceable in passing the time; but all unsubstantial. If man had nothing to do here below but to spend, without pain or uneasiness the hours not devoted to sleep, certainly there would be no reason to complain of these *coteries*. But if he is accountable for his time, then surely he has no right to pass it thus. Compared with this, chess becomes a science; drafts and backgammon are highly respectable. Compared with this, dancing, which is exercise, and even games of romps, are rational modes of passing the hours. Compared with this, it is worthy of a rational being to read the most frivolous romance that ever was

penned, or gaze upon the poorest mime that ever strutted on the stage.'

'The want of sense and reason which prevails in these circles is wholly inconceivable. An ignorance of all that the more refined of the middle, or even of the lower classes, well know, is accompanied by an insulting contempt for any one who does not know any of the silly and worthless trifles which form the staple of *their* only knowledge. An entire incapacity of reasoning is twin sister to a ready and flippant and authoritative denial of all that reason has taught others. An utter impossibility of understanding what men of learning and experience have become familiar with, stalks hand in hand, insolent and exulting, with a stupid denial of truths which are all but self-evident, and are of extreme importance. Every female member of this exquisite class is under the exclusive dominion of some waiting maid, or silly young lover, or slander-mongering newspaper; and if not under the sway of one paper, lives in bodily fear of two or three. Bribes, entreaties, threats, are by turns employed to disarm these tyrants; and however tormented the wretched victim may be, she is forced by some strange fatality, or propensity, to read what most tortures her.'

'Indeed the relations of this Aristocratic class with the press, form one of the features most illustrative of the Aristocratic character, replete as it is with all the caprice and waywardness, the unreasoning and often unfeeling propensities, the alternate fits of blindness to all danger, and alarm where all is safe; in short, all that goes to the composition of a child, and a spoiled child.'

'Of the press, then, they live in habitual dread; but it is a fear, which being altogether void of wisdom, produces good neither to its victims nor its objects. Frightened to death at any unfavourable allusion to themselves or their ways, they support with the most stoical indifference all attacks upon their professed principles, all opposition to the policy they fancy they approve. Furious to the pitch of Bethlem or St. Luke's, if they themselves be but touched or threatened, nothing can be more exemplary than the fortitude with which they sustain the rudest shocks that can be given to the reputation of their dearest and nearest connexions.'— p. 11—14.

In reference to the assertion near the beginning of this quotation, that 'statesmen are prevented from making useful appointments of men unknown to these arbiters and arbitresses of fashion, and therefore despised by them, but who would be still more despised if they were known; because they are men of learning and sound sense,' it may be here observed, that it is known to many what opposition was raised even in the liberal Whig Cabinet, of which Lord Brougham was a member, to any such appointments as are here spoken of; the aristocratic imbeciles and fribbles who composed the bulk, going against the one or two men of talent and liberality whom it contained. *Ex*

uno disce omnes. In one case, which is a striking exemplification of this, there was an individual who had performed the most laborious, the most momentous, the most valuable, nay inappreciable services to the public, which services were altogether unpaid for. A certain office of some value, intimately connected with the business in which this gentleman had been employed, was to be filled. Now the natural way in any reasonably governed state, would have been at once to appoint this man to that office; and for the two most cogent reasons in the world;—1st. That he was the person out of all comparison best fitted to perform efficiently the duties of it.—2ndly. That he had earned it by his services, otherwise entirely unremunerated. And what did the official sages of the Whig Aristocracy? They did precisely what is indicated above by Isaac Tomkins, Gent. The man in question was unknown to their women of fashion; he was not, in their sense, ‘a gentleman;’ they had never heard of him before he performed those services, which were alone sufficient to outweigh all that all of them together had ever done in the whole course of their poor, paltry, frivolous, insect existences. In short, he was not like Justice Shallow’s ‘sufficient man’ Mouldy, ‘a man of good friends,’ so they set him aside, and appointed men ‘of good friends,’ who were known unto their women.

Of patrician taste in literature and wit;—of courts, courtiers, court-jesters, buffoonery, &c. Mr. Isaac Tomkins thus, speaketh;—and his remarks will be found not a little edifying as well as amusing.

‘That their [the Aristocracy’s] encouragement is confined to the vilest portion of the press, has long ago been affirmed, and is not denied. The respectable journals are no favourite reading of theirs. The newspaper that fearlessly defends the right; that refuses to pander for the headlong passions of the multitude, or cater for the vicious appetites of the selecter circles; that does its duty alike regardless of the hustings and the *boudoir*; has little chance of lying on the satin-wood table, of being blotted with ungrammatical ill-spelt notes, half bad English, half worse French, or of being fondled by fingers that have just broken a gold-wax seal on a grass-green paper. But more especially will it be excluded, possibly extruded, from those sacred haunts of the Corinthian order, if it convey any solid instruction upon a useful or important subject, interesting to the species which the writers adorn, and the patricians do their best to degrade. Even wit the most refined finds no echo in such minds; and if it be used in illustrating an argument or in pressing home the demonstration (which it often may be,) the author is charged with treating a serious subject lightly, and jesting where he should reason. Broad humour, descending to farce, is the

utmost reach of their capacity ; and that is of no value in their eyes unless it raises a laugh at a friend's expense. Some who have lived at Court, and are capable of better things, say they carefully eschew all jests ; for princes take such things as a personal affront—as raising the joker to their own level, by calling on them to laugh with him. One kind of jest, indeed, never fails to find favour in those high latitudes—where the author is himself the subject of the merriment. Buffoonery is a denizen in all courts, but most commonly indigenous ; and after the court's example patrician society is fashioned. It is not in the true Aristocratic circles that any one will adventure the most harmless jest who would not pass for a jacobin or a free-thinker. He may make merry with the led-captain, or the humble companion, or possibly the chaplain (though that was rather in the olden time, before the French Revolution had taught the upper orders to pay the homage rendered by vice to virtue*, without acquiring piety or morals). Any other kind of wit rather indicates, if tolerated, that the adventurous individual has found his way thither from the lower latitudes of the liberal party.—p. 16.

The sensation which Mr. Tomkins's pamphlet has created is a very curious and significant fact. In a note appended to some of the later editions (the edition here quoted is the fifth), occur the following remarks on a fact, certainly, as is there observed, 'instructive enough.'

'The *Quarterly Review*, the organ of the Aristocratic Church and of the Lay Aristocracy, has taken the opportunity of printing the greater part of the work, under pretence of giving a review of it. Pretence it plainly is ; for there is hardly one remark added, and not one syllable of censure or objection ! Can any thing more plainly demonstrate that the cause of the Aristocracy is hateful even to the very writers who affect to support it ? Can any thing better prove its decline among all educated and sensible men ? Mr. Canning's abhorrence of it is well known, and so is the hatred with which he was repaid. But in our times the advocate of establishments can think of nothing better than giving a very wide circulation to Mr. I. Tomkins's observations. These *Quarterly Reviewers* would not for the world that these observations were not generally known !'—*Note p. 23.*

As Mr. Isaac Tomkins dealt chiefly with the House of Lords, Mr. Peter Jenkins on the other hand devotes his attention to

* '*Hypocrisy*—thus described by a French writer, wit, and nobleman—indeed a Duke ; for in France, where, even under the absolute monarchy, the claims of letters and talents were always admitted, the nobility cultivated wit and learning, and were a race infinitely superior to our own, in proportion as literary men were admitted into their society on a footing of equality.'

the House of Commons. He thus delivers his opinion on that subject.

‘Look only at the House of Commons—to take an example from what indeed lies at the root of the evil tree, whose bitter fruits we are all of us now eating. The Aristocracy represent us in Parliament; and, at the late election, as at all such times, they were clothed in fine smooth words—full of expressions to overflowing—glittering in pledges and promises; while they smiled from ear to ear in kindness and courtesy towards us. They would take off the malt-tax; and who, as Sir Roger Greisley said to the Derby gulls of farmers, who dared accuse *them* of ever breaking a promise? They would oppose Ministers, and restore reformers to power. They were no party men to bring in a Whig Aristocracy, any more than to keep in a Tory one. But to reforming men and reforming measures they would look—and they would devote themselves to give cheap food to the country; and a reforming—a real reforming Ministry to the King.’

‘Next look at what these honest and faithful stewards have been doing ever since. Do not let us disguise the truth from ourselves. OUR REPRESENTATIVES HAVE DECEIVED US;—DO NOT LET US DECEIVE OURSELVES. A CONSIDERABLE MAJORITY OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IS AGAINST ALL REFORM. That majority, in its heart, hates the people. Its fears are pointed to the progress of improvement; its care is for the privileged orders; its darling object is to keep all things as much as possible in their present state, and just to give us as much relief as they cannot either resist or evade giving. They do not, in substance or effect, differ from the House of Lords, which is their natural ally, and their only lawful superior, to whose interests they are quite willing to sacrifice their constituents at any moment they can do it in safety. The Lords will not oppose a reform, when they are afraid of being swept away if they do. The bulk of the Commons—a majority of 100 at the least—will let reform pass, which they dare not resist without being sure of losing their seats. Those members only give us just as much support and protection as they cannot possibly withhold; and in all other cases they refuse to stir for us. Hence neither Lord John Russell could frame an amendment worth a straw, excepting for merely party purposes; nor could Mr. Hume support the people’s most important right, to stop supplies till grievances were redressed. Hence all motions of any value are put off, because there is a struggle to turn out one set of Aristocrats, and put another in their place. I do not blame those men,—the chiefs of the liberal and popular portion of the Whig party; on the contrary, I feel the debt of gratitude we owe them. But what can they do with such a system? They dare not break with the Aristocracy, to which almost all of them—more than nine in every ten—actually belong; they dare not fly in the face of the Court, which, as things are now arranged, may turn out a Ministry without notice, and without the least reason assigned; and, after plunging the country in confusion, retreat and suffer no kind of penalty or even inconvenience from its intrigue. Our friends are the minority; and the rest of the opposition, who in case

of a change will be the ministerial body, is composed of men in whom the country never can again place any trust; because they have got into Parliament under false pretences; wheedling us one day with promises of strong votes, and breaking these promises the next; gaining their seats by pledges of reform, and forfeiting those pledges the moment they were sworn in.—p. 1.

Peter concludes his pamphlet with a postscript, containing some remarks on the new liberal Government. He says, I told you what I expected it would be made of; and certainly, Isaac, for your taste it is quite aristocratical enough. There are Lords enow in it to suit your notions of things. Nine Lords and three Commoners! Peter gives the following edifying specimen of the *circular* reasoning of what are called the courtly and fashionable circles; and Peter has no doubt been 'to Court' in his day, for he talks as gingerly of the 'fine folks' as if they were his own flesh and blood.

'One thing must really be gratifying to the people—the indignation which the announcement of the change creates, in what are called the courtly and fashionable circles, where, by the way, all the reasoning upon such matters runs in that figure. Thus, "Oh, for God's sake, let us have no more Lord Althorps, or Lord Broughams, or Lord Durhams; for then we shall have real reform." And then, "Pray, pray, none of your real reforms; for then we shall have Lord Althorp, and Lord Brougham, and Lord Durham, back again." Well, but now they must make their delicate and squeamish minds up to a little more of a real reform; for without it, neither this nor any other Government can go on; and if we get it, we must make up our minds not to care who gives it us.'

The third pamphlet mentioned at the head of this Article treats of a question which as it is somewhat less hacknied, so it is still more interesting and important than those which are discussed in the other.

Of the two roots of that evil tree which, like the deadly Upas, has so long overshadowed and poisoned the very life-springs of English society; one, the accumulation of political power in a few hands, was extirpated, or at least greatly diminished, by the Reform Bill. The other—the artificial accumulation of wealth in a few hands—still remains; and as long as it does, a part of the pestilence will remain. You may amend poor laws; you may improve the administration of justice; you may reform the legislature itself; you may even diffuse education; Mr. Hume may bring forward schemes of retrenchment; Mr. Grote, motions on the ballot; and Lord Brougham and Mr. Roebuck, motions on the subject of national education,—for ages; but till the artificially large fortunes are broken down, the work will be incomplete,

may futile. Besides the immense mass of hope and fear, and the proportionate motives to venality and servility, of which they are the source,—they afford such a stimulus to all men to get rich, as to leave hardly any time for the cultivation of their spiritual nature. This is the cause of the gross ignorance,—so gross as to make them a subject of ridicule,—of every thing but their own narrow and sordid pursuits, exhibited by many of our tradesmen, and even of our merchants and professional men;—of their devotion to money, as the sole earthly good;—so much so, as to exemplify that state of mind in which a greater value is set upon the means than upon the end; of their coarse and uncultured manners, and still coarser and more uncultured minds, which have made them so much an object of derision to the Aristocracy. It is not forgotten that there is another thing to be guarded against, viz. the discouragement of industry. But the fallacy contemplated on this head, is that greater encouragement is given to industry by the accumulated fortunes, than would be given by the same or a greater quantity of wealth, spread over a greater number of individuals. There might be some difference in the kinds of industry encouraged;—there might not be so much demand for carvers of ‘the dog Bashaw;’—but it is clear the quantity on the whole could not be less*.

In this matter, one Mr. Timothy Winterbottom,—as it would seem, a kinsman of the Tomkins and Jenkins family,—in a letter to the said Isaac Tomkins and Peter Jenkins, has done the state some service. The state of the case at present seems to be this. The fortune and style of living of him upon whom the property of the father descends, give the tone to English society, and form the standard below which prudent parents will not permit their daughters to marry, and to attain which, as observed above, all classes of English society at present devote their whole time and energies to the accumulation of wealth, to the exclusion of every worthier object. But the most interesting point of view to look at this subject is, to observe the effect produced on the younger branches of wealthy and aristocratic families, by this law or custom of primogeniture; and on this point Mr. Winterbottom’s observations are most valuable and interesting.

‘The younger branches of the family are necessarily but slenderly provided for, in order that the patrimony may be bestowed entire on the favoured one. As long as the family continue in childhood they

* For an answer to the fears expressed on the ultimate consequences of the subdivision of property, see p. 36 of the present Number.

are, with the exception perhaps of that adulation which sycophants and flatterers too early bestow upon the eldest, brought up alike,—they enjoy the same luxuries, they form the same friendships, they acquire the same tastes, they learn to relish the same society—but when they arrive at the age of manhood, they begin to feel their different position in the scale of social life. Who is there that has not seen the difference of the reception of the members of the same family in this town? The younger brother is eyed with coldness and jealousy, while the eldest is received with flattering solicitude, with welcome and cordiality. To the younger the society of women is denied. He is forbid to aspire to the affection of those with whom he was born on an equality, but below the reach of whom he is degraded by the operation of this law. He may, indeed, mend his fortune, by taking up with some worn-out titled dowager, or rich ill-tempered fright; but to him love “founded in reason, loyal, just, and pure,” is a blessing unattainable. The fortune and circumstances of him upon whom the property of the father will descend is that which gives the tone to that society in which a family is placed, and the artificial accumulation of wealth upon one has thus the effect of raising the standard, under which parents will not permit their daughters to marry. It aggravates the distance between the various members of society in a twofold manner, by causing an artificial elevation on the one side, and an artificial depression on the other; and this to a degree greater than may at first be imagined. It is not merely the laud of the parent which may be affected by this law. He who is heir to his father may be heir to many—he who is not can be heir to none. The rich man may receive unintentional additions to his estate; he may receive intentional bequests from those whose dispositions are formed upon the law. Not so the poorer younger brother. No landed windfall can come to him. If he receive anything it must be by the special grace and favour of the donor. Primogeniture draws an invidious distinction between persons who frequent the same company. It tends to establish a class who are more or less excluded from all society; from that in which they were born, for want of means to retain their places; and from that below them, by the feeling and habits of the other: a younger brother is somewhat in the situation of Mahomet’s coffin. A man may be mortified because he cannot obtain admission to society he covets, but it is something more than mortification to be excluded from society to which he naturally belongs, and which he has just begun to relish.

‘It may be urged, that whether primogeniture prevail or not, as long as differences of fortune exist those who possess the greatest wealth will meet with the greatest attention among the children of this world. This nobody can doubt for a moment. The superior attention paid to wealth is natural; but primogeniture draws an artificial line. It makes a gulf between members of the same family, the nearest and most intimate relations. It gives birth to arrogance in the place where it is most intolerable. Where property is left to follow its natural course, persons in nearly equal circumstances will

fall into the same society, but primogeniture causes a subdivision in the same class, from the painful operations of which it is difficult to escape. Were there no distinction between the eldest and the youngest children, were the property of families distributed equally, young women and their mothers would be content to dispense with many luxuries which at present they regard almost as the necessities of life, because others enjoy them ; and thus the decent comforts of domestic enjoyment would be placed within the reach of a larger number of persons of both sexes, and the aggregate of happiness in the country increased. It is indeed true that the liberal professions are open to all ; but let me observe, that there is no period in the life of man in which he so greatly needs the comfort and solace of domestic affection as when he is first struggling with the difficulties of life : when he has attained rank, wealth, and distinction, he has passed that time when the social affections take deepest root in the heart. He has other objects to occupy his mind ; society, business, and ambition, are then all he cares for. It is in the first moments of professional life, when daily and repeated mortification is to be borne, that the support and consolation of female tenderness are the most needed. It is from this that a man acquires fresh courage to face the difficulties of his profession, and to endure the anguish of disappointment, which none but those who have felt it can imagine ; and this the scorpion must bear alone and unpitied, that his idle elder brother may keep a carriage and horses for his wife. I am firmly convinced that the younger sons of a private gentle man are the persons of all others the least favourably circumstanced to get on in a profession. The wisest plan, now that there is no war to provide for them, is to send them to make their fortunes and lose their health in India. It often happens that those who are debarred the society of virtuous women will have recourse to the company of the degraded ; and this is an evil which surely has some weight, when opposed to the supposed benefits of primogeniture. Besides, this system, however it may contribute to preserve property in a direct line of descent, has likewise no small tendency to defeat its own end. As the heir apparent, in cases where the property is in settlement, is absolutely beyond the control of his father, his conduct is not influenced by fear of his displeasure ; the certainty of succession enables him to obtain the means of present gratification. How many of our landed proprietors, when they come into possession of their patrimony, are grievously hampered with unpaid bills, annuities, and post obits. It is perhaps to primogeniture that we are indebted for Crockford's—How many heirs apparent are ruining their fortunes there or at Newmarket, or breaking their necks at Melton ; and yet these very men, however little they may have to recommend them but their fortunes or expectancies, are sure of a favourable reception in society, and indeed are only too much embarrassed by the attentions they meet with from chaperons and mothers. To these the insolent leaders of fashion and the exclusives of Almack's will cringe and bow with disgusting meanness, as they proffer their decked-out daughters to their choice. No matter what

may be the morals of the object of their attention ; no matter whether he be selfish or generous, good-tempered or violent, gentle or brutal ; nor whether the claims of a wife be forestalled by others of a nature less respectable, so long as he possess the one great recommendation of being an elder son. While prizes like these remain in the matrimonial lottery, the younger, blanks, are rejected and despised.—pp. 13—18.

Timothy then goes on to consider the effect of primogeniture on the female sex. He describes the process by which the 'gaudy bait is skilfully played before the eyes of the destined victim.' This is the result after the heir has been 'hooked.'—

'But with matrimony comes repentance. Scarce is the honeymoon passed, when he finds out the deception which has been practised ; he discovers that instead of an amiable companion, who can enliven moments of dulness as well as partake of the pleasures of gaiety, he has married an empty, selfish, heartless, frivolous person, who cares not a sixpence for anything but his fortune, and who looks upon him only as the peg upon which her establishment hangs : but it is too late to recede ; he may, indeed, "flounce indignant of the guile," but the line of matrimony is too strong to be broken. The natural consequence follows ; the gentleman amuses himself with a mistress, the lady with a lover. This may be thought a picture too highly coloured ; but I do maintain that it is the tendency of primogeniture to generate this spirit of rapacity and artifice ; it even tends to make sister rival sister, and perhaps a whole family pull caps for one man. May be, indeed, under the pressing exigencies of circumstances, a rich grocer or tea-dealer is suffered to purchase his admission into the ranks of gentility by taking some unsaleable commodity off her mother's hands. If no such thing as primogeniture existed, if things were left to follow their own course and permitted to flow in their natural channels, this disparity between the demand and supply would vanish, this urgent necessity to be the first in the field and to secure the first rich fool, boy, or booby, that might offer would disappear ; women would mate with their equals, and though Hyde Park might not exhibit so long a line of carriages on a Sunday, nor the opera so splendid an attendance on a Saturday, yet the number of old maids at Bath and of divorcees at Doctors' Commons would be diminished. Independent of this indirect evil, women receive beyond all comparison the greatest injury from primogeniture, and especially the daughters of the nobility. Their luxuries in youth are greater, and their privations in after life (I speak of those who do not marry) in general more severe than those of the daughters of our commoners. The provisions for the younger children of peers are often more slender than those for the younger branches of the higher classes of the gentry. Two reasons contribute to this ; the facility of quartering them on the public, and the necessity of preserving as large a portion as possible of the patrimony, to follow the descent and support the dignity of the title. A strange sort of dignity indeed, which

has its very foundation in state pauperism. Thus those who were nursed in the lap of luxury, who fluttered most gaily through the feverish dream of fashion, are turned adrift in their maturer years, when mortification and neglect press most closely upon them, to hide themselves in some cheerless and obscure abode, shorn of the splendour, and even of the comforts, they enjoyed when young. It may, perhaps, be urged that only large estates, which can well bear the burden of ample provision for younger children, are made subjects of settlement. I have already shown that this does not apply to the peerage, and the objection itself is not founded in fact. The lower are prone to imitate this as well as other follies of the higher order, and many very small portions of landed property are as strictly tied up as the fortune of a duke.—pp. 22. 24.

Mr. Winterbottom next considers the objection that might be raised against the discontinuance of this custom, on the ground that one class of society, the country gentlemen, would then disappear from amongst us. He answers this objection pretty much as the author of the *Catechism on the Corn Laws* answers the argument that they, the country gentlemen aforesaid, ‘kill foxes and others.’ There are few things, it is feared, which the much-vaunted country ‘gentlemen of Old England’ have gloried in doing, which ‘the mole-catcher would not do better.’

He also thinks that primogeniture has had something to do with the institution of the corn monopoly. He says—

‘To the country gentlemen we owe the evils which the new Poor Law Bill was introduced to remedy, with them would disappear our game laws, and our corn laws would be more easily abolished. Primogeniture itself could not prop up the families of the aristocracy did not the Corn Laws step in to their aid. Were the occupiers the owners of the land they cultivate, we should hear no more of the necessity of corn laws. Were they repealed, many of our smaller squires would descend from the empty dignity of embarrassed gentlemen to the independence of yeomen; and the owners of large estates, those at least where the land was not of very superior quality, would be glad to dispose of their property at very moderate prices to purchasers willing to undertake its cultivation. Our yeomanry would thus be restored, and we should get rid of a class of persons of very questionable use, the mere “*fruges consumere nati*,” and that without interference with property further than demolishing a monopoly and abuse, in which one class, indeed, have long claimed a *sec simple*. That system of things cannot but be contrary to nature, which requires an unjust law like primogeniture, and a tax on the prime necessary of life, to support it; and to which sinecures in church and state are incidental evils.’—p. 28.

The whole family of Tomkins, &c. is good, and the public will be glad to see more of their kin and kind.

ART. X.—*The History of Ireland*. By Thomas Moore, Esq. In Three Volumes. Vol. I.—London; Longman and Co. 1835.

TO have written a work of good historical criticism, when the materials are already arranged, and the degree of credit to which they are entitled pretty well known, is generally looked on as a service to literature, and an achievement deserving fame. If the subject, however, is such, that the author has been obliged to search for the proper materials amidst a mass of confusion,—that he has found no men who have gone before him capable of separating the true from the false, and has had to do it himself,—then, if he has in the end produced a well-arranged clear, elegant, and judicious book, his merit as a benefactor to science is not far behind that of the men who have made themselves famous by their beneficial discoveries in the more exact sciences. The subject matter of the present work, is characterized by a chaotic discordance of materials, the outward appearance of which has caused many to turn hopeless from the attempt to reduce them to order. It cannot be said that no portions of the subject had been investigated and made clear beforehand, or that Mr. Moore has satisfactorily settled all the questions he has discussed; but it must be admitted that here is, for the first time, presented to the world, a rational, well-written, and critical account of the early history of Ireland. Every nation which has not sprouted from some other already in a state of civilization, looks back to a period of what may be called fabulous history. In this to separate the drachms of truth from the pounds of falsehood, is generally a task which requires many accomplished intellects for its fulfilment; and Ireland has been remarkable, not so much for having her annals contaminated with fable, as because from certain political causes these fables have been obstinately retained. When England looked back to Brutus the great grandson of Æneas, with his three sons Locrinus, Albanactus, and Camber, and the origin of the kings of Scotland was found in the union of a prince of Greece with a daughter of Pharaoh, it was not to be expected that Ireland should flinch from so glorious a competition; and her bards and monkish historians soon prepared for her an origin, which excelled all Europe in lustre. Hence Dr. Keating* was obliged 'to begin his history at the creation of the world,' and to have a chapter on 'The first invasion of Ireland before the

* It is said that Keating, who wrote in Irish, is not responsible for all the absurdities attributed to him; many of them being caused by the over-zeal of his translator Dermot O'Connor.

flood.' It became a subject of debate whether Ireland was first peopled by the progeny of Bamba the eldest daughter of Cain, or by Bith, a person who either built an ark for himself or hid himself in that of Noah. After the Flood the accounts are more distinct. Adhna the son of Beatha was the first to visit the Island, and bestow on it the melodious name of 'Inis na bhifodh bhiudhe.' The country was, however, hardly peopled, until Partholan of the race of Japhet arrived there about three centuries after the Deluge, 'on the 14th day of May on a Wednesday.' The conduct of this prince's wife was, it seems, of such a description, that the historians have remarked it as the first specimen of conjugal infidelity in Ireland. The next settler was Nemedius, a person as to whose pedigree there seem to have been doubts. He was followed by the great colony of the Firbolgs, to whom Ireland owed the first constitution of a government, and the division of the country into provinces. The Firbolgs were afterwards dispossessed by the celebrated Tuath-de-Danaan, who arrived 'on the first Monday in the month of May.' In the year of the world 2736,—or as O'Flacherty (between whom and Keating there is a difference on this point) will have it, a full year earlier, arrived Milesius and his train, the great stock of the kings of Ireland, from whom those of Britain were an off-shoot, a circumstance which is remarked by O'Halloran as the reason why Ireland so readily attached itself to England on the accession of James I. In this stage of the history, the narrator generally dives back into the mists of antiquity, that he may detail the history of the ancestors of Milesius, and their connexion with the principal personages of Scripture. Mr. Moore observes—

'The absence of that mythological colouring which has tinged equally the early history of the classic and the Scandinavian nations, is probably owing to the comparatively late origin of the Irish fables, and their having been manufactured for purposes of national vanity, at a time when the elevation of their ancestors from the surface of the earth was not a safe mode of laying claim to the honours of a high antiquity. The historians, however, have been unable to avoid such slight trespasses within the bounds of the supernatural, as prompted Bishop Nicholson facetiously to compare them with the earlier portions of the Sagas. Thus, the person who preserved the antediluvian annals, was preserved alive till the arrival of St. Patrick, in the alternate forms of various animals—a fact which Keating doubts. The Tuatha-de-Danaans were a race of sorcerers, who revived the dead bodies of the slain in battle, and made them again encounter their enemies; and on landing in Ireland they surrounded themselves with a mist which rendered them invisible to the Firbolgs.'

When in later days these fables were reviewed under the shade of extraneous learning, they were not always made more

rational. Thus O'Halloran finds in Ireland the Hyperborean Island of Diodorus Siculus, traces a minute resemblance between the constitution of his own country and that of Egypt, makes the Irish teach arts and arms to the Greeks, and finds that the Master of the Ulster Knights was at Jerusalem during the Crucifixion, and narrated the event to King Cormac on his return. Colonel Vallancey goes back to the building of the Tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues,—makes the Firbolgs or Japhetians leave Tyre, people Malta, Sicily, and Spain, and then arrive in Ireland,—sees in Ireland the Hesperides of the ancients, finds information about it among the Hindoos, and makes a person acquainted with the Bengalee understand the conversation of the Irish milk-women in the streets of London. Another writer of still more sublime fancy, Mr. Henry O'Brien, found in his own peculiar version of the Fall of Man, the origin of Buddhism. By a process which reminds the hearer of Horne Tooke's method of showing the powers of etymology by deriving 'King Pepin' from *ὑπερ, ἦπερ, ὕπερ*,—he makes Budh go through the metamorphoses of Butter, Fiod, Thot, and Tuath, all signifying the sun, a tree, and something else totally distinct from either, and through their original meanings expressing 'science,' 'divination,' and 'wisdom.' The great fact derived from all this is, that the Tuatha-de-Danaans are 'The Magician God-Almoners, or Almoners Magicians of the Deity,' and that Ireland was the great centre of civilization of the Ante-Mosaic world, and the source of Buddhism.

But these absurdities (of the extent of which no one can form any conception without perusing the books in which they are detailed) are in reality a melancholy subject. Some writers still reiterate the Roman opinion of Celtic falsehood, and seem to believe that it is not in the nature of that people to speak truth. If such damnable sentences are to be passed on the characters of nations, those who framed them should wait till the temptation to falsehood is removed. The falsehood and folly of the early Irish annals, demonstrate the far-spread abominations of unequal and partial government, and show how tyranny, among her manifold ways of doing evil, is enabled even to poison the stream of historical truth. A people whose later annals were enveloped in the gloom of oppression, whose religion was contemptuously trampled under foot, and who saw the faithful part of their countrymen deprived of the rewards which a nation should be able to bestow on its benefactors, turned its eyes back to look through the mist of time for happier days, and consoled itself with erecting temples of ideal magnificence, which the destroyer could never enter. Had the

fabulists been allowed to dream in peace, their visions might have departed with them; but from Giraldus Cambrensis downwards, many British writers, and a class in Ireland among the basest of the base, have made use of them among their numberless petty instruments of assault and aggravation against the Irish. The earlier writers of this class, brought against the ancient Irish charges of vice and barbarism, as foolish as their own annals of magnificence. The later, not only nervously professed their contempt of the fables, but entered on the benevolent duty of pleading against those antiquities which there was no earthly reason, except that they gratified the Irish people, for disbelieving. The honour of their country was thus involved in one of its tenderest points, and every attack or sneer only made them adhere more firmly to what they would very probably have otherwise deserted. 'I could not,' says O'Halloran in his preliminary discourse, 'without the greatest pain and indignation, behold on the one part almost all the writers of England and Scotland, (and from them of other parts of Europe,) representing the Irish nation as the most brutal and savage of mankind, destitute of arts, letters, and legislation; and on the other, the extreme passiveness and insensibility of the present race of Irish [*this is undeserved*] at such reiterated insults offered to truth and their country; instances of inattention to their own honour, unexampled in any other civilized nation.' The sedate Plowden also observes, 'No nation, in fact, now upon the face of the globe, can boast of such certain and remote antiquity; none can trace instances of such early civilization, none possess such irrefragable proofs of their origin, lineage, and duration of government. It has been a pitiful prejudice in too many English writers, to endeavour to throw discredit upon the early part of Irish History.'

The most moderate indeed of those who had occasion to look far back into Irish history, generally took the outlines of the accounts of the early settlements for granted; but it more generally happened, that inquisitive writers of good sense, appalled by the magnitude of the task and the uncertainty of accomplishing it, shrank entirely from an investigation of the early history, and commenced their narratives at a later period. It is thus that this subject, certainly one of considerable interest, was left uninvestigated. Dr. Johnson observed, that 'Dr. Leland begins his history too late; the ages which deserve an exact inquiry are those times (for such there were) when Ireland was the school of the west, the quiet habitation of sanctity and literature.'

Dr. O'Connor the late librarian of Stowe, grandson to the

person last mentioned, has the merit of having gathered the rude materials, which have enabled such a writer as Mr. Moore to make his investigations with comparative ease. The *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores veteres*, forming four considerable quarto volumes, were printed at the private press of the Duke of Buckingham, whose library has long been celebrated as containing many valuable MSS. connected with Irish literature and antiquities. The avowed purpose was, for the first time to print correctly those Irish chronicles of long acknowledged value, mutilated portions of which had been published by Keating, Johnston of Copenhagen, Pinkerton, and others. These, of which the greater part are in Irish, are accompanied by translations in Latin. The notes, and several long and interesting dissertations on particular subjects of Irish antiquity, (among which is arranged a collection of passages from classic writers bearing reference to Ireland), are according to venerable practice, also in Latin, a circumstance peculiarly inconvenient, as the proper names connected with the subject are numerous and confusing enough, and by no means suggest the propriety of making them more so by transfusing them into another language. The most important of these are the annals of Tigernach, professing to commence with the year before Christ 305, and, with a hiatus from A. D. 360 to 482, terminating in 1088, which is said to be the date of the author's death. It is considered that because he uses in the first page the expression *ab aliis fertur*, he had authorities relative to that early period to refer to, which have since been lost. The 'Annals of the four Masters,' said to have been written by four monks much conversant in Irish history, a more bulky performance, commence with the statement that 'Quadraginta diebus ante diluvium venit Ceasoir Hiberniam cum quinque filiabus, et cum tribus viris;' and with more pretension, are less trustworthy. But whatever doubt may attend the earlier portions of these annals, they are on the whole very different in authority from the works of those bardic or monkish historians of a later age, to whom is due the merit of giving to the vast legends already mentioned, form and substance. There are but few attempts at description or remark, and the most important events are told with a Spartan brevity, which shows that the author was chiefly anxious to tell his tale in as few words as were just sufficient for the purpose. Yet the editor of these valuable chronicles has chosen to go beyond their proper range, and in his zeal for the support of the Milesian theory, to trust to the frailest of all authorities—the early poets—for support, which even by them, is not very liberally supplied,

Mr. Moore, who professes some regret at being compelled to lay bare the real value of the fabulous history of Ireland, and 'not only to surrender his own illusions on the subject, but to undertake also the invidious task of dispelling the dreams of others who have not the same imperative motives of duty or responsibility for disenchanting themselves of so agreeable an error,' considers that the different inroads recorded, are the traditionary memorials of real colonizations, not only distorted and misplaced as to time, but even inverted in their order.

'Had the bards, in their account of the early settlements, so far followed the natural course of events as to place that colony which they wished to have considered as the original of the Irish people at the commencement instead of at the end of the series, we should have been spared, at least, those difficulties of chronology which at present beset the whole scheme. By making the Milesian settlement posterior in time to the Firbolgs and the Tuatha-de-Danaans, both the poetry and the reality of our early annals are alike disturbed from their true stations. The ideal colony, which ought to have been placed beyond the bounds of authentic record, where its inventors would have had free scope for their flights, has, on the contrary, been introduced among known personages and events, and compelled to adjust itself to the unpliant neighbourhood of facts; while, on the other hand, the authentic Belgæ and Damnii, accredited beings of history, have, by the interposition of this shadowy intruder, been separated, as it were, from the real world, and removed into distant regions of time where sober chronology would in vain attempt to reach them*.

'It is true, the more moderate of the Milesian believers, on being made aware of these chronological difficulties, have surrendered the remote date at first assigned to the event, and, in general, content themselves with fixing it near 1000 years later. But this remove, besides that it exposes the shifting foundation on which the whole history rests, serves but to render its gross anachronisms and improbabilities still more glaring. A scheme of descent which traces the ancestors of the Irish, through a direct series of generations, not merely to the first founders of Phœnician arts and enterprise, but even to chieftains connected by friendship with the prophet Moses himself, had need of a remote station in time to lend even a colouring of

* 'According to the calculation of the Bards, the arrival of the Belgæ must have been at least 1500 years before the Christian era.'

† 'Among the memorable things related of Moses during his intercourse with the ancestors of the Irish, we are told of a prediction uttered by him to their chief Gadelius, that "whosoever his posterity should remain or inhabit, serpents should have no power in that land to hurt either man or beast. And this prophecy is verified by Candia and Ireland; for in neither of those islands, as being inhabited by the Gadelians, it is manifest that serpents had any power as they have in any other countries."—*McCurtin's Pindication of the Antiquity of Ireland*, copied chiefly from Keating.'

probability to such pretensions. When brought near the daylight of modern history, and at the distance of nearly a thousand years from their pretended progenitors, it is plain these Milesian heroes at once shrink into mere shadows of fable; and, allowing them their fullest scope of antiquity, there appear no grounds for believing that the Scotie colony settled in Ireland at a remoter period than about two centuries before our æra. That they succeeded the Firbolgs and Danaans in their occupation of the country, all its records and traditions agree; and the first arrival of the Belgic tribes in Ireland from the coasts of Britain, or even direct from Gaul, could hardly have been earlier than about the third or fourth century before Christ.—p. 90.

The original Celtic inhabitants of Ireland, the prototypes of the fabulous Milesians, Mr. Moore conceives to have come from the coast of Spain; differing from many of the British antiquaries, who generally maintain that, through Britain, Ireland was originally peopled from Gaul. It is a point on which it is scarcely possible to do more than make a plausible theory, and the author does not seem to support his own with undue confidence. He observes,—

‘But however some of the ingredients composing their population may have become, in the course of time, common to both countries, it appears most probable that their primitive inhabitants were derived from entirely different sources; and that, while Gaul poured her Celts upon the shores of Britain, the population of Ireland was supplied from the coasts of Celtic Spain*. It is, at least, certain, that, between these two latter countries, relations of affinity had been, at a very early period, established; and that those western coasts of Spain, to which the Celtic tribes were driven, and where, afterwards, Phœnician colonies established themselves, were the very regions from whence this communication with Ireland was maintained.’—p. 3.

The tradition of the Firbolgs is referred to the not improbable circumstance of an invasion of the Belgæ. In the mighty question, whether this people were of Celtic or of Teutonic origin, the latter opinion is with some diffidence adopted, and notwithstanding their being called Kelts by the Greeks, it seems the more probable of the two. The former theory is indeed supported by Pritchard, who along with great discrimination and learning brought the science of physiology to bear on the origins and diversities of nations, and received assistance from the philological researches of Chalmers. The general clue pursued by the latter, was the etymology of the names of places;

* ‘That the Irish did not consider themselves as being of Gaulish origin, appears from their having uniformly used the word *Gall* to express a foreigner, or one speaking a different language.’

but in thus adhering to only one source of knowledge, he committed the kind of mistake often made, and overlooked the circumstance that Celtic names only proved that Celts had at one time inhabited the district, and that they might have continued to exist in despite of an after colonization of Belgæ (supposing them Teutones), just as they now subsist in nations inhabited by Goths. Of the next colony it is observed,—

‘The Tuatha-de-Danaans, by whom the Belgæ were, as we have seen, defeated and supplanted, are thought by some to have been a branch of the Damnonians of Cornwall; while others, more consistently with tradition, derive their origin from those Damnii of North Britain, who inhabited the districts in the neighbourhood of the river Dee and the Frith of Clyde*.’—p. 84.

This is a theory suggested by Pinkerton, and all that can be said of it is, that it stands in place of any better.

‘Of the historical verity of these two colonies, the Fir-Bolgs and Danaans, no doubt can be entertained; as down to a period within the fair compass of history, the former were still a powerful people in Connaught, having, on more than one important occasion, distinguished themselves in the intestine commotions of the country; and the famous Goll, the son of Morni, one of the heroes of the Ossianic age, was said to be of the blood-royal of the Tuatha-de-Danaan princes†.’—*Ib.*

Mr. Moore produces a considerable number of authorities to show, that the Scotie colony from which the people of Ireland afterwards acquired their denomination, did not arrive there until about a century or two before the Christian æra; that they were of Scythic origin, and of that branch of the people called Scythæ (if there existed any other), which was Teutonic. He believes that these brought into subjection to a certain extent the old Hiberionaces, or original Celtic population, who, like the Saxons in England, still maintained the influence of their customs and language. In the adoption of this theory, it is not to be overlooked, that the Irish Scots who figure in history soon after the introduction of Christianity, are in general the original Celtic population; a circumstance which Mr. Moore when speaking of the affinity between the Scots and Picts, and on some other occasions, appears to forget.

A portion of the book is devoted to an inquiry into the knowledge which the ancient world possessed of Ireland, through the

* ‘From hence, perhaps, they borrowed the name of Tuath Dee; that is, a people living contiguous to the river Dee.’—*Ogyg.* part i.

† ‘See Translation of an Ode, attributed to Goll, by O’Halloran, Transactions of Royal Irish Academy for the year 1788.’

commerce of the Phœnicians. In this inquiry, Mr. Moore has followed the footsteps of Dr. O'Connor. The first notice of Ireland, is in the work *De Mundo* attributed to Aristotle, in which it is mentioned along with Albion. But a truly curious, and much more distinguished notice of Ireland, occurs in the Geographical Poem of Festus ^{Avienus}, which though written in the fourth century, professes to derive information from documents of a far earlier date.

'The *Æstrumnides*, or Scilly Islands, are described, in this sketch, as two days' sail from the larger Sacred Island, inhabited by the Hiberni; and in the neighbourhood of the latter, the Island of the Albiones, it is said, extends*. Though the description be somewhat obscure, yet the Celtic names of the two great islands, and their relative position, as well to the *Æstrumnides* as to each other, leave no doubt as to Britain and Ireland being the two places designated. The commerce carried on by the people of Gades with the Tin Isles is expressly mentioned by the writer, who adds, that "the husbandmen, or planters, of Carthage, as well as her common people, went to those is-les,"—thus implying that she had established there a permanent colony.'

'In this short but circumstantial sketch, the features of Ireland are brought into view far more prominently than those of Britain. After a description of the hide-covered boats, or currachs, in which the inhabitants of those islands navigated their seas, the populousness of the isle of the Hiberni, and the turfy nature of its soil, are commemorated. But the remarkable fact contained in this record—itsself of such antiquity—is, that Ireland was then, and had been from ancient times, designated "The Sacred Island." This reference of the date

* "Ast hinc duobus in Sacram, sic Insulam
Dixere prisce, solibus cursus rati est.
Hæc inter undas multum cespitem jacit,
Eamque latè gens Hibernorum colit.
Propinqua rursus insula Albionum patet,
Tartæsisque in terminos *Æstrumnidum*
Negociandi mos erat, Carthaginiis
Ætium colonis, et vulgus inter *Herculis*
Agitans columnas hæc adibant æquora."

'One of the reasons assigned by Dodwell for rejecting the *Periplus of Hanno*, as a work fabricated, after his death, by some Sicilian Greek, is the occurrence of Greek names instead of Phœnician for the different places mentioned in it. This objection, however, does not apply to the account of Himileo, as reported by Avienus, in which the old names Gadir, Albion, and Hibernia declare sufficiently their Phœnician and Celtic original.'

'Speaking of the *Argonautics* and the record of Himileo, bishop Stillingfleet says, "These are undoubted testimonies of the ancient peopling of Ireland, and of far greater authority than those domestic annals now so much extolled,"—*Antiquities of the British Churches*, c. 5.'

of her early renown, to times so remote as to be in Himilco's days ancient, carries the imagination, it must be owned, far back into the depths of the past, yet hardly further than the steps of history will be found to accompany its flight. Respecting the period of the expeditions of Hanno and Himilco, the opinions of the learned have differed; and by some their date is referred to so distant a period as 1000 years before the Christian era*. Combining the statement, however, of Pliny, that they took place during the most flourishing epoch of Carthage†, with the internal evidence furnished by Hanno's own Periplus, there is no doubt that it was, at least, before the reign of Alexander the Great that these two memorable expeditions occurred. Those "ancients," therefore, from whom the fame of the Sacred Island had been handed down, could have been no other than the Phœnicians of Gades, and of the Gallician coasts of Spain, who, through so many centuries, had reigned alone in those secluded seas, and were the dispensers of religion, as well as of commerce, wherever they bent their course‡.—p. 8.

The intercourse of the Phœnicians with the North of Europe is a subject of much mystery, and has given rise to many vain inquiries. It is believed that they kept the sources of their commercial wealth secret, and Strabo mentions very desperate methods which they adopted to prevent their being discovered. Their trade with the British Isles, however, is believed to have been almost confined to tin; and in such a case it is difficult to suppose that their intercourse with Ireland, where that metal is not found, was more intimate than with Albion. In addition to the authority of Avienus, Mr. Moore finds in Strabo a reference to an ancient geographer, who mentions an island near Britain, at a former time dedicated like Samothrace to the worship of Ceres and Proserpine. Whether Ireland is here meant, is a doubtful matter, and some would perhaps apply the description to Anglesea, noticed at a later period as the chosen abode of the Druids; it seems therefore a too fanciful supposition, on such authority, to make Ireland a sacred Isle beyond the Pillars, in which the sailor invoked the deities of the sea to propitiate his voyage.

Mr. Moore refuses any credit to that identity between the Punic and the Irish, so hastily founded by Colonel Vallancey, on a

* 'Nous croyons donc, que cette expédition, a dû précéder Hésiode de trente ou quarante ans, et qu'on peut la fixer vers mille ans avant l'ère Chrétienne — *Gosselin, Recherches sur la Géographie des Anciens.*'

† 'Et Hanno, Carthaginiæ potentia florente, circumvectus à Gadibus ad finem Arabiæ, navigationem eam prodidit scripto: sicut ad externa Europæ noscenda missus eodem tempore Himilco.—*Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ii. c. 67.*'

‡ 'See, for a learned and luminous view of the relations of ancient Ireland with the East, Lord Rosse's Vindication of the Will of the Rt. Hon. Henry Flood.'

couple of lines put by Plautus into the mouth of Hanno the Carthaginian*. The extreme dubiety, however, of such classical notices, cannot perhaps be better illustrated than in an antagonist passage, in which Mr. Moore considers the credit due to those notices by early writers, which are unfavourable to Ireland.

‘The double aspect, indeed, under which the ancient character of the country thus glimmers upon us, through the mists of time, has divided the writers who treat of her antiquities into two directly opposite parties; and as if even the history of Ireland was fated to be made a subject of faction, the contest has been carried on by the respective disputants, with a degree of vehemence and even bitterness which, on a question relating to personages and events so far removed into past ages, appears not a little extraordinary. While, on the one side, the warm zealots in the cause of Ireland exalt to such a height the standard of her early civilisation, as to place it on a level with that of the proudest states of antiquity,—describing the sumptuous palaces of her kings, the grand assemblies of her legislators, the institutions of her various orders of chivalry, and the collegiate retreats of her scholars,—while thus, the Keatings, Walkers, O’Hallorans, availing themselves as well of the falsehood as of the facts of Irish tradition and history, have agreed in picturing the early times of their country as a perfect golden age of glory, political wisdom, and refinement; their opponents, the Ledwiches and Pinkertons, alike confident in the strength of their evidence, pronounce the whole of the very same period to have been one unclaimed waste of ignorance and barbarism.’

‘The chief authorities upon which this latter view of the question rests, are, among the Greek writers, Diodorus Siculus and Strabo; and among the Romans, Pomponius Mela and Solinus. By all these four writers, who flourished, at successive intervals, from a period just preceding the Christian era to about the middle of the third century, Ireland is represented to have been, at the respective times when they lived, in a state of utter savageness. According to Strabo† and Diodorus‡, the natives were in the habit of feeding upon human flesh; the former writer adding, that the corpses of their parents were

* It has been not unaptly supposed that these lines are a mere jargon of words, which had to the Romans the appearance of being Carthaginian, only because they were not Latin. Dr. O’Connor says the Celtic with which they are compared is much perverted.

† ‘The charges of Strabo against Ireland are contained in the following passage:—Περὶ ἧς οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν λόγον οὐρεῖς, πάλιν ὅτι ἀρχαῖον αὐτῶν βρεττανῶν ἱπάρχουσιν οὐ κατοικοῦντες αὐτὴν, αἰθιωπαρῆες τε αὐτῆς καὶ πολυφῶγοι, (αἱ πομφῶγοι) τοὺς δὲ πατέρας τελευτησάντας κατεσθίουσιν ἐν καλῶν τιβερμῶν καὶ φανῶν; μεσσησθαι ταῖς τε ἀλλαις; γυναικῶν καὶ μνηστῶν καὶ ἀδελφῶν.—Lib. iv.

‡ ‘They eat men,’ says Diodorus, in speaking of the Gauls, “like the Britons inhabiting Iris, or Irin.” τῶσι τινὰς αἰθιωπαρῆας ὡς τις καὶ τῶν βρεττανῶν τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν οὐμαζέουσαν ἱρὴν—Lib. v. Of the application of this passage to Ireland, Rennel thus doubtfully speaks:—“It is not altogether certain, though highly probable, that the country intended is Ireland.”

their favourite food, and that they committed incest publicly. The description of them by Pomponius Mela is more general, but fully as strong: "They had no sense whatever," he says, "of virtue or religion:" and Solinus also, in mentioning some of their barbarous customs, declares "that they made no distinction between right and wrong†"

‘Were there not strong grounds for calling in question their claims to authority, as regards Ireland, the evidence of these writers would possess, of course, considerable weight. But the truth is, to none of them, and, least of all, to the two most ancient and respectable of the number, Diodorus and Strabo, is any attention, on the subject of a country so wholly unknown to them, to be paid. The ready reception given by Diodorus to all stray fictions, even in those parts of his work not professedly fabulous, would, in itself, justify some degree of distrust in any statements of his not otherwise sustained. But in the case of Ireland there was, in addition to this too easy belief, an entire ignorance on the subject. Writing his great work before the Romans had made any settlement in Britain, he but shared in the general darkness then prevailing, both among Romans and Greeks, with regard to the state, history, and even geographical position of the British Isles‡. More than half a century after Diodorus had completed his history, we find Pomponius Mela declaring, that until the expedition of the emperor Claudius, then in progress, Britain had been shut out from the rest of the world§. When such, till that period, had been the general ignorance respecting Britain, it may be judged how secluded from the eyes of Europe must have been the still more western island in her neighbourhood; and how little known its internal state, except to those Celtic and Iberian tribes of Spain, with whom the commerce which then frequented the Irish harbours, must have been chiefly interchanged. It is, indeed, curious, as contrasted with the reports of her brute barbarism just cited, that the first authentic glimpse given of the state of Ireland by the Romans, should be to disclose to us thus a scene of busy commerce in her harbours, and of navigators in her waters; while, to complete the picture, at the same moment, one of her subordinate kings was a guest, we are told, in the tent of Agricola, and negotiating with him for military aid.’

‘The geographer Strabo, another of the witnesses adduced in proof of Irish barbarism, was equally disqualified with Diodorus from giving evidence upon the subject, and from precisely the same cause,—his entire ignorance of all relating to it. Even on matters lying within the sphere of his own peculiar science, this able geographer has, in

* ‘Omnium virtutum ignari, pietatis admodum expertes.—Lib. iii. c. 6.’

† ‘Fas atque nefas eodem animo ducunt.’

‡ ‘Diodorus himself acknowledges that, at the time when he wrote, the British isles were among the regions least known to the world:—*ἡμετέρας περὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας ἀφ’ ὧν ἐστὶν ἡμετέρας.*—Lib. iii.’

§ ‘Britannia, qualis sit qualesque progeneret, mox certiora et magis explorata dicentur. Quippe tamdiu clausam aperit ecce Principum Maximus, Claudius.—*De Sit. Orb.* lib. iii.’

his account of Ireland, fallen into the most gross and presumptuous errors* ;—presumptuous, inasmuch as some of them were maintained in direct and wilful defiance of what had been delivered down, upon the same points, by the ancient Greek geographers, who, from following closely in the steps of the Phœnicians, were, in most instances, correct. It ought, however, in justice to Strabo, to be mentioned, that he prefaces his account of the Irish brutalities by admitting that he had not received it from any trustworthy authority.'—pp. 183-6.

From the character of the remains of ancient worship and other rites found in Ireland,—the Cromlechs, Cairns, Barrows, Stone Circles, &c.—a sort of collateral argument seems to be adduced to connect the original inhabitants with a mixed race of Phœnicians and Celts from the Spanish Coast. The reason, however, why the former people should be connected with remains which are found all over Britain and in almost every quarter of Europe, is not very clear ; nor does there seem much evidence of the Phœnicians having introduced doctrines from the East, in the circumstance of the Druids of St. Patrick's period being rendered in Latin by the word ' Magi.' The instances of relics of Fire and Sun worship are curious, and are ingeniously connected with the ceremonies of the Eastern worship of the same objects or symbols. Such inquiries, however, belong more properly to the general history of mythology and superstition, than to the particular department of Ireland ; as in fact in all nations whose inhabitants have remained unaltered for a long series of years, similar memorials of the earlier objects of human adoration are to be found.

The prosecution of this subject leads to the consideration of those very singular remains frequently discovered in Ireland, which show that considerable proficiency had been acquired in some of the arts, and especially in that primitive accomplishment, the working of the precious metals. Many of these are justly considered evidences of a state of civilization, somewhat corresponding with that proficiency in learning which is on all hands admitted to have existed in Ireland at a comparatively early period. It has, however, been the practice of the Irish antiquaries to reverse the order of inquiry on such subjects. Instead of looking gradually back to discover the period to which such works could naturally be applied, they

* ' Among others of these errors, he represents Ireland so far to the north of Britain, as to be almost uninhabitable from extremity of cold.—Lib. ii. As far as we have at present the means of judging, his predecessors Eratosthenes and Pytheas were far more correctly informed as to the geography of the western parts of Europe.'

have begun at the commencement of all time, and generally fixed on the earliest date which the absence of all positive presumptions against them from scriptural or other authority, has permitted them to seize. Among the most mysterious and fiercely-debated questions on this subject, is the period of the erection of those celebrated round towers, of which about sixty are said still to exist in Ireland. It is maintained that they cannot have been belfries, because their internal diameter would not in general admit the swing of an ordinary bell. To suppose them watch-towers is considered equally absurd, because they are almost always built in valleys. It is true that they are found attached to churches, but then the churches, as they now exist, are almost invariably attributed to a later period. The earliest circumstance, indeed, that is with certainty known of them, is, that they existed at the time when Giraldus Cambrensis visited Ireland, whose observation regarding them is aptly remarked by Ledwich to appear applicable to buildings in ordinary use*.

The theory propounded, but not very obstinately insisted on by Mr. Moore, is as follows:—

‘As the worship of fire is known, unquestionably, to have formed a part of the ancient religion of the country, the notion that these towers were originally fire-temples, appears the most probable of any that have yet been suggested. To this it is objected, that inclosed structures are wholly at variance with that great principle of the Celtic religion, which considers it derogatory to divine natures to confine their worship within the limits of walls and roofs;—the refined principle upon which the Magi incited Xerxes to burn the temples of the Greeks. It appears certain, however, that, at a later period, the use of fire-temples was adopted by the Persians themselves; though, at the same time, they did not the less continue to offer their sacrifices upon the hills and in the open air, employing the Pyreia introduced by Zoroaster, as mere repositories of the sacred fire †. A simple altar, with a brazier burning upon it, was all that the temple contained, and at this they kindled the fire for their worship on the high places. To this day, as modern writers concerning the Parsees inform us, the part

* ‘Turres ecclesiasticæ quæ more patrio arctæ sunt et altæ, necnon et rotundæ.’—*Topogr.* 720.

† ‘Though this passage has been frequently quoted, yet no one has observed, that from its grammatical construction we may fairly infer that Cambrensis saw the Irish in the very act of building these Towers.’—*Ledwich Antiq.* 156.

It is to be observed, however, that Giraldus attributes their erection to the Ostmen, or Scandinavians.

† ‘Cependant, tous les auteurs, Arabes et Persans, cités par M. Hyde et M. D’Herbilot, attribuent à Zerdusht l’établissement des Pyrées.’—*Foucher, Mémoires de l’Acad.* tom. xxix. M. Foucher has shown, that the two

of the temple called the Place of Fire, is accessible only to the priest; and on the supposition that our towers were, in like manner, temples in which the sacred flame was kept safe from pollution, the singular circumstance of the entrance to them being rendered so difficult by its great height from the ground is at once satisfactorily explained.'

'But there is yet a far more striking corroboration of this view of the origin of the Round Towers. While in no part of Continental Europe has any building of a similar construction been discovered, there have been found, near Bhaugulpore, in Hindo-tan, two towers, which bear an exact resemblance to those of Ireland. In all the peculiarities of their shape†,—the door or entrance, elevated some feet above the ground,—the four windows near the top, facing the cardinal points, and the small rounded roof,—these Indian temples are, to judge by the description of them, exactly similar to the Round Towers; and, like them also, are thought to have belonged to a form of worship now extinct and even forgotten. One of the objections brought against the notion of the Irish Towers having been fire-temples, namely that it was not necessary for such a purpose to raise them to so great a height‡, is abundantly answered by the description given of some of the Pyrae, or fire-temples of the Guebres. Of these, some, we are told, were raised to so high a point as near 120 feet§, the height of the tallest of the Irish towers; and an intelligent traveller, in describing the remains of one seen by him near Bagdad, says, "the annexed sketch will show the resemblance this pillar bears to those ancient columns so common in Ireland||.—p. 29.

Now a common origin with some of the Eastern nations, and the adoption from them of a very peculiar instrument of worship, is certainly too great a theory to be supported, on the discovery

apparently inconsistent systems,—that of Zoroaster, which introduced fire-temples, and the old primitive mode of worshipping in the open air,—both existed together. "Pour lever cette contradiction apparente, il suffit d'observer que les Pyrées n'étoient pas des temples proprement dits, mais de simples oratoires, d'où l'on tiroit le feu pour sacrifier sur les montagnes."

* 'Anquetil du Perron, *Zend Avesta*, tom. ii.'

† 'Voyages and Travels, by Lord Valentia, vol. ii.—"I was much pleased," says his lordship, "with the sight of two very singular Round Towers, about a mile north-west of the town. They much resemble those buildings in Ireland, which have hitherto puzzled the antiquaries of the sister kingdoms, excepting that they are more ornamented. It is singular that there is no tradition concerning them, nor are they held in any respect by the Hindoos. The Rajah of Jyanegur considers them as holy, and has erected a small building to shelter the great number of his subjects who annually come to worship here."

‡ 'Dr. Milner, *Tour in Ireland*, Letter xiv. "The tower at Kildare is calculated to be four feet loftier than the pillar of Trajan at Rome."—*D'Alton*.'

§ "These edifices are rotundas, of about thirty-feet in diameter, and raised in height to a point near 120 feet."—*Hamroy's Travels into Persia*, vol. i. part iii. chap. 43.'

|| 'Hon. Major Keppel's *Personal Narrative*, vol. i. chap. 7.'

by a traveller, of a building in Hindostan similar to those he has seen in Ireland. The Irish Round Towers are of the very simplest form,—such a form as might be invented in two or three disconnected parts of the world at the same moment. Buildings resembling them in general shape though not perhaps in proportion, occur everywhere; the architecture of Flanders may be particularly instanced as affording specimens. To the theory thus propounded, Mr. Moore has likewise united another, which has by some antiquaries been maintained with all the fervour necessary to support an opinion which admits of no proof.

‘The connection of sun-worship with the science of astronomy has already been briefly adverted to; and the four windows, facing the four cardinal points, which are found in the Irish as well as in the Eastern pillar temples, were alike intended, no doubt, for the purposes of astronomical observation,—for determining the equinoctial and solstitial times, and thereby regulating the recurrence of religious festivals. The Phœnicians themselves constructed their buildings on the same principle; and, in the temple of Tyre, where stood the two famous columns dedicated to the Wind and to Fire, there were also pedestals, we are told, whose four sides, facing the cardinal points, bore sculptured upon them the four figures of the zodiac, by which the position of those points in the heavens is marked*. With a similar view to astronomical uses and purposes the Irish Round Towers were no doubt constructed; and a strong evidence of their having been used as observatories is, that we find them called by some of the Irish annalists *Celestial Indexes*. Thus in an account, given in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, of a great thunder-storm at Arinagh, it is said that “the city was seized by lightning to so dreadful an extent as to leave not a single hospital, nor cathedral church, nor palace, nor *Celestial Index*, that it did not strike with its flame†.” Before this and other such casualties diminished it, the number of these towers must have been considerable‡. From the language of Giraldus, it appears that they were common in his time through the country; and in thus testifying their zeal for the general object of adoration, by multiplying

* ‘Joseph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 2.’

† ‘Annal. Ult. ad ann. 995; also Tigernach, and the Annals of the Four Masters for the same year. Tigernach adds, that “there never happened before in Ireland, nor ever will, till the day of judgment, a similar visitation.” The learned Colgan, in referring to this record of the annalists, describes the ruin as extending to the “church, belfries, and Towers of Arinagh;” thus clearly distinguishing the Round Towers from the belfries.’

‡ ‘It is generally computed that there are now remaining fifty-six; but the Rev. Mr. Wright, in his account of Glendalough, makes the number sixty-two; and Mr. Brewer (*Beauties of Ireland*, Introduction), is of opinion, that “several, still remaining in obscure parts of the country, are entirely unnoticed by topographical writers.”

the temples dedicated to its honour, they but followed the example as well of the Greek as of the Persian fire-worshippers*.

The term 'Celestial Index' is the translation given by O'Connor of the Irish words *Fidh Nemead*, but it has not passed undisputed. On the subject of the Phœnicians, it is difficult to suppose that this industrious people, whose commerce and connexion with other nations were so extensive, should have left in Ireland the only remains of a very remarkable custom. But there are circumstances indicating that these buildings (which, by the way, evince the knowledge of the arch at the period when they were erected) need not be referred to so early an antiquity.

'In the ornaments of one or two of these Towers, there are evident features of a more modern style of architecture, which prove them to have been added to the original structure in later times; and the same remark applies to the crucifix and other Christian emblems, which are remarked on the Tower at Swords, and also on that of Donoughmore. The figures of the Virgin and St. John, on one of the two Round Towers in Scotland, must have been, likewise, of course, a later addition; unless, as seems likely from the description of the arches in which these figures are contained, the structure itself is entirely of recent date, and like the Tower of Knieth in Ireland, a comparatively modern imitation of the old Pagan pattern.'

That the ornaments of the Tower at Brechin in Scotland, are a recent addition, is begging the question. It is easy to see from the representations of them by Ledwich, and in Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, that they are part and pertinent of the original building, and that they could not have been incorporated with it, without an expenditure of labour which it is quite unnecessary to suppose, nor indeed with safety to the building. A writer on this subject, of much bolder genius, who has threatened on some early day to enlighten the world on the analogy between Solomon's Temple and the Round Towers, is so far from having recourse to this expedient, that he hails the Crucifix (which is one of the sculptures on Brechin Tower), in aid of a theory that the crucifix was a symbol of much greater antiquity than Christianity, stumbled upon by some vague analogies from the *crux ansata* of the Egyptians†. From the

* 'In speaking of the Prytanæa which, according to Bryant, were properly towers for the preservation of the sacred fire, a learned writer says, "When we consider that before the time of Theseus, every village in Attica had its Prytanæum, we may collect how generally the fire-worship prevailed in those times."—*Dissertation upon the Athenian Skirophoria*. So late as the 10th century, when Ebn Haukal visited Pers, there was not, as he tells us, "any district of that province, or any village, without a fire-temple."

† O'Brien's 'Round Towers.'

descriptions, the crucifix of Donoughmore appears to be of the same nature. The admission that any one of these Towers is of comparatively modern date, seems to destroy the theory of the immense antiquity of the others; as the only reason why they are presumed so very ancient, is because they cannot easily be assigned to a late age. The church of Lusk, said to be one of the most ancient in Ireland, has two round Towers which form part of the original design, being attached to the angles of the Great Tower. If one may judge from Grose's plates, they are in all respects the same in form with the others. It is singular, that in the course of these investigations Mr. Moore has not noticed the sculptured stones to be found frequently in the vicinity of the Round Towers, and enjoying with them the common quality of being apparently older than the religious edifices near which they are found, yet evidently erected in no untasteful or very barbarous age. These are of various degrees of elegance, from the rude and confused specimens generally to be found in the north of Scotland, to the beautiful cross of St. Boin in Monasterboice. Most of these stones are covered with grotesque and distorted animals, of which a good specimen exists in the great stone at Kilcullen. They have all common characteristics, but it is singular, that the more elegant generally have Christian symbols, and the more barbarous have not. A fastidious Scotchman of the last century found in these rude carvings a minute resemblance to those of Egypt; and an Irishman of the present period has been hardy enough, not only to adopt the analogy as a certainty, but also to maintain that the Christian symbols are older than Christianity, and to find crosses where other men can see none.

It must be allowed, that while Mr. Moore has swept from the bounds of history the fables so readily admitted before, he seems, in some instances, anxious to atone to his countrymen for what he has deprived them of, by producing external evidence of the ancient greatness of Ireland. Of such a nature seems his vindication to Ireland of the merit of having supplied Britain and the rest of Europe with Druidism. This form of worship is presumed to have been originally taught the Irish by the Phœnicians. This may or may not be the case; and it was as likely—making allowance for some general points of similarity naturally arising from the intercourse of the two nations—to have been invented in Ireland as in Tyre.

The little notice taken by the Romans of the state of this worship among the Britons, is another point which appears worthy of consideration. Instead of being general throughout the country, as might have been expected from the tradition mentioned by

Cæsar, the existence of Druidism appears to have been confined to a few particular spots; and the chief seat of its strength and magnificence lay in the region nearest to the shores of Ireland, North Wales. It was there alone, as is manifest from their own accounts, and from the awe and terror with which, it is said, the novelty of the sight then affected them*, that the Romans ever encountered any Druids during their whole stay in Britain; nor did Cæsar, who dwells so particularly upon the Druids of Gaul, and even mentions the prevalent notion that they had originated in Britain, ever hint that, while in that country, he had either met with any of their order, or been able to collect any information concerning their tenets or rites. The existence, still, in various parts of England, of what are generally called Druidical monuments, is insufficient to prove that Druidism had ever flourished in those places; such monuments having been common to all the first races of Europe†, and though forming a part of the ritual of the Druids, by no means necessarily implying that it had existed where they are found. In the region of Spain occupied anciently by the Turditani, the most learned of all the Celtic tribes, there is to be found a greater number of what are called Druidical remains than in any other part of the Peninsula‡. Yet, of the existence of an order of Druids among that people, neither Strabo nor any other authority makes mention.

The theory on the formation of the stone circles, urged by Dr. Stukeley and his numerous followers, has certainly not been satisfactorily proved; but it has as great a foundation in probability, as such theories almost ever attain. The instances given by Ledwich are of an extremely vague description; and if Mr. Moore listens to Pinkerton's dogmatism on this subject, he will find it unequivocally stated that 'In Ireland there is not a shadow of an authority for the very name of Druid being known, and antiquaries might with equal reason give us Bonzes and Dervises in Ireland §.'

But there is a sentence by Cæsar, which Mr. Moore finds more difficulty in meeting. 'Disciplina in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur; et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo, discendi causa, proficiuntur.' When Mr. Moore considers that the 'Britannia' is a mere mistake for 'Hibernia,' he follows a system too common, but tending to the destruction of all classical authorities as the means of reaching truth. The

* 'Novitate aspectus perculere milites.--*Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. c. 30.*'

† 'For proofs of the adoption of circular stone temples, and other such monuments, by the Gothic nations, see Ledwich's *Antiquities (Pagan State of Ireland, and its Remains)*, and Pinkerton's *Enquiry*, &c. part iii. chap. 12.'

‡ *History of Spain and Portugal, CAB. CYCLO. Introduction.*

§ *Enquiry*, i. 205.

natural answer is, that when so acute an observer as Cæsar makes any observation regarding Britain, it is much more likely to be applicable to that, than to any other spot. 'So ignorant,' it is observed, 'were the Roman scholars respecting the geography of these regions, that it is not impossible they may have supposed Britain and Ireland to be one and the same country; seeing that, so late as the period when Agricola took the command of the province, they had not yet ascertained whether Britannia was an island or a continent.' Cæsar, however, knew far more about the matter than he is here admitted to have done, when he described Ireland as an island off the Western shore of the triangular island Britain, and of about half its size.

One of the most interesting and important subjects of inquiry in early Irish history, is the origin of that learning, which notwithstanding all that has been alleged regarding the barbarism of Ireland, cannot be denied to have thence illuminated at a very early period the north of Europe. As in most other cases, the absurd antiquity claimed for the origin of literature by the Irish antiquaries, has darkened the subject, and made even the pure facts be treated with incredulous contempt. Mr. Moore is anxious to prove, that the Irish possessed the use of letters before the coming of St. Patrick, by whom they are said to have been introduced.—

'By the doubters of Irish antiquities the time of the apostleship of St. Patrick has been the epoch generally assigned for the first introduction of letters into that country. This hypothesis, however, has been compelled to give way to the high authority of Mr. Astle, by whom inscribed monuments of stone were discovered in Ireland, which prove the Irish, as he says, "to have had letters before the arrival of St. Patrick in that kingdom *." It is true, this eminent antiquary also asserts, that "none of these inscribed monuments are so ancient as to prove that the Irish were possessed of letters before the Romans had intercourse with the Britons;" but the entire surrender by him of the plausible and long-maintained notion, that to St. Patrick the Irish were indebted for their first knowledge of this gift, leaves no other probable channel through which, in later times, it could have reached them; and accordingly sends us back to seek its origin in those remote ages, towards which the traditions of the people themselves invariably point, for its source. Of any communication held by the Romans with Ireland, there is not the least trace or record; and the notion that, at a period when the light of History had found its way into these regions, such an event as the introduction of letters into a newly discovered island should have been passed unrecorded by

either the dispensers or the receivers of the boon, seems altogether improbable.'—p. 57.

An appeal to Mr. Astle on such a point, is like a reference to a professional man about his own pursuit, and his authority must be held as the best that can be procured. That St. Patrick was the person who introduced letters, probably rests on no better authority than that of Nennius, while, on the other hand, the *Psalter of Cashel*, which cannot be much less trustworthy, would settle the matter at once the other way, by its statement, that St. Patrick burned 180 volumes of the Irish records. It seems, indeed, more reasonable to suppose, that the Irish had some little knowledge of letters before the days of the apostle, than that the multitude of learned saints who crowded after him, were the instantaneous produce of his instructions. Admitting this, however, it seems by no means necessary to look back to that very remote antiquity, to which the Irish seem to have on all occasions so much pleasure in resorting. The presence of a traitor chief from Ireland in the camp of Agricola, was an early instance of a very natural intercourse between Ireland and those parts of the neighbouring island which the Romans had vanquished and partly civilized. There cannot be any reason for presuming, that such an intercourse between the neighbouring islands, should not have continued during the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus, Hadrian, Severus, Theodosius, and Stilicho, who unfortunately had no Tacitus to record their exploits. Indeed during the period of some of these, Ammianus Marcellinus tells of the vexatious inroads of the Scotti or Irish whom Gildas politely designates the insolent Irish vagrants. Mr. Moore himself mentions the expedition of an Irish monarch against the Romans in Scotland, so early as the first century, and fixes the invasion of Carbre Riada the founder of the Dalriadic race in Albany, only about a century and a half later. Some of the Irish then possessed similar opportunities of instruction with the British, and as no Saxon invaders overran their country, may have been able to use them to more permanent advantage. The discovery made by Dr. O'Connor that the old Irish alphabet possessed only what is generally supposed to be the original Cadmeian number of letters, sixteen, founded a more startling argument. This old Irish alphabet, however, which is much the same with the Anglo-Saxon, was necessarily admitted to be derived from the Roman. It was necessary then to presume, that St. Patrick had offered the Irish the Roman letters, but that they only accepted such of them as corresponded with their own ancient alphabet; a theory involving too great nicety, as, had the Irish once found and admitted an alphabet

better suited to their purposes than their own, the reception of a portion merely to serve the uses of their own previous inconvenient alphabet, would have been certainly a rather unnatural inconsistency.

An attempt has been made to prove from actual remains in Ireland, the existence of an alphabet termed the Ogham character, at a period anterior to the introduction of the alphabet in use since the period of St. Patrick. As it consists of a peculiar arrangement of straight lines, a letter being understood to be represented by a certain number of these laid parallel to each other, ordinary natural marks on stones have been peculiarly liable to be mistaken for such inscriptions. That such a method was used as a secret alphabet at one time, is evident; and among other instances there is a specimen in the annals of Innisfail of the date 1193. All proof however, that it was anything but an invention of the monks of that period, seems to have failed. An Irish antiquary who has no doubt of the antiquity of this secret hand, and wishes to make the most of his position, shrewdly enough remarks, that 'it is after considerable advances in the culture of literature, that these occult systems are contrived, in order to serve some private end which requires concealment*'; in addition to which it may be observed, that inscriptions on stones, which are supposed to convey information to the public or to posterity, are not the cases in which one would *primâ facie* expect to find a secret character used. Mr. Moore treats this subject with due caution.—

'We have seen that, among the inscribed monuments of stone, of which there are so many throughout Ireland, the learned Astle found proofs to satisfy him that the Irish had letters before the arrival of St. Patrick. Could some of the inscriptions, said to be in the Ogham character, be once satisfactorily authenticated, they would place beyond doubt the claims of the natives to an ancient form of alphabet peculiarly their own. It is possible that in a few of these instances the lines taken for letters may have been no more than the natural marks, or furrows, in the stone; as was frequently the case with those lines, supposed to be mystic characters, upon the Betyli, or Charmed Stones, of the ancients†. The professed date, too, of the Ogham inscription, on the mountain of Callan, of which so many and various versions have been suggested, has been called in question by a learned antiquary seldom slow to believe in

* 'Trans. R. Ir. Acad. i. 13.'

† "Some of the Betyls," says M. Falconnet, "avoient des lignes gravées sur leur surface. Damascius les appelle lettres, pour rendre la chose plus mystérieuse : effectivement, ces lignes que je crois être précisément ce qu'Orphée appelle rîdes, forment une apparence de caractères."—*Dissert. sur les Betyls.*

the evidence of his country's civilisation*. Neither does any discovery seem to have been yet made of the tomb of Fiachra, a hero commemorated in the ancient Book of Ballymote, who received his death-wound in the battle of Caonry, A. D. 380, and was buried in Meath, with his name inscribed, in the Ogham character, on his tomb†. There is, however, an account given in the transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, on the authority of two most intelligent and trustworthy witnesses‡, of the discovery of a stone inscribed with undoubted Ogham letters, in the neighbourhood of the town of Armagh, and on a spot resembling, in many of its features, the remarkable tumulus at New Grange§.

The uncertainty of the information in the notes will easily be estimated. It appears moreover that Dr. Brown did not immediately perceive the conclusion to which he so satisfactorily arrived. 'At first view, he says, he was not sure that the indentures in the stone were not natural, but on observing them carefully, and their regularity, and comparing them with the natural impressions which were irregularly indented in the other stones, and in some parts of this, he convinced himself beyond a doubt that they were artificial, and this is strongly confirmed by the tradition of the country||.' A plate accompanies the account, which had better for the authenticity of the Ogham alphabet have been omitted, as it merely represents, without any attempt at variety of arrangement, several straight lines, of which no one, or cluster, can by any force of imagination be supposed to embody a meaning distinct from that of any other. As to the Mount Callan stone, it was found, that after one gentleman had read it in one direction, another, not having con-
nived with him, read it with equal fluency in the other. On the whole, the various meanings derived from it were as follows.

* 'Dr. O'Connor, de inscript. Ogham—*Annal. Inisfal.*'

† 'Vallancey, Irish Grammar, Pref. 12.—(O'Connor, *Ep. Nunc.* 33. and *Annal. Inisfall.* 136.)

‡ 'Doctor Brown and the Rev. Mr. Young, both fellows of Trin. Coll. Dublin. In a letter from Dr. Brown (quoted in a paper, vol. viii. of the Irish Transactions), he is represented to have said, that "notwithstanding all that has been written, by very learned men, of the Ogham character, and some modern testimonials respecting its existence, he was extremely incredulous as to any monuments being actually extant on which it could be found, and disposed to think that literary enthusiasm had mistaken natural furrows on the stone for engraved characters: but, having satisfied himself that he was in error, he thought it a duty to the Academy to mention a monument of the kind that had come under his knowledge."

§ "They observed enough to impress them with a strong persuasion that the hill is excavated, the entrance being very like that at New Grange. Another resemblance is in the surrounding circle of upright stones, which (together with the want of a ditch or fosse) always distinguishes such tumuli."—*Dr. Brown's Account.*

|| Trans. R. Ir. Acad. viii. 4.

'1. Beneath this sepulchral monument is laid Conan the fierce, the nimble-footed. 2. Obscure not the remains of Conan the fierce, the nimble-footed. 3. Long let him lie at ease on the brink of this lake, beneath this hieroglyphic, darling of the sacred. 4. Long let him lie at ease on the brink of this lake, who never saw his faithful clan depressed. 5. Hail with reverential sorrow the drooping heath around his lamentable tomb *.'

It was the fate of Dr. O'Connor to find it said in Lucian, *Τον Ηρακlea οἱ κελτοι Ογμιον ονομαζουσι φωνη τη επιχωριω* 'The Celts in their vernacular language call Hercules Ogmios;' the reason assigned being, that he leads men by the ears, or charms them from savageness to civilization by eloquence. Ham is made to stand for Hercules, Mercurius, and Cadmus or Hamus or Chamus. Og means a poet, or wisdom; and Og-ham is *scientia Hami*†; the word as used in the eleventh century being thus nearer to the original derivation, than it was in the time of Lucian.

In the second edition of Pinkerton's Enquiry, there is an engraving of a stone found in Scotland, containing an inscription of which it has puzzled all antiquaries, Celtic and Gothic, to make anything, although the letters are quite distinct, and some of them almost identical with Greek letters. Col. Vallancey with his usual alacrity found the first words to be *Galf Gomarra*; but he could neither proceed any further, nor explain the means by which he had achieved so much.

The internal evidence, deduced from the chronicle collected by O'Connor, affords a more interesting and satisfactory view of the early period of the literature of Ireland; but here extreme antiquity is again rather too strongly pleaded. Mr. Moore says, —

'From the objections that have just been alleged against most of the other Books of Annals, that of Tigernach is almost wholly free; as, so far from placing in the van of history the popular fictions of his day, this chronicler has passed them over significantly in silence; and beginning his Annals with a comparatively late monarch, Kimboath, pronounces the records of the Scots, previously to that period, to have been all uncertain‡. The feeling of confidence which so honest a commencement inspires, is fully justified by the tone of veracity which pervades the whole of his statements; and, according as he approaches the Christian

* Trans. R. Ir. Acad. i. 9.

† O'Con. An. Inisfal. 124, 125.

‡ 'Doctor O'Connor, it is right to mention, is of opinion that Tigernach had, like all the other annalists, begun his records from the creation of the world, and that the commencement of his manuscript has been lost. But, besides that the view taken by the annalist as to the uncertainty of all earlier monuments, sufficiently accounts for his not ascending any higher, all the different manuscripts, it appears, of his Annals agree in not carrying the records farther back than A. C. 305.'

era, and, still more, as he advances into that period, the remarkable consistency of his chronology, his knowledge and accuracy in synchronising Irish events with those of the Roman history, and the uniformly dry matter of fact which forms the staple of his details, all bespeak for these records a confidence of no ordinary kind; and render them, corroborated as they are by other Annals of the same grave description, a body of evidence, even as to the earlier parts of Irish history, far more trustworthy and chronological than can be adduced for some of the most accredited transactions of that early period of Grecian story, when, as we know, the accounts of great events were kept by memory alone*.

The synchronizing of Irish events with those of Roman history, cannot be admitted as showing more than a knowledge of Roman history at the time the annals were compiled; unless it be supposed that at the period when Mr. Moore admits that the Romans hardly knew of the existence of Ireland, the Irish were intimately acquainted with passing events in Rome. And the circumstance tends to prove, that one portion at least of the contents of the annals is not derived from documents contemporary with the events narrated. The precision with which the eclipse of 664 is recorded, is justly built upon by Mr. Moore, and is an argument by itself, not only for the accuracy and authenticity of the narrative as to that particular period, but giving fair ground to presume that a similar accuracy exists for some length of time beyond it. It will hardly however be a voucher for the accuracy of the chronicle a thousand years earlier. This indeed, seems not to be urged by Mr. Moore, and few will be disposed to deny the reasonableness of the following comment.—

“Having, therefore, in the accurate date of the eclipse of 664, and in its correct transmission to succeeding times, so strong an evidence of the existence of a written record at that period; and knowing, moreover, that of similar phenomena in the two preceding centuries, the memory has also been transmitted down to after ages, it is not surely assuming too much to take for granted that the transmission was effected in a similar manner; and that the medium of written record, through which succeeding annalists were made acquainted

* “It is strongly implied by his (Pausanias's) expressions, that the written register of the Olympian victors was not so old as Choroebus, but that the account of the first Olympiads had been kept by memory alone. Indeed, it appears certain from all memorials of the best authority, that writing was not common in Greece so early.”—*Mitford*, vol. i. chap. 3.

“When we consider that this was the first attempt (the Olympionics of Timæus of Sicily) that we know of, to establish an era, and that it was in the 129th Olympiad, what are we to think of the preceding Greek chronology?”—*Wood's Enquiry into the Life &c. of Homer*.

with the day and hour of the solar eclipse of 664*, conveyed to them also the following simple memorandum which occurs in their chronicles for the year 496.—“Death of Mac-Cuillin, bishop of Lusk.—An eclipse of the sun.—The pope Gelasius died.”

As referring to the period before Christianity, an account is given of the Brehon system, taulstry, &c.; and the author even enlarges on the effects which they produced on the state of society. That these had their roots in a very early period, the stubbornness with which they were, through the favour of that body called the Irish Parliament, adhered to up to the reign of James I. in their original purity, is sufficient evidence. This branch of the subject, however, ought certainly to have been reserved for a later period, when these customs influenced the political connexion between England and Ireland, and the effects produced on the state of society could be more accurately investigated. In the general narrative of events, and the lives of Kings previous to the arrival of St. Patrick, a briefer system might have been adopted; as, even by the author's own admission, the arrival at a true narrative of fact is little more than a matter of chance. Among these Kings occurs the renowned name of Ollamh Fodhla, as to the period of whose existence the fabulous historians have vagrated between 1300 and 600 years before Christ. The act by which this monarch's name is immortalized, is the foundation of the celebrated convention of Zara, a name now perhaps more generally known by the beautiful lyric of Mr. Moore, than by its once magnificent historical associations. On the equity of the laws passed by the triennial parliament here assembled, and on the measures adopted by its antiquaries to preserve the true history of the country, the old historians have expended their choicest eloquence. Round what real nucleus all this magnificence can have been spun, it would be difficult to decide. Attempts were lately made to discover the foundations of the palaces and halls, but in vain.

Round the progress of St. Patrick's mission the author has thrown a colouring of lively interest; and after the dry investigations which he had previously to undertake, he has probably felt it a sort of resting-place, at which he could stop and paint

* ‘The dates assigned to the several eclipses are, in this and other instances, confirmed by their accordance with the catalogues of eclipses composed by modern astronomers, with those in the learned work of the Benedictines, and other such competent authorities. There is even an eclipse, it appears, noticed in the annals of Ulster, ad ann. 674, which has been omitted in *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*.—Ep. Nuuc. xciv.’

a scene, which no one is better able to beautify than himself. Columba, Columbanus, St. Kilian, Virgilius, and other *illustrissimi* of early Irish learning, also occupy a considerable portion of the labours of his pen. Here he is again in another chaos, which the vanity of Irish writers and the envy of other nations have raised, through the disputes regarding the location of some few hundreds of Saints, whose acts and literary efforts the conflicting pages of Colgan and Dempster are best fitted to commemorate.

The cool and critical consideration which Mr. Moore has applied to the redundant antiquities of his native country, will not perhaps for some time receive gracious consideration from many of his fellow-citizens, nor will a neighbouring people be likely to thank him for abstracting some of their dubious glories. An unfortunate adaptation of the name which gradually deserted Ireland, had given Scotland an opportunity of successfully appropriating the fame of those mighty deeds, which, in so far as they were done at all, were certainly performed in Ireland. A bitter war was long carried on between the antiquaries of the two countries, and in the cloud of fable and folly which they raised about themselves, it was difficult for reasonable men to distinguish which had the better cause. In later times Goodall, in revenge against the Irish antiquaries for proving that the ancient Scotia was in Ireland, valorously undertook, for the honour of his country, to prove that the ancient Hibernia was in Scotland. Contrary to all authority, it was maintained by D. M'Pherson, that Ireland was peopled from Scotland; and Mr. Logan, a living writer, has followed in the same course. But the most glaring act of all, was the preparation and appropriation of the poems of Ossian; to which the Scotch entitled themselves by a sort of right of conquest, through the genius of the singular man, whose adroit imagination enabled him to compose epic poems, which should not be too distinct from the rude ballads of the middle ages, to prevent men of learning from making it a subject of dispute whether they were traditions or not. To find traditions and names strictly their own, thus haughtily seized to ornament the historical associations of a rival land, has naturally been a subject of considerable mortification to the Irish. Perhaps, considering the degree of respect which the authenticity of those poems now retains, Mr. Moore has treated the subject too seriously. There are, however, still men, chiefly among the Highland proprietors, who will not more readily be convinced of the forgery, than some of the Irish will be of the non-existence of Milesius. The subject is personal, and you may as safely in their presence malign their fathers, as question the authenticity of the poems of Ossian.

The public will wait with anxiety for the future volumes of Mr. Moore's work; expecting to find in them the history of a dark and troubled period, in which the author will neither follow the example of those who have maligned their country for hire, nor conceive that a good cause can be maintained by infringing truth in its behalf.

ART. XI. *A Bill for granting Relief in relation to the Celebration of Marriages, to certain persons Dissenting from the Church of England and Ireland.*—1835.

THE subject of relief to the Dissenters in the matter of Marriage, has long been, and seems likely to continue, a question frequently agitated, but without any very definite views being avowed or acted upon on either side, and certainly without any sensible approach being made towards its final adjustment. It is a 'grievance' much talked about, but apparently considered on all hands as one which is to adjust itself by time and the Chapter of Accidents, rather than by any well-arranged plan of proceeding.

The *principle* has long been considered as one universally conceded; but whether owing to bad faith on the one side, or bad management—perhaps some indifference—on the other, practical relief seems as far off as ever, though the subject keeps its place as usual in the stock both of Dissenters' grievances, and of Parliamentary projects crudely developed, serving to amuse or puzzle for a nightly debate, and then left by their own concoctors on the same shelves as their numerous predecessors already adorn.

It seems admitted that when the legislature set to work at the instigation of Lord Hardwicke,—not with the remotest intention whatever of interfering with religion, but with the purely civil object of preventing 'Clandestine Marriages,'—the state of the law was as follows. Marriage was in the eye of the law essentially a civil contract in England, as it now is in Scotland. The addition of a religious ceremony was, however, almost universal. After the Toleration Act, Dissenters might have performed the ceremony in their own chapels; though except as regards the Quakers, they so rarely did so, that they made no objection whatever to this liberty being taken away by Lord Hardwicke's Act. The Jews and Quakers, who were then the only objectors to marriage in church, being consequently excepted from the operation of the Act, the Church ordinance was selected as the legal basis of the civil regulations then enacted as to every one else. And so the matter has continued ever since.

It is plain that the basis thus adopted for regulations purely civil in their nature and object, was an improper one. It might easily have been foreseen that the non-conformists would not eventually be satisfied to be thus compulsorily 'brought in,' and that the position in which the Church was placed, in thus administering its ordinances to persons notoriously in opposition to either its doctrines or discipline, was likely to involve unpleasant results. The time has arrived when the unsoundness of the system thus adopted has been abundantly manifested; and the difficulty of now establishing a more consistent and sufficient scheme of civil regulation has in the mean time been greatly increased, by that species of vested interest which it has given to the Church in the evil sought to be removed. It is clear that the correct course would have been to have framed some scheme of civil regulation and record, entirely independent of the difficulties, anomalies, and unpleasantnesses necessarily belonging to any scheme based on Church ordinances. Eventually, no doubt, this will have to be done.

The Unitarians were the first class of Dissenters who took an active part in complaining of this compulsory conformity. Their objections were of so obvious and important a doctrinal character, that hardly any one ventured openly to dispute them; though ingenuity seems to have been abundantly exercised to defeat in detail what could not in principle be opposed. The general body of Dissenters have lately taken up the question, on the common ground of objection to a compulsory attendance upon the ordinances of the Church; and it has therefore become necessary to consider the matter on broader principles. Plans which might be adapted to a small and defined class of Dissenters, become obviously less applicable to the relief of every class of seceders from the Church; and thus additional practical difficulties necessarily arise. The case itself is, on the other hand, a weaker one as applied to the orthodox Dissenters. The Unitarians had only lately obtained a legal recognition; but their orthodox brethren had stood by at the passing of Lord Hardwicke's Act, and offered no opposition to its provisions. And though this conduct offers no bar to their present complaints, it has been and may be fairly preferred against them as a reason for taking ample time to consider the question at leisure, and as some reason for moderation in their attacks on a system to which they were in some measure parties.

Various plans have been under consideration at different times during the last fifteen years. The first proposition was

to leave the present machinery untouched ; to regard the Church Clergyman as, what he in fact for this purpose is, a civil officer ; and in the case of Dissenters, to allow the ceremony to be performed by using only that portion of the service which consists of a mere contract or betrothment, and is quite independent of the religious portion of the ritual.

The next plan embraced endeavours in various ways to license Dissenting Chapels and their Ministers for the celebration of marriages. This plan, however, involved many difficulties, particularly as regards registration ; and the adoption of it by Dissenters is obviously not very consistent with their objections to any sort of alliance of their ministers and ordinances with the civil power, and to all subjection of Dissenters to its regulation and interference with their religious ordinances.

It was next proposed that the scheme recently revived by Sir Robert Peel should be adopted. The legal contract was to be entered into before a Justice of the Peace, and recorded in the parish register on his certificate. It will soon be seen that this scheme also is attended with great difficulties, at any rate while applied only to a portion of the community.

Lord John Russell brought in a bill last year, which it appears he was injudicious enough to produce without any previous understanding that it would meet the views of those he intended to relieve. It must be admitted, however, that there was no great wisdom displayed, in making such loud complaints as were heard against a measure, founded in almost every one of its provisions on bills formerly set in motion (though no doubt under different circumstances) by Dissenters themselves ; but the result was, that the plan of the noble Lord fell still-born, and damaged the Administration which had so miscalculated. Little zeal for making progress was shown, either on one side or the other. The objections put forward merely regarded minor details ; and those who are not in the secret, would say no fault was urged which a committee might not have amended, if it had been designed or wished to proceed in earnest.

Sir Robert Peel assuming that the Dissenters were generally more actively eager for a practical removal of this grievance than events have demonstrated they are, dexterously enough seized on this subject, as one on which he could earn credit for his reforming professions with less difficulty than he afterwards found practically attended it. It had the advantage also of being a subject on which his predecessors had broken down ; and on which, moreover, he could gain credit by going further than they could venture to do. His bill proposes

to send parties, after making a declaration of faith—negatively as regards the church—to enter into a civil contract before a Justice of the Peace. The marriage is to be entered on the parish register upon the Justice's certificate; but of course, if any scheme of general civil registration is hereafter adopted, its regulations would be made to apply to this or any other plan of forming the contract.

Sir Robert Peel had the advantage of having seized on a principle which steered clear of the difficulties of any dealing with the Dissenting clergy, or with any religious institution. It is in itself more sound and satisfactory to most of his political opponents, than the result would probably have shown it to be to his friends; but it is impossible not at once to see that its application to a portion of the community in the way proposed, would be attended with insuperable objections and difficulties.

The taking one class of the community, for what the bill treated as a purely civil purpose, before officers of the State, almost universally attached to the Establishment, expressly to avow a hostile religious opinion, and on that account to go through the ceremony in a mode repugnant to the notions of many of themselves, and decidedly opposed to the views of the majority of the public,—must be attended with one of two consequences. Either the measure which professed to relieve would be so unpalatable as to be universally rejected; or the community would be broken up into two rival classes, the civil and religious contractors of matrimony.

Sir Robert Peel's avowed assumption is, that the religious ceremony would in general be performed subsequently and independently. But it is obvious that such a post-nuptial service would often be very inconvenient; that it in fact would have little meaning or substance; and that it would be at variance, so far as it went, with the *primâ facie* position of the law, which would proceed on the assumption that the essence was in Church marriages the religious service, but in the case of Dissenters a civil pledge in writing at Bow-Street.

The class of persons selected for the conductors of such an operation, creates further embarrassment. Is there any reason to suppose that the Justices, many of them clergymen, would discharge the new duty in that conciliatory manner which could alone make it tolerable?

Sir Robert Peel's Bill, therefore, in its original form seems by common consent as unfortunate as Lord John Russell's, in its attempt to meet the evil complained of; and it is in its turn virtually abandoned.

Some of the Dissenters seem to have undertaken to amend the measure, and with considerable success, as appears from perusal of the bill printed in its amended form. The proposed alterations abolish the declaration of religious opinions, and substitute for Justices of the Peace, Special Commissioners to be everywhere appointed by the Home Department, in whose presence marriages of Dissenters are to be contracted and recorded in duplicate books, one being to be deposited at the Parochial Registry. Suitable persons being ministers, (where they chose so to act, or were suitable persons), or elders of congregations, might be thus authorized to act. Wherever the desire (which seems very general) was expressed for religious celebration, the Commissioner would interweave the civil form with that ordinance. He would, in fact, in such cases be only a witness required by the State as responsible for the regularity of the proceedings and its due record. In this way it was proposed, and apparently with every prospect of success, to furnish facilities for an analogous plan of celebrating marriages throughout the country under complete civil supervision, without in any way trenching upon or interfering with religious liberty or Church ordinances. The Church clergy (acting as they do under the sanction and regulations of the Marriage Acts) are substantially Commissioners of this sort selected by the State, so far as regards the marriages had in their churches.

It does not appear, however, that any one is disposed to advance the pending Bill with a view to an attempt at its amendment. The Government are obviously desirous to postpone it. Lord John Russell continues probably to recollect the fate of his former attempt; and the Dissenters are (as has been usual with them on this subject) apparently more inclined, perhaps find it much easier, to find fault than to show themselves prepared with any definite plan on which they can themselves agree.

It is thought, no doubt, by some, that the adjustment of a good system of civil registration ought to precede or accompany the adjustment of the marriage question; and that if a public officer were once appointed for that purpose, he would attend and record marriages whenever and however celebrated, and thus avoid the necessity of those interferences with religious ordinances, which have created the difficulties felt in the proposed schemes for confiding the celebration of marriage to the Dissenting clergy.

Great doubts, however, may be entertained as to the validity of this anticipation. A good system of registration will undoubtedly

furnish considerable facilities for the settlement of some of the details of any marriage bill. But unless the registrars are of a class and character superior to what it is to be feared are at all contemplated ; and unless any scheme for their superintendence is applied to all classes of the community ; it may be doubted whether their appointment will remove much of the existing difficulties. There are some objections which will strike every one, to the officer's carrying about his books of record to the different places of celebration ; and it seems moreover, not easy so to throw upon him the responsibility of the proceedings, as to relieve the Dissenting minister of those shackles, from which he very properly shrinks, but which seem inseparable from his accepting the performance of a responsible civil duty.

The formation of a good system of registration will so far remove much of the practical difficulty as to marriages wherever had, that it will furnish clear evidence of the age of parties ; and if marriages under age be prohibited unless by consent of parents or guardians, the preliminaries of the contract will resolve themselves into the simple question of age,—to be settled by the register,—and of consent, when that age is below the legal standard.

There appear to be at least two leading classes of opinion on the subject among the Dissenters ; the supporters of which come forward in turn, but either end by shrinking from their own proposals, or discover that the adoption of either extreme would probably be so unpalatable to a large portion of their body, as to render it very doubtful whether the interest or character of their community would be secured by a measure, the practical adoption of which would be dubious ; while the two plans cannot be blended, without the introduction of the difficulties attending both schemes.

The first plan which one body of the active partizans on this subject patronizes, is that of purely civil contract. It is put forth, however, apparently without any definite notion of what is practically meant, and with a consciousness that it is in many quarters not likely to be acceptable. The other leading theory which is propounded, is that of in some degree placing the Dissenting minister and the Church clergyman on a footing of equality, by obtaining for the acts of the former the same legal recognition as is now by law afforded to the latter. It is notorious, that this second scheme is stoutly opposed by many consistent Dissenting ministers themselves. As the fancied equality can only be purchased by a submission to onerous civil control, and is inconsistent with the favourite doctrine of the very same individuals on the subject of the impolicy and unchristian tendency of any conversion of the

ministers of religion into the servants of the magistrate,—it would be a strange equality which would be obtained by a participation in what the Dissenters consider as the vices of an Establishment.

The most probable conclusion, on mature consideration of the subject, is, that Sir Robert Peel's bill, amended on the principle alluded to, would substantially meet the case of the Dissenters in the way most convenient and satisfactory under the circumstances; allowing, as it would do, the most perfect practical freedom, coupled with such regulations for civil purposes, as would be left in fact to the internal administration of the Dissenters, and would nevertheless answer the purpose of civil supervision, far better than the intervention of magistrates, unacquainted in most instances with the parties, and called on to perform an office totally at variance with their habits and prejudices. It seems however decided, that the subject is to be once more adjourned, and that the Dissenters will submit to the wishes of the government in that respect. They are actuated no doubt in a great measure by a desire not to embarrass other weighty measures; though it really seems rather difficult to imagine why such embarrassment should be the result of discussing a marriage bill, the propriety of considering which is conceded by all parties in the state. The Dissenters themselves, in the mean time do not propound any practicable or probable scheme of relief. Strange as it may seem, after years of discussion, there appears as yet to be no decided principle, much less any plan of proceeding understood or agreed upon among them, or their public representatives. This state of things is not very creditable to the management of their affairs; and it is necessary, in the most friendly spirit, to warn them of a very increasing opinion, that they make a great deal more noise than work,—and that this is not the only indication of a wavering and inconsistent policy, at one time manifesting abundant vigour—in words at least—on points utterly useless for practical purposes, though calculated to divide and therefore weaken their own force, while arousing the active and combined hostility of their opponents; and at other times displaying much indecision and practical inefficiency on topics which, under prudent management, are plainly susceptible of safe and easy adjustment.

ART. XII.—*Plantagenet*.—3 vols. London ; John Macrone. 1835.

THE object of the writer of this book appears to be pretty much the same as that of Mr. Timothy Winterbottom, of whose lucubrations an account is given in the present number of this Review ; namely, to lay bare those social evils in particular which proceed from the custom of primogeniture. The form of exposition which the author of *Plantagenet* has adopted, a narrative in 3 vols. of the form of a novel, necessarily produces considerable difference in the mode of treating the subject from that which would be adopted in a pamphlet. Accordingly the system of education or training, which is the result of the present condition of English society, is gone into in some detail ; and the effects of it upon the moral and intellectual characters of all who are subjected to it, of those whom it favours as well as those whom it injures, are attempted to be traced. It will be seen that as this design is one of no mean importance, so its complete accomplishment would be no easy task. If it is not one which these volumes can be said to have altogether accomplished, yet enough has been done to point the way, and perhaps induce others to tread the same path.

The hero of the tale, Lord Arthur Plantagenet, second son of the Marquess Plantagenet, being a person of keen perceptions and quick sensibilities, discovers betimes the huge distinction that is drawn by nearly all with whom he comes in contact, between himself and the heir, his elder brother. His disposition is by this means rendered haughty, irritable, and vindictive ; that of his brother tyrannical, insolent, unfeeling. But there is another victim,—the young lady with whom Lord Arthur falls in love, who, though she preferred him, was compelled by her match-making mother to marry his elder brother. Lord Arthur, in the mood of a man maddened by disappointment, seeks forgetfulness amidst the din of war then raging in the Peninsula. He thus describes his feelings when about to leave England.—

' Although I had been outstript in the race, baffled, beaten in the contest, yet I was far—far too proud, on fair and even ground, to dread the competitorship of created man. I ranked myself high, very high, and this defeat had not one iota lowered the standard. Above, there was burning scorn—stern and indomitable pride—pride and scorn to which no mortal words could ever give expression. But below, what was there ? Was there not a crushed—ay, was there not—was there not something even of a broken heart ?—What ? Shades of my regal forefathers, could it be that Arthur Plantagenet, the free of soul and firm of purpose, the high-hearted, and the haughty, could be reduced to this by any daughter of Eve ? And was I to wear this poisoned arrow in my heart ? Was I to bear about this

iron in my soul for ever? Oh! surely, not for ever! But where—where was the dream of my youth—its pure and lofty dream of ambition and of love?—i. 134.

In Spain Lord Arthur performs, as the French memoir-writers say, '*des prodiges de valeur.*' He leads a forlorn hope, and the following reflections are suggested by what he thus witnessed, on the evils of war.—

'Reader, if you have never witnessed a sack, pray to God that you may never witness one! May you never witness all that is sacred profaned, all that is honourable and respectable outraged and insulted. May you never hear the agonizing and soul-rending shrieks, nor behold the burning tears of beauty and innocence, imploring, supplicating, for mercy—but imploring and supplicating in vain. Alas! consider of what our armies are composed, and you will no longer wonder that it is so. That band of heroes of whom, from certain quarters, we hear so much—of what is it composed?—Of the refuse of society—of the off-scourings of every city and every county in the empire—of the idlest—the most dissolute, and most unprincipled of our citizens—of the men of, at all times, under all circumstances, the strongest passions and appetites, and the weakest reason. For what man that can earn his bread by any honest labour, skilled or unskilled, would be a soldier? Great God! only think of the consequences of war—if one of its inevitable consequences be, that our wives, our sisters, and our daughters are to be exposed to the horrible excesses of all the worst passions of the basest and most licentious of mankind. Some sentimental young ladies write of war as if it were a holiday pastime.—Good God! If they knew of it what I do, they would change their tone.'—i. 158.

The English army has had rather more than its share of these abominations. No man can charge, or has charged, the French army, even in the wildest times of revolutionary excitement, with anything like the horrors committed on friends and foes by the English defenders of holy religion and social order. The cause is principally to be traced, in that detestable system of discipline by the lash, which our martinets so strenuously adhere to, and which, by failing in the hour of trial, leaves the soldier without those checks of honour and attachment to his officer, which in more civilized services enable the chiefs to control the passions of their followers.

The hero is next found at Paris seeking forgetfulness in dissipation and gaming; in which last occupation he gets rid, if not of his cares, of his money, and is near being assassinated to boot by the machinations of his affectionate brother. In his distress he meets with an old companion in arms, who gives him an introduction to an English Duke in want of a secretary. In this capacity he continues for some time under another name, and accompanies the Duke to England, where he assists his Grace's

brother in an election ; and afterwards accepts the appointment of his brother's private secretary, when he joins the ministry. In this latter situation, Lord Arthur has an opportunity of seeing something of the machinery of office and the working of the same ; upon some of the vices of which, he takes occasion to animadvert. Getting tired of this, however, and having discovered incidentally that his elder brother is illegitimate, he returns to Paris in search of evidence to establish his claim to the title and estates of his ancestors. While in Paris, he fights a duel with the Duke of Broadborough, who had refused to pay him the money he had earned as his secretary.

Lord Arthur enters into a compromise with his brother, by the terms of which he agrees to give up his claim to the title and half the estates for the present, on condition of being put into immediate possession of the other half. In this manner he becomes possessed of fifty thousand a-year, and has an opportunity of seeing the effect of it upon the Mammon-worshippers of England, who elevate him into their idol of the hour. He thus describes the change that came over his fortunes.—

‘ A change came over the spirit of my motley and troubled dream of life. I had hitherto been Arthur Plantagenet the unlucky—I was now Arthur Plantagenet the lucky—the prosperous. Nature had not been unkind to me. I became now the prime favourite—the very foster-babe of fortune — ‘ the glass of fashion, and the mould of form ’ — ‘ the observed of all observers.’ My name, which before had almost disappeared from the annals of my tribe, was now taken up to be applauded to the very echo. Cæsar’s would have bowed before it. In a word, I had fifty thousand pounds a-year, and was the fashion.

‘ Heavens ! how my soul mocked at the parasites, who seemed to imagine that time, that experience, that adversity, that ‘ the iron scourge and torturing hour,’ had done their work upon me in vain !—me who had undergone insults, me who had endured wrongs that eternity forbade me to forget !

‘ For years I had been as it were an outcast. I had not moved in their circles—I had not mingled in their pleasures. “ The aim of their existence was not mine.” I, bred up in the very lap of luxury—descended from a long line of ancestors who fancied no doubt they left their descendants something to be proud of—endowed by nature with a keen perception and quick sensibilities—I, thus endowed by nature, thus descended, thus educated, had without repining submitted to hardships from which the humblest born and least luxuriously bred would have shrunk with horror. But my soul had first passed through an ordeal that had rendered it perhaps even more callous than theirs. The iron scourge of the torturer had scared a spirit once too sensitive.’—ii. 181.

Getting tired, however, of this idol-worship, Lord Arthur gives

out that he is 'dished;' and his worshippers depart from him as fast as they came. He leaves England for some time, travels in the East, and joins for a short time in the Greek war. On his return to England he finds his old schoolfellow Basset prime minister, but opposed and harassed by the Aristocracy. At his request he joins his administration. On Basset's death, he leaves the ministry, and finding by a letter which he received from his half-brother's wife after her death, that treachery had been used to deprive him of his mistress, he fights a duel with his brother, in which both are killed. From all which the inference would be, that it is the interest of all the *younger* members of aristocratic families, in common with the rest of their fellow-citizens, to alter the present state of things as regards primogeniture.

The following portraits are fair specimens of the style of the book.

A Patrician Secretary of State, and man of business Under Secretary :—

'The clerks were kept late, and to no purpose too; for they would sometimes be kept perfectly idle all the morning, waiting till the Right Honourable Secretary should think proper to set some wheel in motion upon which the whole movements of the machinery depended. According to the fashion of those lordlings (and their name is Legion, therefore this case may serve as an exemplification of many) who condescend to take upon them the management of affairs of State, and set up for men of business, (only, indeed, very soon to set or be set down again), Lord Charles Blackacre would loiter away his mornings, God knows where,—I do not, (but I conjecture that a considerable portion was occupied in decorating his ugly carcase)—and find his way down to his office about four or five o'clock, P. M., which is to say, being interpreted, in the afternoon. He would then set to work, at least what *he* called work, and so continue till nine, ten, eleven, or even twelve. I have known him repeatedly keep a number of clerks up the greater part of the night, after keeping them idle all the morning, and for no discernible end but the gratification of some of his lordly, or rather waiting-gentlewoman-like caprices. And this the coxcombical ass fancied was doing the thing like a man of genius, who could not be expected to work during the same hours and seasons with ordinary vulgar mortals. And yet this man, being a glib talker, was of some importance with his party. And such loquacious fribbles will continue to be important as long as loquacity is, in the language of Coleridge, mistaken for eloquence, and eloquence for wisdom.

'Besides all this, there was a solemn jackass of an under-secretary, a genuine specimen of the pompous man of office, and the *soi-disant* "man of business;" the last, a species or modification of the genus denominated by the block-heads "practical men." Your so-called, self-called, "man of business," is a compound made up of prig,

ignoramus, and duncce, a thing, the virtues of which consist in tying together papers with red tape—signing its name in a fine bold running hand, and telling you with a simper of the most thorough self-satisfaction, that the first quality of a “*first rate man of business*”—meaning himself—was, a talent for *classification* which *he* possessed in the highest perfection. When you came to talk further with “this learned Theban,” you found that by “*classification*,” he meant—not what you had learned to entertain the highest respect for, as the “sum of all philosophy”—but, merely an operation which any tolerably trained clerk was fully equal to. He then simpered to you about this schedule, and that appendix; “which had been entirely planned by him.” And if you started any objection, he “smiled incredulous,” and assured you with something between a smile and a sneer on his countenance, that Rome was not built, nor “a man of business” made in one day. This fellow, notwithstanding his pretensions to “business habits,” was as idle and irregular as his principal.—ii. 112.

A hereditary Legislator :—

‘The Marquess Plantagenet was my own flesh and blood, and of him, therefore, I consider myself as having a right to speak more freely.’

‘What he was as a brother I have already shown. To that character I have now to add, that he was little better as a son, and no better, if it were possible, indeed, worse as a husband. Worthy and courteous reader, picture to thyself, if thou canst, a man of princely fortune, yet so profuse in his expenditure as to be always in want of money. He would contract debts to tradesmen with the most reckless extravagance, and with the most ruthless effrontery evade the payment of them by taking advantage of his privileges as a peer of Parliament—of those privileges which, in the language of the eloquent John Pym, “were not given for the ornament or advantage of those who are the Members of Parliament, but for the accomplishment of that which is the end of Parliaments—the wisdom of our laws, the faithfulness of our councils, the righteousness of our judgments.” Although possessing in his wife (and how he obtained her, the reader knows, or will know before I have done with him,) one of the most beautiful women in England—the land of beautiful women,—ay, the country of the fairest daughters of the earth; (it is all very well for a man who is obliged to flee merry England, to console himself by sneering at Englishwomen, and ranting about “strange damsels;”—but I have seen your Spanish and Italian women, your Georgians and Circassians too, and I, therefore, speak advisedly,)—although, I say, possessing, as a wife, one of the loveliest of God’s creatures, a being such as

Mortal thought

Ne’er compass’d, nor less mortal chisel wrought—

he was distinguished by a reckless profligacy of conduct, a daring libertinism, not unworthy of a Regent Orleans, or a Colonel Charteris.’

‘He was bad in every relation of human life. A bad son, a bad brother, a bad husband, a bad master, a bad magistrate, a bad member of the legislature—a treacherous friend, and an ungenerous foe. All

this too was notorious, for he wanted skill and policy to conceal his character from the public; or, perhaps—and I think that is the more probable explanation of it—he considered himself too far above the influence of public opinion to pay any regard to it. Though neither a Hobbes nor Machiavelli in intellect, his faculties, aided by those of Mr. Judson, were sufficient to enable him to discover that the government of his country was an oligarchy, and himself one of the reigning oligarchs—and his oligarchical power did not, he thought, he saw, depend for its magnitude or duration upon the opinion of the people who earned their bread by the sweat of their brows, or the labour of their brains, who paid just debts, and who had respect for the marriage-vow, and for honesty in the dealings between man and man. With him it was pretty much as with the haughty licentious Aristocrats of France in the last century, as forcibly described by an excellent writer—"Marriage was a farce; honesty, as between man and man, was obsolete. The decencies, as well as the virtues of life, passed away, and every licentious desire had uncontrollable dominion."

' Yet, with all this—and such instances abound in every Aristocracy—there was an easy dignity in his deportment, a polish in his manners, a tact in his well-timed allusions to his wealth and powerful family connexions, that those who were brought into contact with him were apt absolutely to disbelieve all they had heard rumoured against him, till their own personal intercourse with him afforded a somewhat unpleasant confirmation of the truth of what rumour had advanced. And this, Sir, was my brother. In the significant and nervous language of Swift, with the alteration of a word or two, should be read his epitaph—

" ' Gamester,' traitor, vile seducer,
Perjur'd ' robber,' brib'd accuser—
Lay thy paltry privilege aside."—iii. 168.

The House of Commons :—

' After all, it is wonderful how soon the House of Commons, considering how it is composed, find out whether a speaker has anything in him or not—in other words whether he ought to be listened to, or treated as a down-right bore. There is a great number of loquacious blockheads in the world who are the scourge of every company that is infested by them. Those fellows talk about everything—no topic is strange to them. Their theme is *de omni scibili et quibusdam aliis*—"all sorts of things and every thing in the world" with a good many besides that are *not* in the world. I have heard a man of this description in a company of the first political economists of Europe, talk for half an hour to the exclusion of every one else, upon a point of political science of which he was thoroughly ignorant. Now the beauty of the House of Commons is that you are not obliged to listen to those mouthing, prosing jackasses.

' There was a striking instance of this on the present occasion. When Harrington sat down, one of those long-winded lubbers got up. The transition of the house from breathless silence to a din like the noise of

many waters, was curious. On these occasions the Members separate into groupes of twos and threes, and converse together, so that the noise is such that the individuals, unless seated close to the "orator," must be fortunate indeed, or unfortunate rather, who can distinguish one word in two. On goes the "horator" however, (although no "horator" as Brutus was,) into the subject of his harangue (which, by-the-bye, is usually something quite distinct from the subject-matter of the debate), in all its length, breadth, and thickness. You hear an odd word or two, from time to time, which comes to your ears pretty much as the voice of a fuddled proser in an assembly of tobacco-smoking sots reaches a distant corner of the apartment through the circumambient clouds of curling smoke, or as an object is discernible by your eyes at intervals through a thick fog. Those men are generally, indeed, I may say, universally, blessed with powerful nerves, something like those of a dray-horse, and a large stock of impudence; consequently they persevere; they are not to be put down, they are not to be prevented from "discharging their duty to their constituents." I wish to God, they would "discharge themselves," after the fashion of the magniloquent, though not magnanimous, ancient Pistol. It was a remark of the sagacious Thomas Hobbes that it is not "possible, without letters, for any man to become either excellently wise, or (unless his memory be hurt by disease, or ill constitution of organs) excellently foolish. And that as men abound in *copiousness of language*; so they become more wise, or more mad than ordinary." The men of whom I have been speaking, belong to the latter class; being blest with copiousness of language, they take advantage of the blessing to exhibit themselves to the world as "excellently foolish."—iii. 185.

The following extract may serve as a specimen of the dialogue; besides conveying some idea of Delahaye, probably the most original character in the book.—

'Here a servant opened the door, and announced that "Mr. ——— wished to see Mr. Delahaye."

"Mr. ———," exclaimed Delahaye, "who the devil is he? What does he want?"

"O, my dear Hays," ejaculated Mrs. Delahaye, "don't you recollect? It's the man to whom you lent five hundred pounds for writing you up in his newspaper."

"Did I? Perhaps the fellow is come to pay me, then."

"Pay you!" exclaimed Sir Faithful, "it is well known that he never pays anything or anybody. He is come to try to do you out of more."

"That would be difficult rather, at present," observed Delahaye drily. "Tell the porter to turn him out, then."

"Tell Mr. ———" said Mrs. Delahaye, addressing the servant, "that Mr. Delahaye is not up yet."

"Yes, Madam." [Exit Servant, to obey his orders—that is (to tell the truth and shame the devil) in other words, to practise the art of lying for which his luxurious master kept him, and did *not* pay him his wages.

"Damn his impudence," ejaculated Delahaye, alluding to the person who had sent in his name—"Is that the person that used to smell so insufferably?"

"No," replied his wife, "that was ——— of the ———."

Here the same servant again entered, and presented a card to Mrs. Delahaye.

"Oh! Delahaye," she said, looking at the card, "it's that tiresome Dr. ———, wanting money too, I suppose; but he can't come in just now."

"Poor devil!" drawled Delahaye, very much in the tone in which you would address a moth that had singed its wing in the flame of the candle—"Poor devil! I dare say he *does* want his money."

"Not at home, James—" said the lady, turning to the servant.

"Fum," said Delahaye, "might I trouble you to ring the bell for my valet?"

'Fum rang the bell.—A footman entered.

"Send Antoine here," said Delahaye—"where the devil can the fellow have gone this morning?"

"Yes, Sir."

'Exit Servant: and shortly after enter Antoine.

"Antoine, bring me a tooth-pick—and come, in about half an hour, and dress me."

"Oui, Monsieur."

'At this moment a middle-aged female, who I found from what followed was a nurse in Delahaye's family, rushed into the room, exclaiming—

"Oh! Madam, Mrs. Delahaye, for God's sake come this way. Here are Master John and Master Henry have broken most of the windows, and are now setting fire to the floor of the nursery."

"Good God! Nurse!" exclaimed Mrs. Delahaye, as she rushed out of the room, "what can I do? Delahaye sits there at his ease, and leaves everything to me."

"Ha! ha! ha!" shouted the stoical John Delahaye, evidently much amused—"would you find fault with the boys for showing a little spirit? That's always the way with those women; they snub the children and break their spirit. A boy is not worth anything unless he has a spice of the devil in him—is he, Plantagenet? You can vouch for that. Could a man lead a forlorn hope without it?"

'I made no reply.

'In a few minutes, Mrs. Delahaye re-entered the room, bringing with her those two *parvuli Æneases* of the house of Delahaye, against whom the nurse had just brought so serious an indictment. One was an urchin about four or five, and the other perhaps a year older.

"Well, young gentlemen," said Delahaye—"what's this you've been about?"

"Nothing, papa," replied Master John, the eldest, and the hopeful heir and representative of my somewhat eccentric ancient companion in arms, who was just beginning to learn to lie a little.

"We have been playing the devil;" roared the younger, Master Harry, who was just beginning to take lessons in swearing.

"Ay, master baby," said Delahaye, with the sort of smile on his countenance which might be supposed to have illumined the visages of Hector and Andromache when, as Pope's translation has it,

With secret pleasure each fond parent smil'd.

"And what's playing the devil?"

"Oh!" replied the juvenile 'Ancient Pistol,' at the same time looking at his brother to see if he was doing quite right—"Oh! it's—it's larking."

"You must not swear, you young dog," ejaculated Delahaye with a shake of the head, and in a tone of what he intended for the genuine paternal admonition.

'The boy looked up at his father for a few moments, as if in astonishment and doubt, and then asked,

"But don't you swear, papa?"

'This was rather a home thrust, but the magnanimous John Delahaye parried it wonderfully.

"Sirrah! you should know that little boys must not do what I do—How round the young rogue is with me, Plantagenet?" he added, in a lower voice, turning to me.

'In the meantime Master John had gone up to a table on which some lunch had been laid out for Sir Faithful Fum, and, laying hold of a full glass of sherry, which somebody had poured out, emptied it at a draught.

"Oh—you young rascal!" exclaimed Sir Faithful—"that will make you tipsy."

"Well, old fellow," retorted young hopeful, "how do *you* do? I say, old Fum, shall we have a lark to day?"

"By all means, old fellow," replied Fum. Here James entered.—

"Mr. ——— wishes to see Mr. Delahaye."

"Oh! kick him out, footman," roared Master John—"I don't like that—"

"And do you know," said his brother, coming close up to me, and looking up in my face, "I don't like those bum-bailliffs that are in the house," with a tone and manner of indignant earnestness, the direct contrary of his papa's stoical indifference, but which were irresistibly droll.

"Mr. Delahaye is gone out early to-day, James," said Mrs. Delahaye, quietly looking at Delahaye, who sat very unconcernedly in his arm-chair with his legs stretched out at their full length before him.

'Exit James, and re-enter soon after—

"Mr. ——— wishes to see Mrs. Delahaye."

"James—I am not dressed," said the lady coolly.

'Exit James again, and enter Antoine.

"Well," said Delahaye, "I must leave you for the present. Fum, I shall see you again at dinner. Plantagenet, my dear fellow, can't you dine with us to-day. Do, Arthur, as you are going abroad so

soon. Do, I say, and perhaps we may have some 'Ephesians, my Lord, of the old church."

"Well," said I, "John, 'say no more, let's have them'—but don't make it later than eight o'clock."

"Very well, Hal, so be it."

"*Au revoir*, then."—ii. 255.

It seems fair to the author to quote the following verses, which, by showing that the tale makes some pretensions, whether just or not, to poetical idealism, may in some measure meet a charge which has been brought by one critic against it of improbability.

' My fathers' hall ! my fathers' hall !
Where is thy boasted glory fled ?
And art thou then bereft of all,
Save trophied mockeries of the dead ?
Yes—all that glory gave is gone,
Save death-dust and sepulchral stone.

The night-wind howls thro' the roofless aisle,
Shattering the spider's æry shroud ;—
The wild birds scream round the ruin'd pile
That hath brav'd the blast and the thunder-cloud ;
The bat and the owl, and the wild fox there
Have built their nest and made their lair.

Long centuries have roll'd away—
Leaving their memory like a dream—
O'er thee, my old ancestral sway,
How desolate ! and yet I deem
Within this Priory's haunted cell
The spirits of my fathers dwell.

They speak to me in wind and storm,
In roaring flood and rolling thunder —
And I behold each giant form
Rending the veil of night asunder.
They seem to beckon to the height,
Where blazes Vengeance beacon light.

Ay, I will follow, Forms of air !
Lead on—lead on—I reck not whither,
Let there be death and vengeance there—
I reck not—so they come together.—
There is no tie that bindeth me
To this loath'd lair of earth and sea.

I am the last of all my line—
Ye spectral shades ! attest it now :—
Say, trace ye not the fated sign
Upon my pale unearthly brow ?
One blaze—and your name's light is o'er,
For ever and for ever more.—iii. 248,

The author will probably object to being 'damn'd with faint praise.' But the fact is that he has placed himself by this effort, in the first line of modern political novelists; and that there is nobody except the author of the 'Radical,' who stands out as a model for him to overtake or to pursue.

ART. XIII.—1. *Colonization of South Australia.* By R. Torrens, Esq., F. R. S. Chairman of the Colonization Commission for South Australia.—London; Longman. 1835.

2. *Colonization; particularly in Southern Australia; with some remarks on Small Farms and Over-population.* By Colonel Charles James Napier, C.B.—London; T. and W. Boone. 1835.

COLONEL Torrens's octavo volume consists of above 300 pages of letter-press, with an appendix exceeding twenty pages. The first part of the body of the work, is in the form of a letter of twelve sections, addressed to the author of the history of the Indian Archipelago; whose work was published about fifteen years ago. This portion of the book has especial reference to the new scheme propounded for colonizing South Australia. Its style is pamphleteering and polemical, and perhaps somewhat out of keeping with the dignity of a Chairman of a Parliamentary Commission. The second part of the work, is in the usual cold, cramped, and unpopular manner of the author's politico-economical writings. Now and then, there are made, throughout the work, some efforts at pleasantry, which force upon the recollection the Hindu lawgiver's description of a graceful woman,—one that walked 'like a flamingo,—or a young Elephant.' The tone is also sometimes angry and vituperative; for the author evidently labours under the fancy, that to expose what an opponent deems to be a public delusion, can arise only out of a desire to do mischief. The Appendix consists of the Act of Parliament for the formation of the colony; of two letters, under the ominous and euphonious signature of Kangaroo; and of a short letter from A. B. heartily approving of Kangaroo's opinions. Kangaroo, by the way, notwithstanding his ugly and exotic name, is a better writer of the vernacular tongue than his principal. After the perusal of a few pages, his object is readily discovered; whereas, the perusal of many pages of the other part of the performance will by no means afford the same sort of satisfaction. In the brief examination which it is now proposed to make, the opinions of both writers will be reviewed.

The first point which will be taken under consideration, is, the suitableness of the soil, climate, and locality of Australia, for agricultural and commercial pursuits; or, in other terms, the eligibility of this country, in preference to all others, for the purposes of such a colonization as the projectors of the new scheme speculate upon. In the course of near 330 pages, there is not one new fact brought forward to show the peculiar eligibility of Australia; but, in lieu of these, there is abundance of assertion, and of most exaggerated assertion too. In the former article of this Journal, the excellence of the climate both in point of salubrity and of agreeableness, was not only admitted but dwelt upon. The peculiar suitableness of the country for the production of fine wool was also insisted upon. This seems now to be conceded, for the first time; for the author, in one of his arguments, assures us that labour employed in growing wool is more productive than labour employed in growing corn, by fifty per cent, or one half, which is of course quite conclusive*. The climate, and pastoral capacity of the country, may therefore be considered as settled points.

If it be more profitable by one half to grow wool than to grow corn, this alone would seem sufficiently to imply, that for tillage, there is some natural defect in soil and climate. Colonel Torrens, however, notwithstanding his own admissions, argues for the extraordinary fertility of the Australian land; and then proceeds to make partial quotations from Dr. Laing, Mr. Carmichael, Captain Sturt, and Major Mitchell, to prove that it is so. These gentlemen admit, and it would be very strange if it were otherwise, that in so vast a territory, there are, here and there, patches of fertile land, while sterility is the common character of the entire region.

The author of the *Van Diemen's Land Annual* is an authority that has occasionally been resorted to by Colonel Torrens. 'On the average,' says this experienced writer, 'one acre of land in Canada is worth four in this island†.' One acre of land then in America is worth four in Van Diemen's Land,—that portion of Australia which has heretofore been considered as the most suitable for agricultural industry, and from which the projected colony proposes to draw its earliest resources. But this is not all; in the month of May 1833, the price of wheat in Van Diemen's Land averaged 34s. per quarter; which

* *Colonization of South Australia.* By R. Torrens, Esq. p. 168.

† *Ross's Van Diemen's Land Annual*, and *Hobart Town Almanack*, for 1834.

is at least fifty per cent higher than the price of the same article, at the same time, at any of the Polish corn marts. In May 1834, the price rose to 66s., or was nearly doubled, in consequence of the prevalence of drought. By the last accounts, the price had risen to 96s., or had been very nearly trebled in little more than the space of one year. At this last point, therefore, it had reached the price which corn had attained in this country some twenty years back,—the joint effect of dense population, high rents, war, and a currency depreciated by one fourth part of its entire value. This, let it be remembered, happened at the very moment in which the authors of the new scheme were vaunting the fertility of the Australian soil. All who have had experience of Australia, assure us that it is comparatively sterile; and those who have had no experience at all, assure us that it is fertile. Whose authority men of sense ought to prefer, is clear enough.

Some observations are made by Colonel Torrens on the useful natural and possible agricultural products of Australia. The remarks made on these afford capital specimens of the vague assertions and loose conclusions of the projectors, and their extreme ignorance of such subjects. Mr. Bennett the botanist says, he found a species of *linum* or flax growing on the banks of an Australian river. So he might; because there are about fifty species of *linum*, of which only one yields good flax, and only four yield any at all. Upon this hint from Mr. Bennett, however, Col. Torrens proceeds to argue that his colony will produce flax for exportation. Silk-worms, Colonel Torrens hears, are sometimes fed in India on the leaves of the Palma Christi; and as the Palma Christi will grow in New South Wales, he consequently concludes that silk may become a staple of the colony without waiting for the extensive introduction of the mulberry. All silk made by feeding the worm with any other plant than the mulberry, is execrable; and if it were raised in the greatest abundance, and with the greatest cheapness, it would find no market. But silk, whether the worm be fed on the mulberry or on any other leaf, can be raised neither abundantly nor cheaply; for that can only be done, and in fact never has been done, but where the price of labour is very low, as in the most populous parts of India, in China, and in Italy. In Van Diemen's Land, Doctor Murdoch produced some opium from a few poppies; therefore, the climates of Kangaroo island, Cape St. Vincent, and York Peninsula, will produce 'this most valuable staple of the China trade.' The culture of the opium poppy, and the gathering of the crop, demand elaborate manipulations, and can only be conducted where

labour is at a very low price, and the climate very warm. It is impossible to speculate upon an article less suited for a new colony. Mr. Bennett says that he found some species of *Indigofera*, though he does not tell us which, to the westward of the Blue Mountains. Dr. Laing, a clergyman, who had never been engaged in any agricultural pursuits, assures his readers that indigo to any extent may be cultivated in Australia; and Colonel Torrens, putting that and this together, and finding that there are imported into England between six and seven millions of pounds of that drug, and to the value of above 1,700,000*l.* sterling, concludes, without hesitation, that indigo will become a staple product of his colony. He will find himself much mistaken; its growth and manufacture require cheap labour, and the only country that affords this, and at the same time has a suitable climate, Bengal, has obtained very nearly a monopoly of the supply of Europe, Asia, and America. Further, Colonel Torrens must understand, that even in the Bengal provinces, the culture of indigo does not succeed well everywhere; experience having shown that it is neither abundant in quantity nor good in quality, beyond twenty-five degrees from the equator, and the favourite portion of his colony is ten degrees beyond this limit. Colonel Torrens expects that vegetable oils are to become a staple export of his colony; because Dr. Laing, the above-named clergyman, who had no agricultural experience, informs him that the castor-oil plant grows luxuriantly in Australia. The Colonel himself, on his own authority, informs us that it is a tree, and that it is indigenous. It is neither tree nor shrub, but a succulent vegetable; and it is not indigenous either in Africa, Asia, or Australia, for it is a native of America. Besides, it is a plant which grows luxuriantly only within the tropics. But if it grew ever so luxuriantly, and ten degrees beyond the tropics, the oil it produces is small in quantity, bad in quality, and little suited for any other than medicinal purposes. The author, therefore, in this case, is probably at fault in his botany, his agriculture, his geography, and his statistics. Plants, says Colonel Torrens, producing the camphorated oil which so closely resembles the Cajeputi, are indigenous in Australia, and as Cajeputi oil sells in the London market at 7*d.* an ounce, it may be presumed that *something like* Cajeputi oil may be sold in the London market at 7*d.* an ounce, and become a great staple product of the new colony. The ordinary price of Cajeputi oil in the London market is not 7*d.* an ounce, but about half that price. What 'something like it' may fetch, has not yet been determined. But if Kangaroo Island had a monopoly of all the Cajeputi oil consumed in Europe,

Asia, and America, it would hardly amount to a thousand pounds value.

Great fault is found by Colonel Torrens with the writer of the former article in this journal on the Australian colony, for asserting that the trees producing gum Arabic and the manna of the druggists, namely the *acacia vera* and the *frazinus ornus*, do not exist in Australia. It seems that the writer was correct after all; and this too, on the evidence of the very passage which is quoted to refute him. There are many trees which yield gums, but there is only one which yields gum Arabic. Of all the acacias, which are a numerous race, there is but one species which yields this particular gum, and there is no evidence that it exists out of Arabia. There are many trees which yield a sweet juice which when inspissated resembles manna, but there is only one kind of ash, and this is a native of the South of Europe, which yields the officinal manna. The manna of Australia, or what the settlers are pleased to call so, is the produce, not of a *Fraxinus*, but of a *Eucalyptus*. Instead of being drawn from the trunk of the tree, it distils from the bark, and in such minute quantity, that the natives fancy it to be the excrement of a grasshopper*. It may be permitted to make the author a present of the excrement of the grasshopper, as one of the staple exports of his new colony. Because the colonists give wrong names, derived from fancied affinities, there is surely no necessity why men of sense and information should mistake the objects to which the misnomers are applied. The Australian colonists and convicts may talk of 'Blue Gum' and 'Red Gum' as long as they please; but they will not be able to impose them on the druggists and hat-manufacturers of Great Britain for gum Arabic. Such are the statements of the men who are for founding an empire upon a new principle, or, as it is expressed in the dedication of the work under review, of 'building a nation for a monument.' Mr. Spring Rice must surely be proud of such splendid efforts to hand his fame down to posterity.

The truth is, that there is no country in the world, of the same extent, of which the spontaneous products are so scanty and so worthless. Not one native esculent fruit has yet been discovered in any part of the Australian region; not a corn, nor an esculent root, save a single fern. The climate is too warm to produce valuable peltry; and if it were otherwise, the native animals are not of the kind, nor in sufficient numbers, to yield it.

The most respectable four-footed animal of the deserts of Australia is the kangaroo, and he is followed, at long intervals, by a short-haired dog,—an opossum,—and a rat ; which exhausts this department of Australian zoology. One striking fact tells volumes against the soil, climate, and localities of Australia. It is the only considerable portion of the globe in which man has not advanced one step from the mere state of savage existence. The inhabitants have tamed no animal, save the dog, whose nature it is to follow man whether he will or not ; they have learned the use of no metal ; they have not manufactured a rag of cloth, and men, and women too,—go literally stark naked, without even the precaution of a fig-leaf. Now and then a lucky hunter may throw a kangaroo or opossum skin over his shoulders ; but the very orang-outang will do the like when he is trembling with cold. How, indeed, could a spontaneous civilization have arisen among these men ? The country affords no wild animal capable of labour when tamed ; it yields none of the cereal grasses ; not one valuable esculent root. Even a precarious supply of water, by itself would be almost sufficient, in a rude and infant society, to hinder permanent location, and compel the savage to continue his wanderings. But if spontaneous vegetable and animal products existed in ever such abundance, the labour of collecting them would imply separation and not concentration. In every part of the east, the tribes who make it their calling to collect such products, are invariably found to be in a low and semi-barbarous state of society ;—mere wanderers over the forest, with hardly a home or a habitation.

Colonel Torrens has a section expressly headed,—‘ Superior commercial capabilities of Australia exemplified, by comparing the actual imports and exports of the Australian Colonies with those of other countries.’ He compares the exports and imports of our Australian possessions with those of some others of our colonies, with reference to their respective populations ; and sums up the statement as follows.—‘ The Colony of New South Wales has a commerce more than four times as great as the Canadas, four times as great as Nova Scotia, three and a half times as great as the Cape colony, and twenty-three times as great as Ceylon ; while it opens, in proportion to its population, a demand for British merchandise, more extensive by four-fold than the Canadas, by nearly three and one fourth fold than Nova Scotia, by three and one-third fold than the Cape colony, by four-fold than the Mauritius, and by 226 fold than Ceylon.’ [page 222.]

If the public accounts had been kept with ever so much accuracy and were in all respects unexceptionable, the test of com-

parative prosperity applied by Colonel Torrens is the most fallacious that can be imagined. One or two examples will show this. In 1832, Newfoundland contained a population of sixty thousand inhabitants; being exactly the same as that of New South Wales. Now the trade of New South Wales, export and import, as exhibited by the Custom House returns for 1831, amounted to 537,361*l.*; whereas, the corresponding items, for Newfoundland, amounted jointly to 612,421*l.* The prosperity of Newfoundland, therefore, according to the scale of Colonel Torrens, is greater than that of New South Wales by 14 per cent. But, the truth is the very reverse. New South Wales is really a prosperous colony; and Newfoundland, not only nearly stationary, but one of the most miserable colonies ever founded by Great Britain.

Take another example. The total amount of the exports and imports of Van Diemen's Land, for 1833, as they are given by Colonel Torrens from the colonial statements, is 600,000*l.*, and the population is, in round numbers, 30,000. The total trade of Singapore, export and import inclusive, in the year 1831-2 was 3,346,152*l.*; and its population, somewhat less than 20,000. Upon perusal of such a document, Colonel Torrens ought consistently to argue thus. The prosperity of Singapore is above eight-fold that of Van Diemen's Land, and more than ten times that of New South Wales. Colonel Torrens states that the consumption of British goods in New South Wales is 6*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* per head; whereas that of each individual in Van Diemen's Land is no less than 11*l.* It is wonderful that this discrepancy between the consumption of two colonies of the same nature, under the same circumstances, and nearly in the same state of advancement, did not point out to him the weakness of the statements which he has exhibited. Colonel Torrens while he makes the consumption of British goods for Van Diemen's Land 11*l.* per head, makes that of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward's Island, only 1*l.* 5*s.* per head. How does the reader imagine this statement is made out? He takes the value declared by the British merchant at the English Custom house, in the one case; and the colonial price in the other. He takes the prime cost in the one instance, and in the other adds the freights, charges, and profits, after a voyage of fifteen thousand miles. He takes the price in the one case where the market rate of interest is 4 per cent; and in the other, where it is 10 per cent, and profits of course in proportion.

Now, as to the site of the future nation, in what spot the first germ is to be planted, between the wide limits of the 132nd and 141st degree of East longitude, and between the 26th and

38th degree of South latitude, is not yet determined ; and this too, almost a year after the passing of the Act of Parliament, and five years after the first agitation of the project. As to soil, save the evidence of an occasional plump kangaroo, no one knows anything of the matter. Nay, it is by no means ascertained, that there is anywhere even a perennial supply of potable water, to slake the thirst of man or beast. Colonel Napier, the governor selected by the projectors themselves, and named by the crown, is extremely edifying upon these topics. After justly ridiculing the scanty information possessed by the projectors, and more than insinuating that the alleged facts are little better than Travellers' Tales ; he emphatically concludes thus :—' On such flimsy information shall we build a town, intended for a capital ?—if so, the first building erected, should be a bedlam*.' The ' most unkindest cut of all ;' but how could Brutus avoid giving the blow, seeing that his own reputation was on the very brink of the portentous whirlpool produced by the puffing and agitation of the projectors. In his appendix, Colonel Napier quotes a letter to his own address, from a man of distinguished scientific acquirements, and who with the exception of Captain Sturt, has actually seen and examined more of the Australian territory than any other man living. He tells his correspondents, that the very leaves of the greater part of the plants of Australia, are formed so as to catch every drop of dew that falls in this parched region ; their organization being for this special purpose distinct from that of the plants of every other part of the world, and constituting an obvious provision of nature to enable them to withstand the frequent droughts of the climate. The letter concludes in these remarkable words. ' With these proofs before you of the natural disposition of that country generally to drought, I'll leave you to say how far it is at all practicable for the commissioners appointed to conduct the proposed plan of South Australian colonization, to carry into effect their design of concentration and combined labour, in other terms to oblige the colonists, huddled into a corner of their vast grant of waste land, to pursue, by a combination of downright labour, those refined and extravagant systems of husbandry which the projectors have so fully contemplated†.'

Of the extravagant statistics of the projectors, one sample will suffice. ' The site of the new colony is within a week's sail of Van Diemen's Land, and has an uninterrupted communication by means of a great navigable river and its

tributaries, with the settled country of 'Yas Plains, in the adjoining colony of New South Wales*.' These are the words of Colonel Torrens. The distance between Spencer's Gulf, the conjectured seat of the colony, for all here is conjecture, and Hobart Town, is in a straight line above 1000 miles, and the sailing distance, under the most favourable circumstances, will certainly exceed 1200. The ship that performs the voyage, then, must sail at the rate of near 200 miles a-day, which few merchant ships ever do, and she must have a fair wind all the way in the outward and in the homeward voyage, and all this in the region of variable winds. The outward and homeward voyage, which is represented as of a fortnight's duration, will probably on an average occupy three months, or eight times its alleged length. This, however, in the way of intrepid assertion, is but a mere peccadillo to what follows. One would imagine, from the statement, that 'Yas Plains, in the adjoining colony of New South Wales,' were within a stone's throw of the projected site of the new settlement. Let the reader then travel to Yas Plains by the speediest route. The depth of Spencer's Gulf is not much less than 250 miles; and for aught any one knows to the contrary, the young nation may be planted at the very head of it. From its entrance to the entrance of the lake Alexandrina, is at least 150 miles. The lake Alexandrina is 60 miles broad. The navigation of the Murray and its tributaries, to Yas Plains, is 1000 miles; and Yas Plains are 200 miles from Sydney. For aught that appears in Colonel Torrens's map, a line-of-battle ship might enter lake Alexandrina; but practically it is not available for a fishing-boat. This is not all, however, that obstructs the 'uninterrupted communication by the great navigable river.' The navigation of the Murray is interrupted by falls, and huge masses of drifted timber; and, on its banks are found the most numerous and hostile population yet discovered in Australia, and from whom the prudent Captain Sturt and his companions escaped only by the next thing to a miracle. When the South Australian colonist reaches Yas Plains, he will find himself among a few scattered shepherds. In short, the place which Colonel Torrens represents as if it were a neighbouring parish, is near 1500 miles off, through variable winds, uncertain currents, intricate navigation, woods, wilds, and savages; and when you reach the land of promise in Yas Plains, all you can see of your countrymen are a few scoundrelly convict shepherds, it may be, gorged with

kangaroo and drunk with rum. When men can travel like carrier pigeons, and in their flight carry packs of merchandize on their backs as these birds carry letters about their necks, then, and not a great deal sooner, will an easy intercourse be carried on between the new nation on the shores of Spencer's Gulf, and the pastoral inhabitants of Yas Plains.

There is no subject on which the projectors of the new colony are so sanguine of success, as in their application of the doctrine of concentration of labour to a systematic irrigation of the land. It must be admitted that there is no country which stands more in need of irrigation than Australia; but it must also be admitted, that there is no country in which it is so difficult to carry it into effect, and no state of society to which it is less suitable. Colonel Torrens and his friends fancy that because irrigation is beneficially practised in the south of France, Italy, and Spain, Persia, India, China, and Java, it is equally applicable and equally practicable in Australia. Colonel Torrens in this and other matters, acts the part of an injudicious and indiscriminate captain of a press-gang; he presses into his service alien as well as citizen, the lame, the blind, the impotent, and the disaffected, and he must not be surprised if his crew mutiny, deliver over the ship to the enemy, or strike on the first summons without firing a shot. No one, let it be observed, denies the beneficial effects of irrigation. The watering of lands at command, multiplies the produce of the soil, in almost every country. In the south of France it frequently doubles it. In Italy and Spain it multiplies it sometimes three and even four-fold. In India and Persia, it seldom multiplies it less than five-fold, and often as much as ten-fold. Nay, in these last-named countries, it produces rich crops from sterile sands on which, in their ordinary state, a blade of grass will hardly grow. But all this does not prove that the beneficial results arise from combination of labour. In some situations, the irrigation is the result of natural circumstances, with comparatively very little assistance from art. Of this there are examples in the regular periodical overflowings of the waters of the Nile and Ganges in their respective Deltas, as well as in the plains of some Eastern countries which are regularly and periodically overflowed by the rains of the monsoon. The chief labour here, and it is commonly of a very rude kind and implies neither combination of labour nor combination of capitals, is in the direction and control of the water. The same is the case in the island of Java, one of the most fertile spots in the world. A chain of twelve or thirteen mountains, running along the length of that island to the extent of 600 miles, and

for the most part not under ten thousand feet high, pour down their perennial streams upon plains and valleys of rich volcanic mould; and a million of petty proprietors or occupants, with little or no combination either of capitals or of labour, direct them into their respective fields, and the result is a scene of cultivation not excelled in richness by the plains of Belgium or Lombardy. Yet it is from the evidence of this last-named country, that Colonel Torrens does not hesitate to infer the practicability of extensive irrigation in Australia. Java is within a few degrees of the equator, and within the reach of a monsoon of extraordinary regularity. South Australia is more than thirty degrees from the equator, and there is no monsoon. In Java, such is the regularity of the supply of water, that there has been no famine in the country for ninety years, and a partial scarcity in only one, and that produced by a civil war of six years continuance, and the cholera, which in the year in question, swept off about two hundred thousand of the inhabitants. In Australia frightful droughts return in cycles of nine or ten years; and, such is the inconstancy of the seasons for agricultural purposes, that the price of corn in one year is threefold that which it has been in the preceding. In one year the people have more corn than they can eat or find a market for; and in the next they are on the verge of starvation, and importing largely from foreign countries at exorbitant prices. There is dissimilitude, and not similitude, in the two cases which Colonel Torrens fancies to be parallel.

Even in Europe, the greatest works of irrigation owe their origin to the natural facilities afforded by climate and locality. The most magnificent of these are in the Milanese. The irrigation of Lombardy is chiefly owing to the height of the Italian lakes, which feed the rivers and canals above the level of the irrigated countries. The lakes Maggiore and Como are 900 feet, and Lugano 1100 feet, above the level of the city of Milan, and hence the facility with which a vast tract of country is watered and fertilized. These facilities admitted and even invited the construction of considerable works of irrigation in a rude age; for several of the great works of irrigation in Italy are traced as far back as seven and eight hundred years, and of course to a comparatively dark and rude period, even for that country. They were, as in the East, the work of Princes, great Lords, and wealthy Monks and Priests. What evidence they give of voluntary combination of labour, the spectator is utterly at a loss to conjecture.

Are similar works of irrigation suited to the circumstances of society in any new colony? Certainly not; any more than re-

financed manufactures, of the nature of which they partake; for in a new colony the price of labour is and ought to be high, and the capital disposable for great undertakings does not exist. Are they suitable to the physical geography of New South Wales? There may be, and no doubt there will eventually be found to be, particular localities, here and there, where in a more advanced period of society, a partial system of irrigation may be advantageously practised; but generally speaking, there are few countries to which it is less applicable. The rivers of Australia appear the most unmanageable in the world. 'Falling rapidly,' says Captain Sturt, 'from the mountains in which they originate, into a level and extremely depressed country; having weak, and inconsiderable sources, and being almost wholly unaided by tributaries of any kind; they naturally fail before they reach the coast, and exhaust themselves in marshes, or lakes*.' Water for the purposes of irrigation, cannot be conceived under circumstances more unmanageable, than it is represented in this faithful statement. To a superficial observer, the heat and drought of New South Wales would seem to point out the climate as one peculiarly suitable for the practice of irrigation. This, however, turns out not to be a correct view. In ordinary seasons, there is a sufficient fall of rain, although even within the year, it is very irregular; the rivers being at one moment dry beds, and in four-and-twenty hours rising thirty feet, overflowing their banks, flooding the neighbouring country, and destroying the hopes of the husbandman. The periods of extraordinary and long-continued drought have been found by experience to recur every ten or twelve years. In these, not a shower falls for a whole year, sometimes not for two, and in the last great visitation there was hardly a shower for three years. 'The surface of the earth,' says Captain Sturt, 'became so parched up, that minor vegetation ceased upon it. Culinary herbs were raised with difficulty, crops failed, even in the most favourable situations. Settlers drove their flocks and herds to distant tracts for pasture and water, neither remaining for them in the located districts. The interior suffered equally with the coast, and men at length began to despond under so alarming a visitation. It almost appeared as if the Australian sky were never again to be traversed by a cloud†.' Nothing can be more unlike to those countries in which an extensive artificial irrigation is practised, the south of France, Italy, Spain, India, and

Two Expeditions into the Interior of South Australia, by Captain Charles Sturt, vol. i. Preliminary chapter, p. xiii.

† Sturt, vol. i. chapter i. p. 1.

China. There are no ranges of mountains of sufficient elevation to yield a perennial supply of water, like the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Ghauts, and the Himalaya; and there is no monsoon to supply their place. What association of capitalists in their senses, or what Government that was ordinarily sane, would contemplate the construction of expensive embankments in rivers that might capriciously be either torrents or dry beds for half a year together, or speculate upon great reservoirs that might have no supply of water for a whole year, or for two, or even three years running?

A few words now for the principle, or more correctly the hypothesis, of the projectors. The words 'dispersion' and 'concentration,' are now out of favour with the projectors; and they propose to 'get rid of them,' by substituting the terms 'separation and combination*.' 'There is,' says Colonel Torrens, 'in every country, some proportion or other between capital and labour, which is most conducive to the progress of wealth, and which gives the highest rates of profit and of wages which the state of industry and the quality of the soil render possible. This proportion is the best proportion; and it may be called, the proportion of equilibrium and of rest†.' The use of new-fangled terms will hardly help the projectors out of their dilemma. He might just as well have said, 'There is a certain degree of heat which is most congenial to the human frame, say 74° of Fahrenheit's Thermometer. Between heat and cold, it may be called, the proportion of equilibrium and of rest. And this proportion of equilibrium and of rest, shall be produced by Act of Parliament, which Act is to be the 4th and 5th of William the 4th, chapter 95.' The 'proportion of equilibrium and of rest,' then, which is to produce combination of labour followed by all the prosperity which is to spring out of the new principle, is to be brought about by the simple and to all appearance rude and vulgar means, of making land infinitely more dear than ever land was before in any new colony, ancient or modern. Cheap and fertile land has hitherto been considered the best machinery for yielding cheap food. But render the machinery costly and consequently unproductive, and you will, say the projectors, increase its productive powers. This seems to common sense the argument of the projectors. It ought to be followed up in manufacturing industry. - To begin, let the Government of the new colony make a monopoly of the forests in the neighbourhood of the settlement, so that no man shall be enabled to obtain cheap timber to make his ploughs, harrows, and carts. This ought of

Letter of Kangaroo, in Col. Torrens. App. p. 15, † Torrens, p. 13.
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in search of it, and getting, on your arrival, an expanded surface of indifferent land instead of a compact estate of fertile land. The average gross price fetched by all the lands sold by the American Government in 1831, was 5s. 2d., and in 1832, 5s. 1d. per acre. Now, as no one will pretend to say that the lands sold by the American Government are not on an average of equal value with those of Upper Canada, it is perfectly clear that the real prices proposed to be exacted in Southern Australia are equivalent respectively to at least nine times, thirty times, and forty-seven times, the price exacted in America. Even if every acre in Australia was as fertile as every acre sold in America, still the prices proposed would be 134, 680, and 1300 per cent beyond the American*.

A curious anomaly presents itself for the first time in Colonel Torrens's book. In the earlier schemes of the projectors, the pastures were to have been rented, and to have formed a considerable source of revenue to the state. They are now to be occupied by the settlers for a 'nominal rent†.' That is to say, the kind of husbandry which is most favoured by nature, for which the soil and climate are best fitted, is to be exempt from taxation, and that which is least favoured by nature, is to be heavily taxed. If this be not a prohibitory duty upon growing corn and a direct encouragement to rearing sheep and cattle, it is hard to say what is. If carried into effect, it ought to produce not 'concentration' but 'dispersion' with a vengeance,—convert 'the nation,' in short, 'into a horde of wandering Tartars, living upon milk and flesh, and getting drunk on fermented mare's milk. In twenty years time they would become a nuisance to the very convicts of New South Wales.

With these monstrous charges for the land, profits are to be high, and wages high too. That is to say, when the capital which is to yield profit and pay wages is buried in the soil, the funds are still to exist which will enable the capitalist to pay high wages. It might be supposed that the capitalist would be compensated for his first heavy outlay in the purchase of his lands, by a low rate of labour. This is the advantage which the slave-holder has, for his first large outlay in the purchase of the slave. Nothing of the sort, however, in this case. The wages are, in fact, to be a great deal higher than

* Since what is in the text was written, the projectors have condescended to name 20s. as the price to be exacted; and apparently for no other reason than that 20s. make a pound, and a pound is an integer.

† Torrens, p. 73.

anywhere else; those of a field-labourer, for instance, are estimated at forty shillings a week, which is about double the wages of field-labour in Upper Canada, near three times its amount in Lower Canada, and four-fold its amount in New South Wales. Yet the proprietor of the land, drained of his capital by the heavy exactions in the price of land at one end, and by wages four times as great as in the neighbouring colonies on the other, is still to realize enormous profits.

'Twenty per cent in mortgages,' says Mr. Carmichael, speaking of the present state of Australia, 'is not an uncommon return for money so lent. Fifteen per cent may be taken as the average return of capital so invested.*'

This passage is quoted by the projectors with great satisfaction. If, they argue, the profits of a landed investment be so great in the ill-regulated colony of Australia, how magnificent must they not be in our well-regulated colony? The man who can afford to borrow money at fifteen per cent on mortgage, it may safely be presumed, ought to make at least twenty-five per cent by his agricultural speculation. The profits of the agricultural capitalist ought at least to be proportional to the rate of wages. So then, if the agricultural capitalist in New South Wales, makes 25 per cent upon his investment, paying 25*l.* for the wages of field labour, the lucky agriculturist of the new colony, who pays four times as much wages, ought to be compensated with proportionate profits, that is, make 100 per cent upon his capital, or in other words double that capital every year. All these speculations, to be sure, are at direct variance with experience, and with the admitted principles of political economy. 'Let me request your particular attention,' says Col. Torrens, 'while I endeavour to state the grounds upon which I confidently believe that the doctrine of Mr. Ricardo is not true, under the actual circumstances of the world, and that the profits of the capitalist may be increased, while the condition of the labourers is improved†.' Upon this the author proceeds to weave a web, which for expansion and intricacy would do credit to one of those gigantic spiders that spread their toils in the forests of the equator.

The only advantage which the owner of the land is to possess, is to consist in his having a constant supply of labourers. This is to be secured to him, by the government of the colony importing labourers on his account, and the incapacity of the labourers when imported of becoming, from their poverty,

* Carmichael's Hints relating to Emigrants. 1834. † Torrens, page 31.

proprietors of land. The labourer is, in fact, to be *adscriptus glebæ* for a period of six years or thereabouts; he is to be placed in pretty nearly the same position in which the West-Indian slave was proposed to be placed by Lord Stanley's first abortive scheme of emancipation. If it should be objected to this, that one of the chief inducements to emigration hitherto has been the ardent desire on the part of the emigrant to become the independent owner of a few acres of land;—the projectors reply, that the passion is a mere English association, and not worth regarding. Yet as far as the experience of the world has hitherto gone, and in this matter it is at least equal to five-and-twenty centuries, it is sufficiently testified that the prejudice in question is also Jewish, Greek, Roman, French, German, Hindu, Chinese, in a word is universal wherever life and property enjoy any tolerable degree of security. In many countries the bare possession of land implies freedom, and indeed in some, nobility; and the incapacity to hold it, villeinage or slavery.

But the projectors have been before told, and it must now be repeated, that the labour-market when left to itself, is just as likely to be overstocked as understocked, and that at all events, when supply and demand are left to regulate themselves without impertinent interference, neither gluts nor deficiencies of labour are likely to be of any continuance. One example will suffice in illustration. The new colony of Singapore already referred to, although it has now existed sixteen years and was an untrodden desert when first occupied, has never in all this time wanted labourers in due proportion to the demand for them. On the contrary, it has been once or twice glutted with them, the community suffering inconvenience, not from having too small, but too large a supply. They came to it from the neighbouring countries, from Hindostan, a voyage of a month or six weeks, and above all from China, a voyage in crazy junks, which averages from twenty days to six weeks, and which is as long and more perilous than the voyage from the British Islands to New York. From five to six thousand Chinese able-bodied male labourers, commonly from the age of twenty to thirty-five, land every year upon its shores. From 1000 to 1200 supply the local demand, and the rest disperse themselves in the neighbouring countries to seek employment. The inducements to their emigration are obvious. In the countries to which they emigrate, the wages of labour are about four times as great, and the principal necessities of life are not one third so costly, as in their own country.

But is the dispersion, from which so many evils are alleged

to have sprung, a real evil, calling for the interference of the legislature? Quite the contrary. Voluntary dispersion is an advantage. It is only in the hope of improving their condition that individuals disperse themselves, or in other words spread themselves into the desert or forest, abandoning society and quitting those parts of a new colony in which the colonists are most concentrated. It is only the most enterprising and hardy people, that will forsake the comforts and conveniences of society for such a purpose; they never disperse until they are necessitated to disperse;—until they find it more for their interests to spread than to keep together. The best of all colonists are the English,—saving always their descendants, the Americans. It is the latter, alone, that furnish the rough pioneers of colonization and civilization, the backwoodsmen and squatters. These pave the way for those who pursue the more regular efforts of industry; these select the best lands, cut down the forest, and roughly till the soil, as a preparation for the more regular efforts of others. To such they dispose of the land, and then start in quest of new adventures. The Americans are charged with a want of love of locality, and a passion for ubiquity. This is the very thing which makes them what they are admitted to be, the best of all settlers in a new country. In short the backwoodsmen and squatters constitute, in colonization, a branch of the division of labour, and to attempt to suppress or repress their enterprise would be a gratuitous folly. Only a short year back, and Colonel Torrens himself was enamoured of this part of the character of the Americans; for he thus eulogizes them for it.

‘In that country of the free, there is a population of twelve millions, doubling in a period of about five-and-twenty years. The mean annual increase is upwards of half a million of souls; and of this increase, the greater portion spreads over the unreclaimed lands of the western territory. Here the forest recedes before them; towns and villages rise up as by enchantment; and the tide of agricultural improvement, and of Christian civilization, flows with still increasing velocity, from the shores of the Atlantic towards those of the Pacific.’

The tide which in 1834, was rolling ‘with still increasing velocity from the Atlantic to the Pacific,’ Colonel Torrens in 1835 proposes to render as dull, and stagnant, and bitter, as the waters of the Dead Sea. Of all civilized nations, the French make the worst colonists, and precisely because the characteristic

of their nation is the very opposite to that of the American. They are fond of the amusements of the town; fond of society, and disperse with reluctance. A French farmer has a propensity to quit his labour and run perpetually to the town for gossip and amusement. In short the love of concentration is so strong in the Frenchman, that compared with the American or Englishman, he makes a very indifferent colonist; while according to the theory, he ought to make the best of all.

The projectors shall now be treated with a few examples of the effects of concentration, not in advancing but in retarding the progress of society. Of course they can only be drawn from the example of bad governments, or the blundering legislation of those which have good intentions and nothing else. The late Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, had under his exclusive rule as a Commissioner, certain districts of the peninsula of India, which he estimated to be equal in size to the kingdom of Scotland. One half of the fertile land was, according to him, untilled and unoccupied. The country had been in the previous occupation of those great masters of concentration, Hyder Ali and his son Tippoo. At an interval of seven years, a census was taken of the population, and it was found to be 1,917,376. Were it not for the pressure of the land-tax, Sir Thomas Munro was of opinion, that population 'ought to increase even faster than in America; because the climate is more favourable, and there are vast tracts of good land unoccupied, which may be ploughed at once, without the labour and expense of clearing away forests*.' The land-tax was continued, and a census of that population which ought to have increased 'even faster than in America,' was taken at an interval of sixteen years, and the number was found to be 2,022,317; virtually therefore it had continued stationary. The population of the United States with which it was compared, had very nearly doubled itself between 1810 and 1820. In Bengal, where the land-tax had been fixed in perpetuity, the population in forty years time was found to have increased from twenty to thirty-two millions; the result of extended and improved culture. In the case of Sir Thomas Munro's districts, the tax on new lands which was adequate to stifle the increase of population, was just 3s. 6d. per acre per annum; and this too, not in a new country, but in one where the population was at the rate of eighty to the square mile, and where rent has probably existed for three thousand years.

The new settlement of Singapore affords a capital example of the evil effects of demanding a high price for land. It was

* 5th Report of Committee of House of Commons, on Affairs of East India Company. 1813, pp. 785 and 900.

taken possession of by the British Government in 1819, when it contained a village of 150 piratical fishermen, who for all useful purposes had better have been absent; and there was not an acre of land under cultivation. Saving the sites of the fishermen's huts, the whole island, amounting to about 300 square miles, was covered with a dense forest. In 1832-3, the import trade amounted to 8,589,174 Spanish dollars, and the export to 7,087,028; the aggregate of the two being upwards of three millions sterling. The population, as already stated, exceeded twenty thousand. It would be difficult to imagine a case more favourable to the 'concentration and combination of labour' principle, than Sincapore. The island is sea-girt; and a prosperous town, with an active demand for the raw produce of the soil, is on the very spot. It has been tried; and not only failed, but positively arrested all agricultural improvement. During the first seven years, land was given away liberally and gratuitously to any one who would clear and cultivate it. In evil hour, a tax-monger, an advocate, it may be supposed, of the 'concentration principle,' found his way into the administration, and imposed that tax which has since arrested all agricultural operations. This tax is ten dollars per acre, or 40s., with permission to pay in another form by instalments;—the very sum, as it happens, suggested by Colonel Torrens, and not a great deal more than one half of that which Kangaroo suggests for 'the astonishment' of his new colonists.

One of their own witnesses shall here be produced against the projectors. This is Mr. Bennett, the author of the '*Wanderings in New South Wales*,' whom Colonel Torrens calls when he brings him forward to prove that the 'blue' and 'red gum,' and gum Arabic, are identical, and that what is so minute as to be mistaken for the excrement of a grasshopper, may become a considerable article of export as a substitute for something else that is like it,—'a man of science,' 'a scientific traveller,' &c. He happened to visit Sincapore after seeing Australia. When he has expressed his pleasure and surprise at the novel scene of commercial prosperity exhibited by a settlement recently planted, as it were, in a desert,—he thus proceeds to give judgment against the 'concentration principle.'

'On riding or driving in the vicinity of the settlement, the character of the country and soil appears well calculated for the cultivation of coffee, sugar, cotton, pepper, and other tropical productions, as well as of rice. But most of the land is permitted to continue in a state of primitive jungle; industry and cultivation having been checked by the enormous quit-rents enforced upon the purchasers or tenants of land, by the government. Until this ill-judged and ill-advised measure is

changed, the cultivation of this beautiful island, now for the most part covered by a continued forest, cannot advance*.'

Strange as it may seem to the reader, this same settlement of Singapore has been quoted over and over again by the South Australian projectors, as a flagrant example of the evils arising from permitting the population to scatter, and not forcing them to concentrate by legislative enactment. In so far as 'concentration' could do mischief, it has done so at Singapore. The truth is that, generally, in that settlement commercial pursuits are more profitable than agricultural, and raw produce, except in the case of fruits and fresh vegetables, can be imported more cheaply than it can be raised. The 'concentration principle' has done all the mischief it could effect; and Singapore, from the natural advantages of its commercial position, and its total freedom from commercial imposts, has thriven in spite of it.

But the most complete and conclusive evidence after all, against the exacting of a high price for land, is derived from the Australian territories themselves, the very country in which the authors of the new scheme propose to establish their principle in its most exaggerated form. For the lands first granted in the colony of Van Diemen's Land, the nominal rent of a pepper corn only was exacted. This was afterwards changed to a quit rent of 2s. per 100 acres per annum, or near one farthing per acre. In 1823 the quit-rent was raised to 15s. per 100 acres, and so it continued until 1826. From that time until 1831, the quit-rent was '5 per cent. per annum on whatever price the Commissioners appointed for its valuation might decide the grant to be worth, at the time it was located to the settler.' In 1831 the granting of land ceased altogether, and it was enacted by the home authorities, that none should hereafter be sold except by public auction, at a minimum price of 5s. per acre, or an annual rent of three pence per acre, equivalent to five per cent. In 1831 scarcely any of the old and comparatively trifling quit-rent could be realized.

The author of the Van Diemen's Land Annual observes, on the regulation of the Colonial Government for selling the lands at a minimum price of 5s.—

'Until this day, a period of about three years that the plan has been in force, only one individual, and he a retired officer, who received the commutation of his pay, has purchased a farm of unlocated land upon these terms†.'

* Wanderings in New South Wales, China, Singapore, &c. 1834.

† Van Diemen's Land Annual, and Hobart Town Almanack, for 1834.

‡ *Ib.*

Such have been the results, in a colony of some maturity, of demanding a price for the land of only one-eighth part of the amount of that which Colonel Torrens would exact, and less than one-fourteenth part of what 'Kangaroo' would exact in a colony not yet founded, or when founded, exact while it was struggling for existence.

In none of the publications of the authors of the Australian project, have the ways and means of raising a revenue to maintain the new colony been discussed or even touched upon, save in that of Colonel Napier, who can hardly be said to belong to them, and who suggests a graduated poll-tax. The subject was a ticklish and alarming one, and the projectors have no doubt exhibited the better part of valour in escaping from it. There is to be raised on bond a sum of 200,000*l.*, at an interest not exceeding ten per cent. Fifty thousand pounds are to be raised for carrying out poor emigrants, and the larger sum is to be raised on the security of the Colonial revenue; that is to say, of a revenue the nature of which is never once touched upon. To be sure, there is to be for this larger sum the collateral security of the land. So says the statute, but the land had already been mortgaged for the Emigration Fund. Thus we have 50,000*l.* to be raised on the security of lands in a *terra incognita*, and a sum of 200,000*l.* on the security of financial resources *in nubibus*. Twenty thousand pounds must be paid into the public Exchequer of Great Britain as a security that the mother country shall not be subjected to any expense on account of the new project; and 35,000*l.* of the proceeds of the sales of public lands, by anticipation, must be paid into the Exchequer, before the project is allowed to have any substantial existence. Raising 200,000*l.* at ten per cent, will cost 20,000*l.* per annum; but from this must be deducted the interest which Government will allow for the 20,000*l.* deposited in Exchequer bills as a security that the public shall not be loaded with any part of the expense, and for which the Government will pay interest, say 4 per cent. This will reduce the interest of the debt to 19,200*l.* Colonel Torrens estimates the interest on the bonds at six per cent, and charges the writer of the former article in this journal with exaggeration for making it ten, the highest limit permitted by the statute. Now surely the exaggeration is upon his own side, seeing that he holds out the prospect of the new colonists making much more by the investment of their money, than Mr. Carmichael shows is now made in New South Wales, and the average of which is 16 per cent. Colonel Torrens should recollect when he talks of six per cent, that the security is not English security but Australian security;—security upon the lands of an unknown

and unexplored country, and upon the revenue of a people whose very existence is a hypothesis. The government of this country, and even the Colonial Commissioners, are by express enactments in the statute, exempted from all risk and responsibility. But the best evidence that six per cent is not sufficient, nor ten, nor perhaps even fifteen per cent, is that none of the parties have ventured to hint that any monies have yet been raised for the purposes of the colony; not the 35,000*l.* on account of the sale of lands, to be deposited in the hands of the public trustees, nor even the 20,000*l.* to be placed in the Exchequer as a security to the mother country. Yet the bonds have been in the market for eleven months. Don Miguel while cooped up in Lisbon, and Don Carlos in the mountains of Navarre, could raise money on their bonds; but not so the South Australian Commissioners, freely discharging their paper pellets from Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. The 'new nation' is just where it stood five years ago, and where it is ever likely to stand, in the mere imaginations and publications of the projectors. The first Colonial Commissioners named have given in their resignations; the governor selected by themselves, has resigned and given his reasons for his resignation, which he has published in his correspondence with the Secretary of State and the Australian Commissioners. Colonel Napier will not undertake the adventure without troops and without money. The Commissioners in their reply to a letter from him say, that they will adopt arrangements for preserving order and for securing obedience to the laws in the new Colony; which arrangements, however, they do not think it expedient in the mean time to detail. They inform him that his demand for men and money is at variance with 'the self-supporting principle;' and they conclude by repeating their favourite dogma, that the most flourishing British colonies in North America were founded without pecuniary help from the mother country and without the aid of military force. The Governor dissects or rather makes mince-meat of their letter, paragraph by paragraph. He reminds them that by the Act of Parliament, they have no authority for making arrangements for preserving order and securing obedience, and that such matters rest with their superiors. He ridicules 'the self-supporting principle;' and points out, as was done by the writer of the former article in this journal, the gross fallacy of the often-repeated assertion that the most flourishing of the British colonies in North America, or any British colonies anywhere, were founded without charge to the public. Like a man of sense, experience, and forecast, he sees a thousand

difficulties in the project, which those who write their dreams and the interpretation thereof in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, cannot see.

But now to the expenses. Colonel Torrens estimates the ordinary expense of the Colonial Government at 10,000*l.* per annum; and takes 10,000*l.* more for the erection of buildings and other incidental charges, making 20,000*l.* Colonel Napier estimates the mere expense of a military force, or rather of such a substitute for it as the local government should think necessary to adopt 'on the self-supporting principle,' at 12,000*l.* per annum. Even with Colonel Torrens's estimate of 20,000*l.* for the expense of Government, to cover such a charge with the interest of the debt, viz. 19,200*l.*, it will be necessary to sell public lands and raise a net revenue, amounting in the aggregate to near 40,000*l.* per annum. When the colony then amounts to a population of 2,500, the taxation per head will amount to 16*l.* When it amounts to 10,000, it will be 4*l.* per head; and when it amounts to 20,000, on the extravagant supposition that 30,000 may be as cheaply governed as 2,500 it will still be 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* In short, with the exception of England and Holland, the new nation from its birth will be more highly taxed than any old or new country in the universe.

It is indeed clear that notwithstanding 'the self-supporting principle,' the new colony must eventually be as expensive, if not more so, than any other colonial government. In the first place the colony must pay, in common with every other colony, its share of the charges of the Colonial Office; then, there are to be three Commissioners, a Treasurer, a Secretary, clerks, and surveyors in England; with a Governor, resident Commissioner, Secretary, Judges, magistrates, courts, surveyors, and chaplains of the established Churches of England and Scotland, in the colony. The Act provides, that the salaries to be paid to all such persons as may be appointed under the Act, shall be fixed by those rigid economists the Lords of his Majesty's Treasury. The charges of the Home Commission, at least, are surplus to the charges of any other colony under the Crown. With respect to the proceeds of the sales of lands, there are presented statements the most hyperbolic. A population of 6,000, the projectors say, will produce an effectual demand for 80,000 acres. Of course these 80,000 acres, at 12*s.* per acre, will produce 48,000*l.*; at 2*l.*, 160,000*l.*; and at 3*l.* 12*s.*, 288,000*l.* Not quite so fast, however; for this is not quite correct even by the projectors own showing. In the refined system of husbandry which they propose to introduce, there are to be four labourers and a farmer for every 200 acres*, and of course these are to have

* Torrens, p. 36.

numerous families, in a colony so rapidly advancing in population as well as wealth as this is to be. Take the women and children however, at only four, and then there will be five families of five individuals to every 200 acres; which makes a population, not of 6,000 inhabitants for 80,000 acres, but of 10,000. Then again, according to their own statements, there is to be one artisan, to one farmer and two agricultural labourers*. The mechanic, of course, has a family of the same amount as the agricultural labourer; and therefore their population of 6,000 rises by their own showing to 13,333. Still there is to be added the population engaged in trade and the fisheries,—that population which is to produce a demand for the produce of this refined rural industry,—in short the population of the town, including the mechanics. The projectors shew that the population of Sydney, and they consider this an evidence of prosperity, is equal to one-fourth part of that of the whole colony†. Suppose, however, that the trading part of their town is equal to one-sixth part of the whole; then it necessarily follows, that to produce an effectual demand for 80,000 acres will require a population, not of 6,000, but of 16,000. The bubbles of the projectors burst, with the very breath of those who approach to examine them.

The Americans derive a considerable branch of their public revenue from the sale of lands; and because the Americans, a mature nation, with a population of twelve or fourteen millions, derive such revenue, the new colony is to derive a still larger revenue with 2,500 inhabitants, or 5,000, or 10,000, or 20,000. Every American of the twelve or fourteen millions, that emigrates at all, emigrates to the new lands of his own country. The bulk of the emigrations from France, Germany, Switzerland, Poland, as well as much of the emigrations from England, are also directed to the new territories of America. The twelve or fourteen millions have no sea to cross, and the rest have a voyage to perform of not more than 2,500 miles. If emigrants proceed to the new colony at all, it can only be from England; for British subjects alone are privileged there, and whoever goes, except the handful on the spot, will have to cross a sea of 15,000 miles. The projectors, fancying that the whole stream of English emigration is to be directed upon their colony,—as if England had no other colony, and there was in the community an intense desire to prefer dear lands to cheap ones,—proceed in the following strain of hyperbole. ‘If, in the United States, containing a population of 12,000,000, the increase of wealth and numbers requires an additional territory of 3,000,000 of acres

* Torrens, p. 62.† *Ib.* p. 145.

yearly;—in the United Kingdom, containing a population of upwards of 24,000,000, the increase of wealth and numbers would create, under a well-regulated system of colonization, a demand for 6,000,000 acres of waste land annually. These, sold at 12s. per acre, would give an emigration fund, not of 2,300*l.*, but of 3,600,000*l.*, which would convey not 105, but 240,000 selected labourers, from the mother country. Sold at the proper price of 2*l.* per acre, the waste land demanded by the increasing wealth and numbers of the United Kingdom, would produce, under a well-regulated system of colonization, an annual emigration fund of 12,000,000*l.**. The reader will be pleased to understand, that this *very moderate* passage, is a careful correction of an alleged exaggeration on the part of the former reviewer.

The actual quantity of land sold by the American government in the year 1831, the latest year for which the accounts received in this country are complete, was 2,777,866 acres, and the gross amount of sales 3,557,023 dollars, equal to about 700,000*l.* sterling†. From this, however, was to be deducted the original purchase money paid to the native inhabitants,—to foreign states, as in the case of Louisiana, and in some instances to particular states of the Union,—the charges of surveys and collection, of the making of roads to some extent, and the civil and military charges of maintaining the administration of the particular territories in which the lands are situated; so that in reality, the balance remaining would form but a very inconsiderable branch of the revenue of a great State. But besides this, the revenue derived from the sale of lands is admitted in the public documents to be falling off, and the policy of this financial resource begins to appear to the Americans exceedingly questionable. These sales of land, however, extended to ten states or territories; and it is expressly stated in the American official documents, that ‘more than 3,000,000 people are interested in them‡.’ Say then that the population of the new colony amounts,—although, should it be established, it will probably not do so in less than thirty years,—to 30,000 inhabitants, all of course interested in the sale of land. In this case, if the gross revenue afforded by 3,000,000 purchasers be 700,000*l.*, the gross revenue arising out of

* Torrens, page 107.

† Letter from the Secretary to the Treasury transmitting his annual report on the state of the Finances, 1832-3.

‡ *Ib.*

30,000 purchasers will be 7,000*l.*; of 10,000, 2,333*l.*; and of 6,000, not as alleged 48,000*l.*, but 1,400*l.*, or about one thirty-fourth part of the amount. All this too, supposes that the new state is to be as prosperous at first starting into life, and throughout its progress, as the American nation is now after an existence of nearly 200 years.

Not one word, by-the-bye, is said throughout the publication of the projectors, respecting payment to the native inhabitants, the owners of the soil. On the contrary, in the preamble to the Act of Parliament which was framed by them, the lands are declared to be 'waste and unoccupied.' This is not true; the country, as far as it has been examined, has been found to be better peopled than any other part of the Australian continent. The hunting-grounds will be found there as everywhere else, to be the property of particular tribes. Among the natives inhabiting the neighbourhood of King George's Sound, even a private right of property is vested in individuals, according to Mr. Scott Nind, who resided two years among them *. If the natives, therefore, who occupy the lands of the new colony are not to be hunted down like wild beasts, a troublesome and expensive process, independent of other more serious objections,—they must be paid for their lands; and this will form a serious deduction from the gross amount of the pittance which will be received for them at a public sale.

The writers of this and the former article have been charged with personal hostility to the South Australian project. They are not themselves sensible, that they have been actuated by any such spirit. They watched the project from the moment of its birth; they thought the projectors were deluding themselves; but, as long as the public were safe, they were silent. When they found, however, that there were parties in the country of sufficient credulity to listen to them, they thought it high time to speak out, and expose one of the most vain delusions which ingenious men ever took up, or obstinately persevered in. Perhaps they have been a little too successful, in baffling the authors of the scheme, and hence possibly a good deal of the intemperance with which they have been assailed. The success of their endeavours, if they have had any success, will more than compensate for the anger of disappointed partizans, whom they have charged with no other offence than being deluded themselves, and strenuously propagating their delusions as discoveries in Political Science.

ART. XIV.—*The Mythology of Ancient Greece and Italy.* By Thomas Keightley, Esq.—8vo. London. 1831.

PARTY spirit and the rancour of religious persecution prevailed as much in the days of ancient Athens and Rome, as they have in more modern times. The high-priests of Bacchus and Jupiter, engaged with the same hostile collision as the more orthodox prelates that succeeded them; creeds were propagated not more by argument than the sword; and where theological reasons failed to convince, reasons of state were found to support them. Sects diverging from a common centre multiplied exceedingly, and excited no less confusion in matters relating to their creeds, than in the civil government of the states by which they had been received and protected. It is rarely that the Pagan religion of those early times is considered worthy of attention, or the history of the heathen established churches thought to contain anything besides the superstitious absurdities of barbarous tribes, or the extravagant fictions of poetic imagination; and certainly the rude dogmas and licentious discipline of the votaries of Olympus or the Capitol, can no more be compared with the subtlety and refinement of the scholastic disquisitions of zealous Christians, than the simple laws of Solon or Lycurgus with the codes which direct the movements of modern society.

The origin and extension of particular modes of Pagan worship, the bitter dissensions of opposing sects, the excommunication of heretics, the infallibility of oracles, the miraculous interposition of the Gods to protect their own worshippers and overthrow their adversaries, the connexion between Church and State, at one time closely cemented and leading to absolute power, and at another time disjointed and with the seeds of liberty growing up between,—all these are now becoming distinct and visible, when the mists of mythology are ascending, and leaving the objects beneath them in a clearer atmosphere. The position of the Bacchanalians in Greek and Roman history, their progress, and the impediments and dangers which they encountered in their course,—the intricate and frequently obscure windings by which they found their way even through the barren sands of the middle ages, and again appeared, to meet new dangers and fresh persecutors,—render them one of the most interesting of the ancient sects.

Mythologists have investigated with great ingenuity and learning, the question of Bacchus's nativity. Some have traced it to the banks of the Ganges, and have drawn proofs from

the character of his worship and his name, although the legends represent him as the enemy and conqueror of the East. Some have discovered that he grew up under the warm sun of Arabia, and others maintain that the snows of Rhodope and Hæmus first witnessed the dances and echoed the wild cries of his votaries. And all, like the philosophers in the days of Menippus, bring in support of their opinions such strong and convincing arguments, that it is impossible to refuse assent either to the one or to the other.

The fruitful valley of the Nile, not more abundant in natural productions than in gods, appears to have given birth to the Lord of Nysa*. The processions, dances, symbols, place and manner of worship, observed by the Greek Bacchanalians and subsequently in Etruria and Rome, were from the earliest ages of antiquity practised in Egypt, and establish the identity of the worship in these countries. In the age of Sesostris, when the spirit of conquest and emigration animated the Egyptians, Greece received many colonies from that country; among them were the Bacchanalians, who on their way were received into the territories of Minos king of Crete, and their religion embraced and encouraged by Ariadne his daughter, who in the poetic language of those times was espoused by the god. On their arrival in the Peloponnesus they encountered a violent opposition, and 'Bacchus ever fair and young' was engaged by the Titans, and miserably torn in pieces by these supporters of the ancient religion of the country †. His worshippers recovered from this defeat, and after long wandering in search of a settlement, at length arrived in Bœotia. Cadmus with his Phœnician colony had just built the city of Thebes; and a misfortune in his family preparing him to receive the new sect, the offspring of his daughter Semele was hailed by them as their god who had been slaughtered by the Titans ‡. Their numbers and strength increased, and they felt themselves again able to extend their temples and their creed. They spread themselves over the northern districts of Greece, and attempted to establish themselves in Thrace, the country situated between Mounts Parnassus and Cithæron §. Lycurgus who reigned over it, alarmed at the progress of the Bacchanalian heresy, expelled them from his dominions, and pursued them to the sea, where Thetis received them in her bosom §. He was visited by divine vengeance for his impiety, and having in a fit of

* Herod. L. ii. c. 81.

† Diod. Sic. L. iv.

‡ Diod. Sic. L. i.

§ Thucydides, L. ii. Homer. B. vi. v. 130.

insanity murdered his son, was put to death by his own subjects. The Bacchanalians returned to Bœotia, but the ardour of their religious zeal did not long suffer them to remain inactive. Attica did not deem it prudent at this time to refuse them admission into its territories ; but though it tolerated, it never cherished or respected the religion of Bacchus. The god of Cecrops, after having hurled Chronos and the Titans into Tartarus, had usurped the supremacy of heaven, and assumed the title of Panhellenius, or god of all Greece ; and under these circumstances the Bacchanalians were permitted to raise temples to their god, though their ministry was always looked upon with jealousy by the Athenians, and their rites and ceremonies became the objects of contumely and reproach. Demosthenes when he pours all the bitterness of personal invective on the head of his eloquent rival, does not forget to upbraid him with the offices which he was appointed to perform at the Dionysia. ‘ You conducted during the day,’ he says ‘ those fine troops of the initiated crowned with fern and poplar, squeezing serpents in your hands and brandishing them over your head, and shouting with all your might, “*Euoi*,” “*Laboi*,” you danced to the music of the words *Hyès Attys*, *Attys Hyès*, the elders complimenting you with the titles of “*Chief Captain**,” &c. And Plato at a subsequent period, when the Bacchanalians under the name of Orphics, from their high priest Orpheus, had acquired celebrity and extension, described them as charlatans who went about threatening their enemies with the anger of the gods and the pains of Tartarus, calling on them to purify themselves and be initiated in their sacred mysteries, and become heirs to the rewards of a future life†. But these were the sarcasms of their religious rivals ; and the aristocratic Aristophanes turned the severity of his dramatic satire against them in his comedy of the *Frogs*. Yet notwithstanding the hostility which this sect encountered at Athens, their festivals became the most conspicuous, and their celebration the most distinguished, of any in Attica.

The Bacchanalians did not forget the persecutions which assailed them on their first visit to the Peloponnesus ; and believing themselves more fitted to succeed this time, they attempted to penetrate the Isthmus of Corinth. Pentheus was at the time king of this region ; he collected his forces and endeavoured to oppose the heretical invaders, but their strength and numbers prevailed, and retaliating with all the virulence of religious fury for their former sufferings in the Peloponnesus,

* Demosth. contra Ctesiphon.

† Plato de Repub. L. ii.

they tore the wretched Pentheus in pieces*, and then passed on to Argolis. Perseus king of Mycenæ went out against them, and overthrew them with great slaughter; the numerous tombs of the Mænades, even in the time of Pausanias scattered over the scene of conflict, testified the sanguinary character of this persecution†, which seemed a just retribution for their cruelty to Pentheus. The poet Decharnus‡, as cited by Eusebius, relates, that Bacchus died of his wounds at Delphi, where his tomb was pointed out to strangers, and where the Thyades used to come to sacrifice to his manes. Pausanias writes, that Bacchus and Perseus were subsequently reconciled, and that Perseus became a convert to the religion which he had persecuted with such bloody opposition. ‘Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat;’ and this species of divine vengeance seems always to have followed the adversaries of Bacchus. The Thracian Lycurgus, who had driven the Bacchanalians into the sea, became the victim of it, and the reconciliation of Bacchus and the Argives appears to have been effected by a similar miracle. In the reign of Anaxagoras the son of Megapenthes, to whom Perseus had given the city of Argos in exchange for Mycenæ, the Argive women were attacked by a malady which rendered them furious; they abandoned their houses and fled into the country, where they committed all kinds of violence; this malady continued for many years, and resisted all remedies, so that the inhabitants of Argolis believed it to be a visitation from heaven. Melampus the son of Amythaon, a man of great piety and learning, who lived at Pylos, being consulted, directed them to pray to the gods, and undertook to expel the madness by ceremonies of expiation; and the Argive ladies were restored to their senses§. Melampus reformed the Bacchanalian worship, purified its mysteries, regulated its festivals after those of the Egyptian Osiris with which they were originally connected, and restored it to its primitive state; so that he is generally reputed the institutor of the Bacchanalian mysteries in Greece||. From that time the Dionysia appear to have obtained a permanent establishment in Greece and the Peloponnesus, and the physical opposition to their extension to have relaxed; the date of this being placed by chronologists about 170 years before the taking of Troy.

The mutual charges and recrimination of religious sects, and

* Pausan.

† Pausan. ii.

‡ Euseb. Chron. L. ii.

§ Pherecyd. ap. Didym. Odyss. xv. 224.

|| Herod. ii. 47, 48.

the spirit in which they have been urged, have long taught men to attach but little confidence to ecclesiastical history. There is no theological party to be found, however pure in principles and conduct, in whom their adversaries have not discovered corruption and sin; it is indeed morally impossible that any society consisting of a great multitude, can be so constituted as not to contain members who may expose it to public censure and disgrace. The Bacchanalians who met to celebrate secret rites in the darkness of night, sometimes no doubt indulged in excesses; and some of their votaries may have been hurried into extravagance like the Cumæan Sybil, by the violence of inspiration; even in our own Church the sacred place has been at times defiled. Governments may have been jealous of a society not sanctioned by the law*, and who wished to hold themselves separate and independent of it; and may have had recourse to unjustifiable means of calumniating and suppressing it. Sufficient fragments of history and of the ancient poets remain, to show that the original institution of the Bacchanalians was not such as their enemies have represented, or as could warrant the governments of Athens or of Rome in the measures taken to suppress them.

The Bacchanalians, having spread and established their religion notwithstanding the violent persecutions which they encountered from the States of Attica and the Peloponnesus, deviated from the fundamental principles of their sect, and committed excesses which left them more uncovered to the subsequent attacks of their adversaries. About a century† after Melampus of Argolis had become a convert to the religion of Bacchus, the Thracian Orpheus undertook to restore it to its Egyptian purity and forms, and to become the founder of a new sect called after his name, which was afterwards the most considerable sect amongst the Bacchanalians, and professed to teach the doctrines as they were originally taught by the first founders of their religion‡. They professed to live after the manner of primitive man, whom they supposed exempt from sin and trouble, to feed on the fruits of the earth or things inanimate, and abstain from all bloody sacrifices§. Numbers were added to the sect daily, and threatened the existence of the established religion of Attica and the Peninsula.

* 'Une espèce de confrérie sans y être autorisé par les lois.' Sainte-Croix sur les Mystères de l'Antiquité. Art. Orphicus.

† Frenet, Recherches sur le culte de Bacchus.

‡ Herod. ii. 81.

§ Plato de Leg. L. vi.

|| De Repub. L. ii.

The supporters of the worship of Zeus and Demeter, exerted all their energies to restrain the growth of the new heresy. Plato (as has been already observed) accused them of being impostors who went about knocking at the doors of the great, and calling on them to purify themselves and avoid the anger of the gods*. Euripides charges them with hypocrisy†. Aristophanes in his comedy of the Frogs, ridicules the god and his votaries. Theophrastus in drawing the character of a superstitious man, says it is not necessary that he should go to the Orphic priests for the purposes of purification, or bring his wife and children, even those who are in the nurses arms. But all these were friends of the established order of things in Church and State, who had experienced the benefits of the old system and dreaded the effects of any change; yet, notwithstanding the power of the government and the influence of their adversaries, the Orphic sect increased in strength and character, its doctrines were disseminated, and many persons distinguished both for their learning and liberality, embraced and preached them with the fervour of sincerity. Their rivals of Eleusis appear to have been obscured for a time by the lustre and morality of the worshippers of Bacchus; the number of their festivals at Athens, the honours with which they were celebrated, the unsullied reputation of those who conducted them, and the necessity which the Athenian government found itself under of at length receiving them within the pale of its constitution, show the progress of the new sect, and the impotence of blind resistance even when supported by the powers that be. The Archon King with some of the principal inhabitants of Athens arranged the celebration of the Trietic or Great Mysteries; their first duty was to select fourteen females, distinguished by their birth and the purity of their lives, to perform the office of Priestesses, who were obliged to take an oath that they were free from stain, before they could be admitted into these holy orders; and the Archon's wife was installed with mysterious ceremonies as president of this band of venerable ‡ ladies, and was called the spouse of Bacchus. The liberties of Athens, like our own, owed their rise to religious dissensions. The sister of Harmodius was a candidate for the office of Basket-bearer in the Dionysiac procession; and was elected. The qualities of Harmodius did not please the despots Hippias and Hipparchus who at that time ruled Athens,

* Hippol. v. 948—945.

† Plato de Rep. ii.

‡ *Requies. Hesych. and Etym. Mag.*

and they refused to acknowledge the election of the noble virgin, on the ground of her not being worthy of such distinction *; the insult was deep, and the death of the tyrant atoned for it and restored the freedom of Athens. These facts alone might be sufficient to repel the charges of indecency and debauchery, with which rival sects endeavoured to asperse the Bacchanalians; but even their enemies have sometimes rendered homage to the intentions of the founders. Parricides, murderers, perjurers, and other criminals were expelled from the society of the initiated †; and one of the choruses of the Bacchantes declares that nothing indecent or immoral is to be permitted by day or night in the celebration of these mysteries, the enemies of all impiety ‡.

But the cause of the hostility on the part of established governments which always accompanied the introduction of the Bacchanalians, appears to be discoverable in the spirit of independence which attended their movements, and the secrecy of their meetings which exposed them to the jealousy of despotic states. Pythagoras, according to Proclus in his commentary on *Timæus*, belonged to the Orphic sect and derived most of his doctrines from Aglaophamus, a priest and minister of the orgies of Bacchus; and when he returned after his travels to his country Samos, the liberality of his tenets offended the Tyrant Polycrates who had professed to be his friend, and he was banished from the territory. The Bacchanalian philosopher arrived in Magna Græcia, and opened a school at Crotona; his pupils increased, and spread even to the palace of King Numa; but the mystery of their quinquennial silence, with the simplicity of their lives, which by the rules of their church restricted them to vegetable diet and to abstinence from sanguinary offerings, at length alarmed the authorities of Crotona. That opulent and noble city § could not see the advantages of a system of education which extended its benefits to all classes without distinction; nor did the laborious study and severe morality of the school agree with the indolent ease and sensual indulgence of the voluptuous Crotonians; so they rose against the society, and drove them from their city as conspirators and disturbers of the established order of things. The Bacchanalians, although they did not yet possess a fixed centre for their worship, had sufficiently triumphed over the prejudices and opposition of their enemies, to be able to afford

* Thucyd. vi. § 56.

† Aristophan. *Ran.* v. 360—65.

‡ Euripid. *Bacchan.*

§ Livy. *L.* xxiv. c. 3.

protection to the Pythagorean exiles; their mysteries were celebrated with great pomp and expense, numerous choirs of dancers and musicians were maintained at the public charge to perform at them, new tragedies were represented, and the Athenians thronged to pay their tribute and decide the prizes. Their doctrine of the successive government of the world, commencing with Bacchus, and the sceptre descending through the hands of six rulers, the last of whom shall be forced to restore it to Bacchus, who shall then govern the universe in joy and peace*,—bearing a striking resemblance to the doctrine of the Millennium,—was received by the most distinguished philosophers of Greece. The days of Zeus were numbered; and the throne of Olympus was shaken and finally subverted by the persecuted Bacchanalians. The poet Æschylus, the most illustrious of the Greek dramatists for his spirit of bold independence, was a noted follower of this sect†. The Platonists, forgetting the imputations which their master had cast upon the character of the Bacchanalians, conformed to their creed; and the last post from which the Eclectics and the supporters of the polytheism of the ancients were driven by the early Christians, was the belief of that sect which had experienced the most sanguinary opposition from rivals, and the heaviest inflictions from governments.

At a period antecedent to the Trojan war‡, when the Peloponnesus and all Greece were fermenting with religious dissensions, and the inhabitants of these countries contended more for the glory of their gods than for human power, many colonies left the shores of Hellas and the troubles of their native land, to seek peace and concord in foreign countries. The Ænolian Pelasgians landed in that part of Italy which became afterwards known by the name of Magna Græcia, about the time when Melampus had established the religion of the Bacchanalians in the Peloponnesus. Etruria was a soil fitted to receive strange creeds, and in which they ripened rapidly and sufficiently showed the source from which they had sprung. The settlers divided the land of which they had possessed themselves into twelve principal districts, after the manner of the Egyptian nomes and the division of Attica by the Egyptian Cecrops. Their principal temple was their senate-house, and a warlike sacerdotal caste legislated for the community, and made all things subservient to the flights of birds or the

* Proclus L. v. in Timæum.

† Cic. Tusc. ii. 25.

‡ Dionysius Hal. L. ii.

illumination of dreams ; while the wretch who dared to question the authority or wisdom of the laws, was sacrificed to the infernal gods amidst the shouts of fanatics who hurled snakes and burning torches on him, and his estate became confiscated to the use of the ecclesiastical governors. The soothsayers were the tyrannical instruments of these sacerdotal rulers, whose constant endeavour was to keep the people in chains ; and the colossal works the fragments of which still remain, bear testimony to the power of the magnates of Etruria, and the feudal bondage of their serfs. Like their Egyptian ancestors, they did not find out how far oppressive power may be extended with impunity, until their utter overthrow taught them, that the revolutions which always threaten an oligarchy, though often slow, are ever acquiring strength. The sword of Psammetichus destroyed the religious thralldom of Egypt, and the Roman dictator put a period to the dominion of the Etruscan priests. In those early times when civilization was in its infancy, human affairs were directed by influence divine, the priests usurping the sole power of interpreting the celestial counsels, and imposing an arbitrary yoke on those whose occupations in war or agriculture afforded them but little time to reflect on the title or authority of their rulers. Greece shook off this yoke at an early period. The hero of the *Iliad* despises omens *, and declares that his religion is to defend his country. The system, however, had acquired a colossal magnitude in Egypt and Etruria, and like the architecture of those countries, required time and strength to subvert it.

It is necessary to notice the connexion between the Tuscan and Roman religions, to trace the causes which led to the persecution of the Bacchanalians by the Roman government. When Romulus had raised his city on the Palatine hill, and in the spirit of those times wished to place it under the protection of the gods, he invited the Etruscan divines to his court, to direct the religious rites and doctrines of the infant state. They assumed their appointment, and quickly extended their sacerdotal formulæ, not only to the future concerns, but to the temporal divisions of their new acquisition. The families of Rome were distinguished into *Curie*, and these again into *Decades*. According to the astronomical division † which prevailed in Egypt, Etruria, and other countries where a dominant priest-caste existed, patricians and plebians were separated by a barrier which, like some gates of modern construction, suffered the former to descend among the latter, but resisted any attempt

* *Iliad*. xii. 243.

† Niebuhr, *Roman History*, i. p. 273.

in the contrary direction. Romulus opposed this growing ascendancy of the Etruscan priests, and one stormy day *was taken up to heaven* *. The death of Romulus operated as a practical lesson to his successor, whose piety recommended him to the electors of Rome; and he turned the minds of his subjects from the pursuits of war to the milder duties of religion and the forms of Etruscan worship, and instituted sacerdotal corporations, similar in many respects to the Egyptian, consisting of Pontiffs, Augurs, Feciales, Salii, and Vestals, from all of which plebeians were excluded. Pythagoras had his school at Crotona about this time †, and the precepts of Egeria appear to have been derived from this philosopher; the Salian priesthood instituted by Numa came from the same source ‡, and bears all the marks of the Bacchanalian worship of Egypt and Greece. The same enthusiasm, the same wild dances, and the same mysterious secrecy are observable in both. The identity which mythologists discover in the gods of war and wine, increases the probability of the conjecture; while the order of the Senate to destroy the books which had been found in Numa's grave, about the same time at which the Bacchanalians were expelled from Rome, more closely connects the relation between Numa, Pythagoras, and the Bacchanalians. The authority of the Etruscan priesthood was preserved in its most ample extent by Numa; and continued to exist until the wars between Rome and the states by which she was surrounded, taught her to assume a more independent position, and her Pontiffs and Augurs began to feel uncomfortable under their inferiority to those of Etruria, who continued for a long time to instruct the young patricians of Rome, and to decide all difficult questions relating to the gods and supernatural phenomena. The tyranny of Tarquin afforded the native priesthood an opportunity to open the crusade against their rivals; which ceased not to be carried on with the bitterest determination, till Veii and the other sovereign capitals fell in succession beneath the superior fortune of Rome. The dangers which threatened Rome from the arms of Porsenna, the annihilation of the Fabii, the obstinate resistance of Etruria to Sylla's ambitious encroachments, (the old Etruscan nation had perished then with her science and literature), were offsets from this root. During all this long period, the Roman priesthood had been acquiring additional strength; the Roman generals had been too busily employed in

* Livy, i. 16. The warlike Tullus Hostilius disappeared in a similar manner.

† Polybius.

‡ Livy, xl. 29.

the unceasing wars carried on against the enemies of the Republic, to observe the rapid strides by which the sacerdotal power was advancing, or often, perhaps, found it a useful instrument to promote their designs against the liberties of the people. Philip of Macedon had long before taught the oracles of Greece to 'philippize;' and the Romans always improved upon a lesson of that kind. The distinction between patricians and plebeians was preserved with the most religious scrupulousness by the members of the Augural and Pontifical Colleges; their councils declared the plebeians incapable of taking auspices, while their laws pronounced intermarriages between the two orders a profanation of the divine will. The fear which the patricians testified of the mixture of the two races, the horror which they manifested at the thought that the plebeians should participate in the ministry of their worship, the punishments which they pretended it would inevitably call down from heaven, all show how keenly the patricians were alive to the advantages which their exclusive possession of theological power gave them over their humble brethren. The defeat of their armies, the ravages of the plague, alarming appearances in the heavens, were always the consequence of popular opposition to the overgrown power of the hierarchy, and the sacrilegious instigators were accused of blasphemy and impiety; nor did this power lose anything, until the law was passed which declared the persons of the Tribunes sacred*. This blow staggered the servants of Jupiter Capitolinus. The patrician youths who ridiculed and maltreated the popular orators, were compelled by the respect which they professed for the religion of their country, to treat with deference those plebeian magistrates; the balloting urns were no longer broken, and the freedom of election set at defiance; the tumult subsided in the presence of the Tribune, who possessed the power to summon the rioters to answer for their conduct before an assembly of the people, where their statues and their clients were no longer able to protect them. The Pontiffs of Rome were *jure divino* judges of all differences between the civil magistrates and the ministers of the gods; the conduct of the latter was submitted solely to their tribunal; they decided what ceremonies were pleasing to the gods, and what were forbidden by them †; and they took every occasion to avail themselves of their power, to efface all traces of the mother church of Etruria. After the burning of Rome by the Gauls, their ingenuity was tortured in discovering new

* Livy, iv. 2, 5.

† Dionys. Hal. ii. 7.

traditions and books never before heard of, and disfiguring the entire face of Roman history before that event to serve their own purposes; the 'Pontificum libri' and 'annosa volumina vatum' appear to have sprung up at this time; all civil dignities which had any connexion with religion were in their gift; they pronounced on the legality of adoptions and wills, in order to preserve the patrician blood from mixture, and the sacrifices from the pollution of plebeian contact. They directed the purification of the city, and punished disobedience to their orders; they were not subject to any tribunal, were irresponsible for their actions either to the senate or the people, they had the power of electing their own members*. The power of the Augurs was not less than that of the Pontiffs; nothing was done without their advice either in war or peace, in the assembly of the people or in the camp; they annulled the election of magistrates, of consuls, and even of the imperial dictator; a single dissentient voice was sufficient to prevent the admission of any candidate into their college ‡; the laws of the state were dictated by them; they had the power of creating virtues and crimes, rewards and punishments. When Camillus wishes to prevent his fellow-citizens from leaving Rome, after the expulsion of the Gauls, to establish themselves at Veii,—it is to their religious feelings he is obliged to appeal; when the Sabine Herdonius seizes on the Capitol, it is the captivity of Jupiter and the gods of Rome that fires all parties to expel the invaders from their shrines. This sacerdotal power which extended itself over all parts of the state, received some checks as soon as generals found that they could conquer without the aid of favourable omens, and the Senate discovered that the antique lore which the colleges possessed did not always contain matters that harmonized with their wisdom. Hence the Sibylline books could not be consulted without the authority of a decree of the Senate §, who contributed their quorum of commissioners to conduct the examination. The Senate also could forbid the augurs to take omens or make observations in the heavens ||, and they reduced the pontifical authority still farther by granting an appeal from their College to the people assembled ¶. The Roman priests finding that the days of their domination were numbered, leaned for support on

* Dionys. Hal. ii. 20. Vol. ii.

† Livy, i. 36.

‡ Cicero Ad Famil.

§ Livy, xlii.

|| Cicero pro Sext. § 61.

¶ Livy, xl. 42.

those who sought a power above the laws and the degradation of senatorial authority. Sylla repaid their services by restoring to them a part of their lost power, and Cæsar received the pontifical robe even when his reputation was soiled by Catiline's conspiracy. But the despotism which they had created spurned them when it no longer needed their aid, and heaven was wearied with their prayers, and the altars of the Gods inundated with the blood of victims, calling down divine vengeance on the heads of Domitian and Nero. During this long period of close connexion with the state, and in the vicissitudes of their power, they ceased not to watch the movements of their Etrurian neighbours, who sought every opportunity to recover the position from which they had been detrudd by the Roman schismatics. In religious contention, the accusation of magic and sorcery has always corresponded to that of revolt and usurpation in civil wars and political dissensions. * An infant sect has always to contend against this monster; rival religions which dispute the empire of their creeds, have ever found this a formidable weapon; —*furor arma ministrat*,—the vanquished are considered to have deserved the charge, and their defeat is a punishment from heaven. When Assyria was conquered by the Persians, the Chaldean priests descended into the class of sorcerers, and when the religion of Persia fell in its turn, the Magi underwent a similar degradation; when the Romans had separated from Etruria, and denied its authority in religious matters, the ancient worship of that country was banished from Rome as magical and damnable*, its hymns were declared to be sacrilegious incantations†, and the singing of them was prohibited by one of the laws of the Twelve Tables‡; the College of Pontiffs persecuted the priests of the Egyptians as guilty of similar crimes, and their heads were devoted to the infernal Gods. The Roman priests not only opposed the religion of their rivals, as dreading the effects of every extension of knowledge that did not come from themselves; but contended against the introduction of every improvement which the Greeks attempted to introduce at Rome either in philosophy or the arts. After the Punic wars, when the conquests of the Romans had opened a passage for them into Greece, they brought over from that country many slaves, among whom were rhetoricians and grammarians to whom they confided the education of their children. The Roman priests were alarmed at the direction which these

* Ovid. Fast. ii.

† Horat. Epod. xvii.

‡ Piliy, xxx. l.

sciences were calculated to give to the minds of the rising generation, and they condemned the custom as one pregnant with mischief*. Philosophy, however, still proceeded insensibly, when the famous embassy arrived from Athens. Carneades,—of whose eloquence Cicero says, that he never advanced anything which he did not prove, and never opposed an argument which he did not overthrow,—was one of them; he was an academician, and his colleagues equally distinguished for their eloquence were Critolaus the Peripatetic and Diogenes the Stoic. Anxious to produce a favourable impression on this powerful nation, who were still ignorant of the refinements of philosophy, Carneades displayed all the depth and dexterity of his dialectics; the young Romans were fired with enthusiasm when they beheld these unknown powers of speech; the government was disturbed by the sudden commotion; the aged senators, 'qui turpe putabant parere minoribus, et quæ imberbes didicere senes perdenda fateri,' armed themselves with the authority of ancient usages to repress these emotions which they declared not less dangerous than frivolous, and Cato, that venerable supporter of the rotten borough system of antiquity, obtained a decree to banish from Rome those perfidious orators, who laboured to destroy all their revered traditions, and to corrupt the received principles of morality. But the impulse was given, and the movement acquired an increased velocity even from the impediments which it encountered in its course.

This digression on the nature of the connexion between Church and State in Rome, leads to the persecution of the Bacchanalians. The Pontiff Mucius Scævola, the master of Cicero, distinguished three species of gods, those of the poets, those of the philosophers, and those of legislators; of which he declared the last alone admissible in a rational State. This was the doctrine of the patricians of his time, and of the government which banished Carneades and philosophy from their gates. Religion and the laws were thus blended together, and united to crush the liberties of the people. At this period, when the increasing influx of knowledge had quickened the senses of the priests and nobles of Rome already alive to their dangers from popular resistance at home, 'an obscure Greek arrived in Etruria, not possessed of any of those accomplishments which that most polished nation diffused over the countries connected with it. He instituted certain mysterious and nocturnal rites, to which he added the pleasures of wine and feasting, to increase the number of his votaries. Men and women joined pro-

* Cicero de Orat. li. c. 6.

miscuously in the celebration of these rites, and forgot all the restraints of decency and morality. They not only abandoned themselves to all sorts of debauchery, but engaged in the more dangerous occupations of preparing false witnesses, false seals, and false informers; poisoning and murders issued from the same laboratory; many daring acts were committed by fraud, many by open violence, which were drowned amidst shouts and sounds of drums and cymbals. This evil, like a contagious disease, spread from Etruria to Rome, and reached the ears of the Consul in the following manner. P. Æbutius of equestrian rank was left a minor by his father; and his guardian having also died, the care of himself and his fortune devolved on his mother, who had married a second husband, to whom she was entirely devoted. This husband had conducted his stewardship badly, and feared the rendering an account of it as soon as his stepson became of age; whence he determined either to destroy him, or get some influence over him which should place him at his command. The Bacchanalians opened the way for his designs. His mother told the young man that she had made a vow when he was sick, that upon his recovery she would initiate him in the mysteries of Bacchus; and that he must prepare himself by a life of chastity for the ceremony.' Such is the account given by the Jovian Ascendancy historian*, of the first appearance of the Bacchanalian worship at Rome, and the cause that led to the discovery of the formidable conspiracy which threatened the subversion of the republic†, which was hatched by women‡, and men weaker than women, who had the audacity to meet without the sanction of the law. 'Your ancestors,' said the Consul in his speech, 'did not suffer you to assemble unless when you were summoned to serve in the wars, or were convened by the proper authorities; and they settled that when a meeting was held without a president appointed by the laws, such meeting was illegal and ought to be dispersed.' This was the Roman Insurrection Act, which drove the people in arms to Mount Aventine, and ended in the oppressors being forced to concede Tribunes with power to call the people together and hear their grievances. This same Insurrection Act it was which led to secret and nocturnal meetings, and inundated the streets of Rome with the blood of her best citizens. It was this suppression of open

* *Livy*, xxxix. 18.

† *Ib.* 16.

‡ *Mullerum magna pars est, et is fons mali hujusce fuit.*—*Ib.* 15.

remonstrance which drew a veil between the governors of Rome and the workings of the popular mind, and caused them to suspect dangers where none existed, and to apply the edge of the sword where the remedies of argument and persuasion would have healed dissensions. It was this smothering of the sore, which caused it to fester and sink into the constitution of the state, and reduce it to a mass of corruption which nothing but a total revolution in the system could remove.

Although the mere fact of this sect having come from Etruria was sufficient to call forth persecution from the religious and civil authorities of Rome, there were other facts that did not contribute less to its expulsion from the State. It was essentially plebeian. 'Capita autem conjurationis constabat esse, M. et C. Catinios de plebe Romanâ, et Faliscum, L. Opiternium, et Minium Cerrinium Campanum: ab his omnia facinora et flagitia orta: eos maximos sacerdotes conditoresque ejus sacri esse.' This was the front of the offence; certain plebeians presumed to institute rites and festivals for the exercise and relaxation of those of their own caste, while there were pious men devoted to the religion of the state, whose doctrines permitted them to roll in their chariots along the Appian way, or urge their Gallic steeds up the Via Sacra to the inconvenience and danger of the poor pedestrian,—men whose conscientious scruples did not hinder them from attending at the gladiatorial shows, and beholding with rapturous applause the mortal struggles of hundreds of dying victims, nor of suffering their noble wives from participating in the pollution of the mysteries of the Bona Dea; a sort of Sabbath-Day-men who considered any plebeian enjoyment however innocent, an abomination in the sight of the gods, and demanded laws to confine the tunicked populace within the limits of their narrow huts when released from their patrician bondage. These were the men who at this period raised the cry of 'the church in danger,' and accused the persecuted Bacchanalians of a conspiracy against the gods and laws of the State. Livy, who was deeply tinctured with the State religion, has endeavoured to throw into the back-ground the real means by which they were suppressed; but the light of truth beams sufficiently through various parts of his account to betray his partiality. A young spendthrift without fortune and without a home, and a public prostitute with whom he lived, were the ready instruments discovered by the Consul Posthumius, upon whose respectable evidence the state prosecution was conducted, and a *Senatus-consultum* passed, 'delivering the worshippers of Bacchus over

to the secular arm, 'I am afraid,' said the Consul Posthumius, 'lest some of you may err in considering this matter, for there is nothing more fallacious in appearance than false religion; when crime conceals itself behind divine authority, fear enters the mind, lest in punishing human fraud, we may violate some divine law that is mixed up with it. Numberless decrees of the Pontiffs and of the Senate, and in fine the responses of the Aruspices, absolve you from every scruple of this kind. How often has the duty been imposed on the city magistrates by our sires and grandsires, of preventing the celebration of foreign rites, of expelling priests and prophets from the forum, circus, and city, of searching for and burning all religious books that have not been sanctioned by the state, of abolishing every form of sacrificing that is not authorized by the Roman ritual? For these men most deeply learned in every law divine and human, judged that there was nothing that tended so much to subvert religion, as when sacrifices were performed after a form which differed from that of the State. I thought it my duty to forewarn you of these things, lest any scruples of conscience should enter your minds when you beheld us demolishing the Bacchanalia, and scattering their wicked congregations; all of which we shall do, with the favour and approbation of the gods, who because they were offended that the divinity should be contaminated by sin and lust, have dragged these doctrines from their hiding-places into light, and did not expose them in order that they might escape with impunity, but that they might be punished and destroyed. The Senate has commanded me and my colleagues to bring forward this motion though out of order; we shall perform our part with zeal; we have commanded the inferior magistrates to watch over the city during the night; it is right that you also should perform the offices that shall be required of you, and that you use your utmost exertions that no danger or tumult arise from the wickedness of the accused⁴.'

Such was the speech of the worthy chief magistrate of Rome. It only wanted the mention of a coronation oath, to render it worthy of some of the biblical orators of our own senate. The Roman Reform Bill had not been passed at that time; and the Conservative senate received this appeal to their religion and patriotism, with all the feelings it was calculated to excite. They resolved, that the informers Æbutius and his mistress Hispala, who had been lodged in the Consul's house, (how like the comfortable quarters of Titus Oates at Whitehall), should obtain as a

reward 100,000 pounds weight of brass each, (a sum equal to the largest fortune allowed by the laws of Servius *), out of the public treasury; that Æbutius should be excused from serving in the wars, and that all the disabilities under which the condition of Hispala had placed her, should be removed, and any freeborn citizen might take her for a wife; that no injury or disgrace should attach to the person who married her, and that the present and succeeding Consuls should take care that the woman did not suffer for the services which she had rendered to the State,—*id Senatū velle, et æquū censere, ut ita fieret* †. They further decreed that none should deal with the excommunicated Bacchanalians; that none should receive, conceal, or aid the fugitives in any way ‡. Great consternation pervaded all Italy, when these resolutions of the Senate were made known; the persecution raged that night and the following day with unbounded fury, guards were set over all the gates of the city, the passages to the country were scoured by Roman soldiers in quest of the condemned, and many were seized and brought back to Rome by the public officers. Many men and women laid violent hands on themselves, to escape the tortures that awaited them; those who had merely been initiated, escaped with imprisonment for life; while those who had been more deeply engaged in the conspiracy,—‘in the fabrication of false seals, false testimony, false wills and the like,’—were capitally punished. ‘Plures necati, quam in vincula coniecti sunt: magna vis in utraq̃ue causâ virorum mulierumque fuit.’ The Consuls were ordered to root out first from Rome, and next from all Italy, every vestige of the Bacchanalian worship; and for the future it was decreed that these mysteries should not be suffered to exist. A clause of toleration in the *Senatus-consultum* proves the sincerity of the Bacchanalians, who could not be prevailed on to deny their religion, and shows that the Senate themselves believed their conspiring to depend on their numbers; they therefore decreed that if any person considered these rites obligatory and necessary, and could not give over the exercise of them without what he conceived an abandonment of religion and a violation of divine law, such person should declare his religious scruples to the Prætor, the Prætor should consult the Senate, and that in a house consisting of not less than 100 members, an indulgence might be granted, by which the Prætor might permit the Bacchanalians to perform their rites, but at

* Livy, i. 43.

† Livy, xxxix. 19.

‡ Ibid. 17.

§ Ibid. 18.

which no more than five persons should be allowed to assemble, no 'rent' (*neu qua pecunia communis* *), no bishop, no priest. This sect had diffused itself over all Rome, their numbers amounted at the time of their suppression to 7000, and included many of the patrician families, '*hinc illæ lachrymæ*;' the power of the Pontifical and Augural colleges was threatened; the Bacchanalians were proscribed to secure the stability of Jupiter Capitolinus, and thousands of human victims appeased the wrath of the offended God.

After this heavy catastrophe the Bacchanalians dragged on an obscure existence under the grievous burden of the penal laws that had been passed against them. But the day of retribution was at hand, the lights which dissipate the powers of darkness concentrated rapidly and exposed the machinery by which a corrupt oligarchy had enslaved the liberties of their country; works of literature and the arts became abundant where before they were scarce,—'*raræ per ea tempora litteræ*,' and these few confined within the walls of temples by a jealous priesthood. Every succeeding army that extended the dominions of the god Terminus, brought back to Rome the experience and knowledge which their conquests had communicated; the vision of Rome was purified and extended, 'so that it might well distinguish both God and man †.' Egyptian, Greek and Asiatic slaves crowded its streets, or reclined on couches at the tables of the great †. The authority of the priests faded before the rising light, and was finally trampled down contemptuously by the Imperial tyranny which with a blind devotion they had exerted their powers to raise. The Bacchanalians again ventured to come forth from their hiding-places, and preach their doctrines. The number and character of their votaries increased their reputation; Plutarch, Iamblichus, Porphyry, and Proclus, were the zealous supporters of the Orphic creed; they were also the most distinguished antagonists of Christianity, and the fathers of the Eclectic Sect, the last name under which the Bacchanalians appeared.

The Emperor Julian became a convert to the views of these philosophers, and the Bacchanalians were protected for a time under the shadow of the royal diadem; but the persecution against them revived under his successors, and the edicts of Theodosius delivered them up to the wild vengeance of their

* Livy, xxxix. 18.

† Homer, v. 128.

‡ —*fultusque toro meliore recumbet*
Advectus Romam, quo pruna, et coctona venio.—Juv. Sat. iii.

enemies. The fire was smothered but not extinguished. The Bacchanalians were hidden in the darkness of the middle ages; like philosophy they slumbered for a thousand years, and appear to have risen with the light of the fifteenth century, but their stars still remained unfavourable. Germany was the stage on which they first appeared. Christian priests and professors became alarmed at the reappearance of these Pagan rites; pulpits teemed with sermons, and professors' chairs with lectures, denouncing all who participated in them, and (in the words of the Abbé de Citeaux, 'tuez les tous, Dieu saura bien distinguer ceux qui sont à lui*,') giving them over to indiscriminate massacre. 'I wish all the gods and goddesses in heaven and hell, had destroyed that contemptible priest, I say contemptible priest, who in the Consulship of Spurius Posthumius Albinus and Quintus Martius Philippus came to Rome, that priest who under the garb of religion and the service of the gods, by instituting the Bacchic rites introduced a sink of all iniquity (omnis malitiæ Lernam) and a laboratory of corruption. I wish too that the abominable prostitute Paculla Minia Campana, who after having conformed to the Bacchanalian worship from love of the aforesaid priest extended these rites to the female sex and proclaimed nocturnal instead of diurnal meetings, had been hanged; so true is the proverb that women are most dangerous, particularly in matters relating to religion, as being easily tossed about by every wind of doctrine. Although these Bacchic rites are so detestable and disgusting that the memory of them should not be recalled in an assembly of Christians, yet since scarcely a year passes in, which some remains of them do not appear and spread themselves, mostly among the frantic vulgar, (not unfrequently also among those of more polished manners, who ought to afford a better example, living as they do in an age when light and truth surround them), I thought it my duty to call the attention of the youthful students to this subject. How grievous is it to behold Christians breaking the bond of holy baptism, and devoting themselves to the worship of Bacchus, and delivering up both their bodies and souls to perdition. The Bacchanalian conventicle like a second Trojan horse vomits forth all manner of wickedness †.' Such was the eloquent denunciation of Nicholas Calenus against the Bacchanalians in the year 1591; and such appear to have been the means by which the persecution which

* Raynald. Ann. Eccles. 1209. § 22.

† Oratio scripta et publicè habita in Marpurgensi Academiâ, die Martii 7, 1591, per Nicolaum Calenum.

at this time assailed them was conducted. The preacher examines all the practices of the Bacchanalians in the celebration of their rites, and shows the wickedness of them. In condemnation of masks and the like, he says, 'Quid Joannæ Pontifici et spurcissimæ meretriculæ acciderit, notum est ex Platinâ et aliis.' Against their frantic dances Cato supplied him with an argument, who said, that none but a madman ever attempted the subversion of the commonwealth. Solomon Gesner in his oration on the same subject (A.D. 1600.) says, 'I thought it my duty in the present oration, to dissuade all worshippers of noble and pious arts and discipline, from the foul and impious debauchery of the Bacchanalians; not because I do not think that you are able by the light of your own minds to see how unworthy of Christians it is to clothe themselves in the dress of Bacchanalians, but because not a few are found among those who wish to appear beyond others zealous and sincere Christians, who notwithstanding approve, applaud, behold, and participate in this inveterate licentiousness.' The learned doctor a little further on says, that the devil was the author of masks, which he employed in his gambling speculations. One night Satan having found an opportunity, assumed his mask and entered the house of a soldier, and unceremoniously seated himself at the table, over which he spread with a gay countenance purses distended with money, and dice, and by cozening obtained all the soldier's money. The soldier surprised at his ill luck, at length full of rage said, 'You surely must be Satan;' to which Satan coolly replied, 'I think we have done; daylight will soon appear; it is time to be going;' with which words he seized the soldier and carried him through the roof of the house, and his intestines stuck to the tiles. This shows what masks can do; and on the subject of clothing themselves in the skins of beasts, he reminds them of the devil addressing Achilles in the shape of his horse Xanthus, and being hunted through Cologne in the form of a hare. Joannes Christianus undertakes to prove that the Bacchanalians of his time (A. D. 1614) were the same as those of ancient Rome and deserve similar punishments. The Bacchanalians, however, were unsubdued; and it may be a query whether to this hour, the feasts on Plough Monday and St. John's eve are not fragments of these pagan rites. So hard is it to extinguish a creed of any kind, by persecution.

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THE
WESTMINSTER REVIEW,

No. XLVI.

FOR OCTOBER 1, 1835.

ART. I.—1. *Report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of Canada.* 1828.

2. *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada.* By a Backwoodsman.
—Third Edition. 1833.

THE same drama which was acted in the North American Colonies of Great Britain from 1763 to 1783, is with trifling modifications acting at the present moment; and, unless the democratic principle in the mean while acquires a great ascendancy in this country, it is likely to terminate in a similar catastrophe. The frame of society in the Colonies is essentially and necessarily democratic; in the mother country it is still essentially aristocratic. Whenever therefore the Colonists come to be sufficiently strong to insist upon their just claims to a government conformable to their genius and character, a collision is inevitable; and nothing can secure us at the present

moment from the hazards of one, but a rapid reform in the sentiments and institutions of the mother country.

Let the extent of the country, and the number of people that are at present remonstrating in the British Colonies be noticed, and both will appear sufficiently formidable. The dissatisfaction naturally commenced with the most powerful, populous, and mature of the North American Colonies, that of Lower Canada, but it has since spread to every one of the rest; in the same way that seventy years ago resistance to oppression commenced with the New-England States, and eventually and quickly spread to the remainder. The present British North-American Colonies are six in number, viz., Lower Canada, Upper Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island, and Newfoundland; exclusive of the vast hunting-grounds of the Hudson's Bay territory. In round numbers their area cannot be less than half a million of square miles; which is equal to one-third of the whole territory of the American Union. But in point of climate, fertility, and commercial convenience and accommodation, the territory of the Colonies is greatly inferior to the average of that of the Republic. One of the Colonies only, Upper Canada, is remarkable for the fertility of its soil; Lower Canada is of average fertility; while all the rest are more remarkable for their barrenness than the opposite quality. There is no where either soil or climate fit for the production of some of the most remarkable commodities which distinguish the industry of the Republicans, as sugar, tobacco, and cotton. The summers are too hot and too short, the winters too cold and too long; for during a good moiety of the year, the land is either covered with snow, or ice-bound. The natural internal communication by lakes or rivers, is splendid; but there is only one external outlet, the St. Lawrence, which is blocked up for half the year by ice, while the territory of the American Union has innumerable outlets, every one of them open to navigation throughout the year. The climate of the Colonial territory is remarkable for its salubrity, and in this point has an unquestionable advantage over that of the Republic.

In 1806 the total population of the British North-American Colonies was in round numbers 409,000. In 1825, or in less than twenty years time, it rose to 846,000, or was more than doubled; and in 1832 it was computed at upwards of 1,300,000, which shows in little more than a quarter of a century an increase of upwards of 200 per cent. The annual increase by emigration from the mother country, may be taken at the yearly amount of between 30,000 and 40,000; and, adding this to what may be presumed to be the natural increase by births for

the last three years, we shall have a population of at least one million and a half at the present moment. Now this is probably very nearly what the population of the old Colonies was, when the troubles in them commenced almost immediately after the peace of Paris in 1763, at the moment when the Canadas were just delivered over to us by France. These Canadas then contained only the miserable population of 70,000. In 1775, or twelve years after their cession and sixteen after their conquest, being the year preceding the Declaration of American Independence, the population of the Canadas was still only 90,000. Yet at this time they were thought of such importance by the Republicans, that they undertook an expedition, great according to their means, for their conquest, and in the Declaration of Independence made the establishment of an arbitrary government within them, on account of its evil example to liberty, one of the capital charges against the British government. If, however, the population of the British Colonies should take even twenty years to double itself, it will in that time equal that of the American Union in 1783, when Britain acknowledged its Independence; and when it shall have increased by some 50 per cent, as it did in the period from 1825 to 1832, the inhabitants of the present British American Colonies will equal, if not exceed in number, those of the old Colonies when they drew the sword at the battle of Lexington. They will be more concentrated; there will be fewer savages to harass and distract them, because in the last sixty years the savages have declined in numbers and courage; the whole population will consist of free men, instead of at least a sixth part of it consisting of slaves as was the case with their southern neighbours; and instead of no neighbour to sympathize with them, they will have a powerful nation of 14 or 15 millions of people with a common interest. These striking points are here stated, in order to point out that the season for trifling and tampering with the Colonies has past by, and that the time for conciliation, justice, and independence, is at full maturity*.

The history of the present British Colonies in North America, or at least of the chief of them, the two Canadas, may be very briefly told. They were conquered from France during the administration of Chatham, by the gallant, and still more lucky

* As a matter of curiosity, it may be stated, that when the population of the Canadas equals in density that of the United States, or is about 9 to the square mile, it will amount to four millions and a-half. Let it be supposed equal in density to Europe, or 82 to the square mile (and its capacity for supporting a population greatly exceeds that of Europe), and then its inhabitants will exceed 400 millions.

than gallant, exploit of Wolfe in 1759. They have virtually, therefore, formed an integral portion of the British empire for the long period of seventy-six years. When first taken possession of, as already stated, they contained only 70,000 inhabitants; and even at the peace of 1783, the population did not much exceed 100,000. By the treaty of peace which ceded Canada to the British nation in 1763, the religion and property of the Canadians were secured to them, which indeed was conformable to the terms on which the province capitulated to the conquerors. For fifteen years after the conquest, the Colony was governed by Orders in Council, that is, by the arbitrary will of the English Minister. In 1774, the English Criminal Law with Jury Trial was introduced by Statute; and in the same Act by which this was done, the customs of Paris were declared to be the laws for the regulation of property. The Act of 1778, which relinquished the power of taxing the American Colonies for the benefit of the mother country, included the Canadas. Still they were under the arbitrary government of the Crown, and continued so until 1791, or for a period of thirty-two years from the conquest, or twenty-eight from the cession. In the last-named year was established that form of Government by which they are at present ruled. This Government was the work of Mr. Pitt, and the introduction of the Bill by which it was established is famous in the annals of British party warfare, as being the outbreak of aristocratic feeling on the part of Burke and his friends, their adhesion to the Tory party in the war against the liberties of France, and their separation from the sounder part of the Whigs. By this Act the Province of Quebec, as the territory had been hitherto called, was divided into two Governments, to be called Upper and Lower Canada. Each was to have a form of Government, framed, as was pretended, on the model of the British Constitution. There was provision for a House of Commons or Representative Chamber, under the name of the Assembly. The hereditary wisdom of England was mimicked by a body of which the members were named by the Crown for life. This was called the Legislative Council. The Governor was to be the Representative of Royalty, to constitute the third power in the balance of the Constitution; and he had his Executive Council in imitation of the Privy Council of England. A Government framed on the same principle exists in the other four provinces which constitute the North American Colonies; and indeed with the exception of a few of the old Colonies of North America as Massachusetts, and one or two of the West India islands where the Legislative Council is elective, this has at all times been the customary form of Colonial Governments.

The evils which have sprung out of this discordant plan of Government, are now to be shown. To do Mr. Fox justice, he predicted most of them in the debates which took place on the Bill, expressing in reality more just and liberal sentiments on the question of Colonial Government than have come from his successors after the practice and experience of more than forty years*. The French population of the Canadas, who knew of no government better than that of Louis XV, were at first well pleased to be ruled by the milder laws of England, even when administered at the will of an individual; and they continued tolerably well satisfied, not only *before*, but even for years *after* the establishment of what was called the Constitutional Government of 1791. The explanation of this was easy enough. A weak and ignorant French population of 70,000, or even of 90,000, was satisfied with a very indifferent administration; but when this population had increased, as was the case in Lower Canada in 1814, to 335,000,—when it had mixed with English and American settlers, and become commercial, wealthy, and instructed,—it necessarily began to feel its own strength, and claim the substantial exercise of the rights conferred upon the democracy by the act of 1791, and which for near twenty years, or until about 1810, appear to have been in abeyance. From that time until now, the struggle between the people for liberty and economy, and the local oligarchy supported by the English Minister for prerogative and extravagance, has been going forward and almost yearly increasing in intensity.

The root of the evil is in the existence of a Government unsuited to the character and fabric of the society. As long as the constitution was a dead letter,—that is, as long as the local oligarchy was permitted to rule the country and the people were indifferent and passive,—matters moved on in sufficient harmony; but as soon as this state of things came to an end, the discordant parts of the machine pulled in opposite directions, and it consequently would not move at all. The House of Assembly of Lower Canada, as matters have turned out, proves to be a thorough representation of the popular opinion, being returned by 51. freeholders in the rural districts, and 101. freeholders in towns, which amounts pretty nearly to universal suffrage, as there are few householders that do not come under one or the other of these heads. It consists of eighty-eight members, so that there is a Representative for nearly every 6000 inhabitants. The Legislative Council, to represent the Aristocracy of a country that from the nature of things can have

* Speech, April 8, 1791. Fox's Speeches, vol. iv. p. 202.

none, is nominally appointed by the Crown, that is by the Governor, the Representative of the Crown. Practically, however, this is not the case; and bad as such a result would be, the matter is worse. The Governor, a stranger when he arrives in the Colony, finds himself in the hands of a faction, and it is this faction that virtually names the Legislative Council, the Executive or Privy Council, and the chief public functionaries of the Administration. In fact, the Colony is virtually ruled by a local oligarchy, and this oligarchy is a vile *bureaucracy*, which backed by the *bureaucracy* of the Colonial Office, carries everything before it. The Members of the Legislative and Executive Councils frequently consist of the same individuals, and among those individuals are found *ex officio* many of the officers of the Judicial and Executive Administration removeable at the will of the Crown. The English Bishop (not the Canadian), and the Commissioner of the Jesuits' Estates, are of both Councils; and in the Legislative Council or House of Peers, are further found such members of a Canadian Peerage, as the Sheriff, the Receiver General of the revenue, the Commissioner of Crown lands, and many others of the same stamp. At the same time, members of this strange House of Peers may be seen discharging the functions of subordinate officers to the Privy Council, while a Right Honourable Privy Counsellor will be found in the capacity of a clerk to their Lordships the Legislators. Of what class of the population of the Canadas; does the reader fancy this *bureaucracy* consists? Not of the Canadians, who constitute four-fifths of the mass of the inhabitants; but of Tory English, Scots, and Irish, or what is worse, of American loyalists or their descendants, in other words of the enemies of public liberty who on the establishment of Independence found the Republic too hot for them to live in, and fled to the Canadas to plague them. Having done all they could to prolong the pernicious contest between the Mother Country and the old Colonies, they are now engaged in the congenial task of working similar mischief in the new ones.

From what has been stated, it must appear that the Government of Lower Canada consists, not of three co-equal and nicely balanced powers as pretended, but of two uncongenial, hostile, and discordant parts, viz. the Governor with his Legislative Council, being identical with the local oligarchy, on the one hand, and of the Assembly representing the interests, hopes, and wishes of the people, on the other. The collision which is at once a proof and a consequence of this state of things, has been exhibited in a manner sufficiently remarkable. In the course of nine Sessions of the Colonial Parliament, the

Upper House has thrown out one hundred and twenty-two Bills sent up to them by the Representatives of the people, and so damaged forty-seven more in principle and detail, that the Commons could not without dishonour to themselves and abandoning the cause of the people, accept them. Here is a daring of public opinion, which the most ancient assembly of nobles in Europe could hardly improve upon.

A few evidences of the effects of this system will be adduced. The Mother Country has repeatedly surrendered the power of levying taxes without the consent of the Colonists; and the compact is adhered to by the local Executive in the letter, but violated in the spirit. The Legislature of the Mother Country does not impose direct taxes on the Colony for the benefit of its own treasury, and contents itself with imposing such duties only as are deemed necessary for the regulation of trade, the proceeds to go into the Colonial Exchequer. But although the Government of the mother country imposes no taxes for its own use, it does what is equally bad. It claims through its deputy the Colonial Governor, the exclusive disposal of a large share of the actual funds of the state, without the knowledge or consent of the Representatives of the people. These funds consist of the confiscated estates of the Jesuits,—the whole revenue arising from the sale of land and timber,—the revenue arising out of fines and dues on *Seigneuries*, or the French feudal lordships, and the duties imposed by the Imperial Legislature for the regulation of trade. With respect to the first three items, the claim to appropriate them made by the local Executive, is of the same character as would be a claim on the part of the Crown in England to dispose without consent of the House of Commons of the entire revenue under the management of the Department of Woods and Forests, after the people had already provided for the personal expense of the Sovereign and for his civil list. With respect to the last item, the claim is as if the King's Ministers in England were to insist upon their right of disposing without consent of Parliament of the whole class of duties imposed for the regulation of English commerce, such as the discriminating duty on East-India sugars and Baltic timber. It is almost useless to insist, that the exercise of the right claimed by the Executive is wholly inconsistent with good Government. The Representatives of the people must have the exclusive disposal of the resources of the state, otherwise a free Government becomes a mere name,—a vain mockery.

Of the same nature with the branches of revenue first stated, are the Clergy Reserves. By the Act of 1791, one seventh part of all the lands granted were to be reserved for the clergy of

the Church of England. This was in a country in which thirty years before, there were no inhabitants but Catholics, where still four-fifths of the people are Catholic, and where the majority of the remaining fraction are Dissenters. But besides payment in land, the clergy of the Church of England are paid handsome salaries. The English Bishop with a small fraction of the people for his flock, has an income of 3000*l.* a-year, and the title of 'Lord Bishop of Quebec;' the French Bishop, his senior, with a vast majority of the people for his flock, has 1000*l.* for his stipend, and the same title *minus* the Aristocratic cognomen. These are in themselves only trifles; but they afford strong evidence of Aristocratic partiality and injustice, and are just the sort of materials that are likely in due time to kindle a people into resistance and separation.

But the Executive Government of Canada did not confine itself to claiming the control of some particular branches of the revenue to the exclusion of the Representatives of the people; it claimed also that the supplies which the Commons voted, should be voted in masses as they were asked by the public functionaries, and without details or explanation. 'We want,' said these modest persons, 'such and such a round sum for military purposes, such and such a round sum for civil purposes, and such and such a round sum for judicial purposes.' This is what was called in the language of the Colony voting the supplies by 'chapters,' or, to use the current French phrase, *en bloc*. The House of Assembly contested with the Executive the point of furnishing details of expenditure before voting the supplies, for near a dozen of years together before the Executive was brought to reason,—a singular proof of the forbearance of the one, and of the indiscreet presumption and insolent folly of the other.

Another claim of the Local Executive equally modest, was a demand for a permanent Civil List during the life of the local Sovereign, in imitation of the Civil List voted to the Sovereign at the commencement of each reign in the parent country. This claim was made, after a demand of the exclusive control of all those branches of revenue which are equivalent to the hereditary revenue of the Crown in England, and as an equivalent for which a Civil List is voted, had been made and exercised on the part of the Local Executive.

Almost every Bill which passes the Lower House favourable to liberty, or even of a popular character, is pretty sure to be either rejected or mutilated by the Legislative Council. Thus the Council has rejected Bills for making it obligatory on Members of the Assembly accepting offices of profit under the Executive, to vacate their seats and submit to a new election, as

is the practice in England, France, Belgium, and wherever there is a semblance of constitutional government. It has rejected Bills sent up to it by the Assembly for incapacitating the King's Judges from sitting and voting in the Council; a political duty justly held by the people to be inconsistent with the purity and efficiency of the Judicial Office. No wonder they should be led to this conclusion, when they saw the Chief Justice of the Colony at the same time Speaker or Chairman of the Legislative Council, with a liberal salary annexed, and holding with his sons a plurality of offices which raises his Judicial salary of 1,500*l.* per annum to about 5,000*l.*, or to a sum which exceeds the salary of the Chief Magistrate of the American Republic. The Judges are at present appointed *during the pleasure of the Crown*, an intolerable evil. Bills have repeatedly been passed by the Representatives of the people for securing their independence, but as often, of course, rejected or mutilated by that branch of the Legislature in which the Judges sit and are leading members. Acts for the establishment of Local Judicatories, for the advancement of education among the people, and for the relief of Dissenters, are among those rejected by the Council. Such are a very few examples of the grievances of the Canadians, out of a list of ninety-two exhibited by them in 1834. It is no wonder, then, that under the pressure of these circumstances the House of Assembly of Lower Canada should have had recourse at length to the adoption of the constitutional measure of stopping the supplies. The unquestionable fact is that the Canadians have at the present moment more to complain of, than the thirteen United States had, before matters came to a crisis between them and the parent country. In the Declaration of Independence the Americans thus spoke sixty years ago, of the conduct of the Chief Magistrate of the time; and the same terms might without exaggeration be applied at the present moment by the Canadians, to the responsible advisers of his successor.

‘He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.’ ‘He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.’ ‘He has obstructed the administration of justice by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.’ ‘He has made Judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.’ ‘He has created a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people and eat all their substance.’ ‘He has kept among us in time of

peace standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.' He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.'

Such are the words of the American Declaration of Independence, and it will be seen that there is hardly a complaint uttered by the Americans before the parties came to actual blows, which might not now be made by the Canadians. The imposition of taxes without the consent of the people, is the only apparent exception; but it is one which is apparent only, for, as already seen, much of the disposable funds of the Colonial Commonwealth is seized by the Local Executive, and in the very faces of the owners squandered in acts of public profligacy and corruption. The only actual difference between the conduct of the Government of England during the present Colonial contest and during the former, is that the Tories were less discreet than their successors. They made a more impudent profession of bad principles, and threw themselves more boldly and imprudently into the front of the battle to fight for them. The successors of the Grenvilles and the Norths, on the contrary, act more wisely. They exhibit themselves as little as possible in the character of principals, and carry on a war against public liberty through the nameless and irresponsible partisans of corruption in the colonies.

The enemies of liberty and their abettors in this country, have with characteristic cunning endeavoured to give out, that the contest going on in Canada is a national one, a contest between a French party and an English, between a disaffected party on one side and a loyal party on the other. It is quite true that the majority of those who are struggling for liberty are of French origin, and the majority of those struggling for the maintenance of abuses are of English. But in everything except language and a few inconvenient laws, the population of Lower Canada is substantially English. There is hardly an individual in the Colony that was born a Frenchman. The people have been nearly all born, and every one of them bred, as English, and entertain no more national prejudice in favour of France than the inhabitants of the Channel Islands, who, though they have French laws and a French tongue, have English predilections. The truth is the very reverse of the allegation. As long as the Canadians were merely French and nothing more, they were contented and what the advocates of despotism would describe as faithful and loyal subjects. It is because they have become English in their feelings and habits, that they insist on the liberty which they know that Englishmen are entitled to, and have been in the habit of claiming

and exercising everywhere for the last two centuries. When their Southern neighbours conquered their Independence, they invited the Canadians to join them, and sent an army under an enterprising and gallant officer to assist them in their emancipation. But the Canadians were then really French in their sentiments and habits, and refused to join for any such object. The Canadian population was as neutral on that occasion, as that of an invaded Asiatic province; and would not stir a foot to assist either possessor or invader. The contest was left to be decided between the regular armies of the invaders and possessors, and victory consequently remained with the strongest and best-disciplined. The result was, that at the termination of the American contest, the recently acquired French province of Canada alone adhered to Great Britain; while Britain lost every province of value or consequence peopled by her own children, many of which she had nourished and cherished for 150 years, and which she had thoroughly imbued with her own national antipathies against France. During the last contest between England and America, Canada was again invaded, and the Americans again repelled; because the Canadians were not yet sufficiently English, sufficiently numerous, powerful, and prepared, to maintain the requisite portion of freedom and independence. Such was unquestionably the case twenty years ago; but no man in his senses will predicate that such would be the result of an invasion of Canada at present.

In proof that the quarrel in Canada is a mere contest between a French and English party, and that the conduct of the Assembly of Lower Canada is purely factious, the Transatlantic Tories tell us that the English settlers are not fully represented in the Assembly, that the population of French origin have an undue proportion of representatives. Statistic facts the most stringent and satisfactory, overthrow this well-intentioned hypothesis. In 1833, the total population of Lower Canada was computed at 620,000, of which 150,000 only were of British origin. Now it so happens that by the last election, out of eighty-eight members of which the Assembly is composed, twenty-five are of British origin, which is four more than in proportion to the numbers, or nearly one fifth part more than their due share. Lower Canada is divided into *Seigneuries* and Townships, the first inhabited by a majority of French, and the latter by a majority of English. Now it so happens, that in no county with a majority of English, has a Frenchman been returned; while in every parliament it happens that Englishmen are repeatedly returned for counties in which the

French population preponderates. In the existing Assembly there are no less than six Englishmen returned by counties in which there is a great majority of inhabitants of French origin.

But at the very moment that the Canadian Tories were most loudly denouncing the existence of a French party hostile to British interests, all the other British Colonies in North America were pursuing the very same measures as the Canadian patriots. This has not only been the case in Upper Canada, where there are few or no inhabitants of French origin, but in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, and Newfoundland, where there never were any, and which moreover, although poor and scantily peopled, are old possessions of the Crown of England.

What are the remedies for the dissatisfaction which now prevails in the British North-American Colonies, and which is just as likely to be quelled by the temporizing policy of Lord Melbourne's cabinet, as the disaffection of the old Colonies was by the temporizing policy of that of Lord North? The remedial measures seem obvious and easy, and nothing is wanting but the disposition to adopt and carry them into effect with spirit, determination, and liberality. The Imperial Parliament must proceed without loss of time to give to Lower Canada and the other North American Colonies new constitutions, and in framing these the most essential point will be to concede freely what has been long and loudly demanded, especially by Upper and Lower Canada, an Elective Council, or second legislative chamber chosen by the people, as is the case in the American Republic. The *Veto* of the Crown ought to be exercised with great delicacy and reserve. The Governors can at present refuse their assent to a bill at once, or state that they reserve such bill for the King's pleasure; and even after the Governor's assent has been given, the Secretary of State can disallow the bill at any time within two years. This monstrous power productive of nothing but doubt, delay, and dissatisfaction, and which in fact was very justly one of the great subjects of complaint on the part of the old Colonies, ought at once to be cancelled, and some such regulated *veto* as is exercised on the part of the President of the general government of America substituted. Every branch of the Colonial revenue ought to be placed under the control of the representatives of the Colonial people. This is not only necessary towards satisfying the colonies, but on general principles it is an indispensable requisite for good government. Upon this point, therefore, the Crown and Parliament ought to exhibit no shabby reservation. Sooner or later it will be extorted to the full; and it will be good

policy to yield freely and gracefully what cannot be eventually withheld. With the exception of the question of peace and war, the regulation of international commerce, and the naming of a Governor in chief, there are no questions in which the government of England ought to interfere in the affairs of the colonists, nor, indeed, in which it can possibly busy itself without doing mischief. The principle of non-interference, then, ought to be loudly and publicly acknowledged, by a solemn Act of the Imperial legislature. Altogether independently of public principle and justice, the necessities of our situation must suggest to us the prudence and expediency of pursuing such a line of policy in our relations with our North American Colonies. The position of these colonies is by itself sufficient to demonstrate, that no other course is safe. The Colonies have the broad Atlantic between us and them, while on their flank they have four-and-twenty Republics,—half a dozen of the most spirited, powerful, and popular in their constitutions, being their immediate neighbours,—and the whole united by a Federal Government into a bold and powerful nation of fourteen millions of people, and whose numbers within the life-time of many of us will exceed the present population of the United Kingdom. With such neighbours, it must be quite evident that the possession of discontented colonies across the Atlantic, will be like the possession of some scattered garrisons 3000 miles in advance of our resources, and at the very fountain of the resources of a rival and it may be of an enemy; and that consequently, instead of being sources of strength they will be sources of weakness, distraction, and apprehension. Our obvious policy, then, will consist in assimilating the governments of our colonies, as nearly as is compatible with their connexion with the mother country, to those of the American States in their neighbourhood. Our colonies have no natural bias in favour of the inequality, extravagance, and pageantry of monarchical and aristocratic institutions; and if they find themselves worse governed and in possession of a smaller share of public liberty than their neighbours whose example is perpetually before their eyes, we may rest assured that there will be no means of contenting them, except by placing them, as far as circumstances will admit, upon an equality with those neighbours. In the mean time it is admitted on all hands, that the colonists, and particularly the Canadians, have exhibited no partiality in favour of a union with the American Federation, although perhaps in their situation it would be the most natural and advantageous political position for them

to be placed in; and as to any desire to enter into terms with France, it is known that they entertain rather a repugnance against, than a prejudice in favour of such a connexion.

Instead of pursuing this prompt and obvious course, what course has the British Government pursued and is still pursuing? A course of paltry shifts, expedients, and procrastinations, of which the only effect has been to irritate the colonists and provoke them to rise in their demands. A few grievances have been half remedied, and this is the very utmost that can be said for the British government; but even here the concession in each case has come so late and with so ill a grace, that it has had every appearance of being yielded not to justice but necessity, to have been extorted and not conceded. With the exception of less intrepidity, this is exactly the line of conduct which the British Cabinet pursued in its quarrel with the old Colonies. It began with insolence and menace, and ended in submission and meanness. The first constitutional resistance to 'taxation without representation' was declared by the dominant party in the British Parliament to be a daring insult offered to his Majesty's authority, and an audacious assumption of the powers of government*. Then the stamp duty was repealed; a duty so paltry, that it never could have paid the charges of collection, supposing the Americans to have peaceably submitted to it. So were the paltry duties on glass, paper, and painters' colours; but a duty of threepence a-pound on tea was retained, because, said the Prime Minister, 'a total repeal could not be thought of until America was prostrate at our feet.' After the dispute had gone on for ten years, so little conscious was the British government of its real position, that an Act of Parliament was passed to give the King the power of naming the members of the Legislative Council of the province of Massachusetts the great offender of the time. A power, in short, was given to the Crown, to put the most popular and satisfactory of the American provincial governments, on a footing with the least popular; to make the government of Massachusetts Bay then, what the governments of Upper and Lower Canada are now. Franklin next proposed a plan of reconciliation extremely favourable to the mother country; but the British government, although disposed to redress a few grievances, was determined not to redress all,

* The resolutions in which the sentiments and language alluded to were used, were very appropriately introduced in the House of Lords, and by the Lords sent down to the Commons, of which the majority were the representatives of the Peers. This was a fair example of the balance of the 'Glorious Constitution.'

and especially not to forego its claim to interfere in the internal legislation of the Americans. The sword was then drawn; and after the British had sustained many mortifying reverses, they sent Commissioners to America, under pretext of 'restoring peace to the colonies.' When the powers of these Commissioners came to be known, it was found that they amounted only to authority to grant pardons, and contained not a syllable about redress of grievances. The American Congress caused the correspondence with the Commissioners to be published in the American newspapers, and the proposition of their Excellencies became the subject of ridicule. After further reverses, England was driven at length to a real redress of grievances, and sent Commissioners with full powers to grant such redress. The very same party—indeed the very same men—who had in the commencement of the contest pronounced a constitutional resistance to arbitrary taxation to be an audacious assumption of the powers of government, now proposed to yield every privilege to the Americans, short of a total separation. American deputies were now to have had a seat and a voice in the British House of Commons; and the power that had abrogated the constitutional charters of the American colonies, and proclaimed martial law in them, agreed without hesitation that no military force of the mother country should ever be stationed in the Colonies without consent of Congress or the State Legislatures. The Americans rejected these conditions without hesitation; they were ripe for, and resolved upon Independence. This is a little history which ought to be ever present to a British minister, when he is called upon to legislate on a question of colonial grievance.

As far as the dispute with the modern North American colonists is concerned, its history has been not unlike that of the older ones. The government and its tools would in the beginning of the complaints of the colonists hear of no redress of grievances. They even persevered in insisting that there were no grievances to redress. As the colonists grew in strength and importunity, they removed a few minor grievances, but so tardily and reluctantly as to take away from their acts all the grace of liberal and just concession. The complaints of the colonists are now at least of five-and-twenty years standing; and what is the remedy proposed by the British Ministry? In the twenty-fifth year of complaint, to send a Commission of Inquiry, to know what is complained of, and what should be done. In short the Canadians have been complaining for a quarter of a century at least, the Canadas have been in British occupation for near eighty years, and for the manage-

ment of the colonies of which the Canadas constituted the most material part, the nation has kept an office which costs it near 30,000*l.* a-year, and yet under all these apparent advantages, so little is known of the condition of the complaining colonies, that a Commission is appointed to collect information, and this Commission composed of individuals who never saw the Canadas or any other colonies, nor ever made Colonial policy a subject of their studies. If this do not amount to a virtual pleading of ignorance and incompetence, it is difficult to say what does.

The proposal of naming a Commission of Inquiry originated with the Tories, and they very naturally appointed a single Tory nobleman to conduct it. When the Whigs regained office, they gladly availed themselves of the Tory artifice to gain time, for it was obviously nothing else; and improving upon the Tory plan, they named a Commission of three Members. The parties named to the Commission, will show in the plainest language that an earnest desire to redress Canadian grievances had as little share as possible in the measure. The first Commissioner is a respectable Irish Whig peer, who never saw colonies nor thought of them, and whose highest qualifications were good temper and good intentions, and the range of whose political experience amounts to his having discharged for a year or two the duties of an Irish Deputy-Lord-Lieutenant. The second Commissioner is a retired Indian judge, of conservative principles; a man of talent, but whose talents, unless some strange change has recently come over the spirit of his dreams, are not very likely to be exercised in forwarding reasons for the extension of popular rights. The third and youngest Commissioner is a Captain of Engineers.

The commonly received opinion is that the Commission of Inquiry is to last for two years; and as the notorious object is to put off time, and save the Government from the painful alternative of coming to a decision on its own responsibility, it will unquestionably be extended to the utmost length to which it can be prolonged with any show of decency. What the result of the Commission will be, no sensible reader can be at a loss to foretell. In the colonies it will be received with distrust; and instead of allaying irritation, will provoke and increase it. Its character will have travelled before it, and be perfectly understood. The colonists will see that it is a new pretext for delaying the redress of grievances. They will thoroughly understand that strangers like the Commissioners named, can furnish no information, parole or documentary, to the public authorities in England, which these authorities have not for

years had the opportunity of acquiring, from sources of far superior authenticity.

When the relations between the North American colonies and the mother country are placed on a proper and suitable footing, this will of course imply that the connexion shall not continue to be onerous to either party. The colonies must have the same freedom of commerce with foreign nations that the mother country enjoys; but they must pay their own charges both civil and military, and Great Britain must be relieved from every burthen on their account whether financial or commercial. Instead of a loss, this, it may be confidently stated, will be a relief and a gain on both sides. It will not be difficult to give a tolerable notion of the advantages which would accrue to the mother country, which is supposed by the vulgar to be the principal gainer under the present system. During the war with the United States in 1815, this country maintained in the Canadas 30,000 regular troops, which independently of their transport thither and our monstrous expenditure in naval equipments on the Lakes, must have cost at the rate of a couple of millions sterling for each year of the continuation of the war. Since the peace, we have maintained in the North American colonies a regular force of at least 3,000 men, equal certainly to an annual expenditure of 200,000*l.* Under pretext of improving the water communications for the military defence of the Canadas, there had been expended down to 1831, 914,265*l.*; which, as a sum of from 40,000*l.* to 50,000*l.* has been voted every year since, makes now above a round million; and the original estimate has of course been long ago exceeded, and this too upon undertakings of little or no commercial utility, and in a military point of view just as likely to serve the purpose of an invader, as of the party that is silly enough to make this enormous expenditure on the naked contingency of future advantage. But besides this military expenditure, there is also a large naval expenditure in the shape of fleets, docks and arsenals; and the mother country is still further compelled to pay for the civil charges of several of the North American colonies, and this to a yearly amount which exceeds 10,000*l.*

But then according to the popular notion, we are repaid for all this expenditure by commercial privileges and advantages. It is pretended that the trade of the North American colonies gives extraordinary employment to our shipping and our sailors, and affords a great market for our manufactures, with the most convenient outlet for emigration. These assertions may be briefly adverted to and refuted. By putting a discriminating duty, enormous in amount, on the corn and timber of the

Northern nations of Europe, but especially on the latter, we discourage and almost stifle the commerce with those nations, to give a factitious encouragement to that of our North American colonies. This policy commenced in 1800 and was perfected in 1813. Under this system, so favourable in appearance to the colonies, the declared value of the whole exports of British produce and manufactures to the whole of the British possessions in North America in 1817, was 1,515,317*l*. In 1830, or at an interval of thirteen years, the amount was 1,857,133*l*. which is an increase of eighteen per cent; an augmentation certainly not equal to that of the consumers within the same period, and therefore virtually no increase at all*. But within the same period, the trade with the Northern nations which was sacrificed to the imagined advantages of the colonial trade, had of course prodigiously declined. In 1817 the declared value of the British produce and manufactures exported to Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Norway, was 3,905,730*l*., and in 1830 it had fallen to 1,890,688*l*., a decline of more than 2,000,000*l*.; that is to say, a decline which exceeded at this time *our whole exports of British produce to the North American colonies*. Thus by our strange policy we seem to have increased our trade in one direction by about 340,000*l*., and diminished it in another by above 2,000,000*l*. We have gained a few poor customers in one quarter, and lost a great many rich ones in another.

With respect to the employment given to our shipping and seamen by the North American trade, the usual statement made by the advocates of the monopoly on this subject is that it employs yearly about 8,700 ships, of the burthen of about 450,000 tons, and 20,000 seamen. It turns out, however, that the ships engaged in the trade perform on an average nearly two voyages within the year; so that this statement, so bravely put forth, contains an exaggeration of nearly cent per cent, and in short, instead of 450,000 tons of shipping and 20,000 seamen, the real numbers will be something like 225,000 tons and 10,000 seamen, while we shall have further to deduct the employment for shipping and sailors forfeited by the loss of the Baltic trade. The great advantage urged by the monopolists in parliament

* In 1825, the exports of British produce and manufactures to the North American colonies were 1,960,300*l*., and the population 846,600. In 1832 the exports were 2,030,052*l*. and the population 1,059,260. It follows that the increase of consumption was in seven years between three and four per cent only, while the increase of consumers was above twenty-five per cent. There was then in reality a falling off in the trade equal to one fifth part at least. Such is the national importance of a trade, lauded only by the few monopolists who benefit by it to the prejudice of the people at large.

appears to be, that their timber is carried a much longer voyage. Upon this principle, why do they not propose the policy of *carrying it round Cape Horn?*

The boasted advantages of Canada for emigration, hardly deserve a serious refutation.* As long as England is over-peopled and Canada under-peopled;—as long as there is too little land in the one, and too little labour in the other;—emigration is sure to go on with a steady pace, and would go on tomorrow just as rapidly as it has gone on for the last five years, though Canada were an independent country. The only difference would be, that it would then go on without expense to the mother country. In this manner emigration is now going on, and has been going on from the United Kingdom to the United Republics of North America for fifty years. It did not cease when America became independent; on the contrary it increased, and so did the trade of the United Kingdom. With the colonies constituting the present United States, our whole exports of British produce and manufactures amounted to about 1,300,000*l*. With the independent Republic, notwithstanding the impolitic restrictions imposed on both sides, they now amount to between six and seven millions.

But the injuries recounted are by no means the whole ones sustained by this country on account of the false colonial policy which she pursues. We receive nearly all our imported timber, the raw material of some of our most valuable manufactures, and in truth also a great necessary of life, dear and bad, through the same policy. The difference of duty between Baltic and Canadian timber, calculated upon the whole timber imported from North America, has been shown by a calculation furnished by the Treasury to be about one million and a half a-year. Suppose it however to have been since 1815 no more than one million a-year on an average, it is still clear that the national sacrifice made for the last twenty years is not under twenty millions sterling. Upon the whole the pecuniary losses sustained by the nation on account of the North American colonies, cannot safely be reckoned annually under two millions sterling; without calculating the loss of the superior trade which might be carried on with the Northern nations.

So much, then, for the pretended benefits of this commerce to England. It is very clear that the colonies themselves, lose more than they can possibly gain by it. They lose, by their commercial connexion with England, a free and unlimited intercourse with the rest of the world; and they especially lose the most beneficial of all intercourse to them, that with their immediate neighbours the Americans, which is at present for

the most part carried on by stealth, as if the most beneficial and legitimate of international relations were a public crime. But the tendency of the monopoly trade itself, is to produce moral and political degradation in the persons engaged in it. The timber merchants of Montreal and Quebec, are for the most part the friends and allies of the Tory shipping-monopoly interest in England, and a worse connexion they could not have. They become in this manner the abettors of bad government in the colonies, and the opponents of every popular reform among their countrymen. It is they who, uniting themselves with the official party, have endeavoured to excite national and religious prejudices in the colonies, in which, happily for the colonies, they have signally failed*. With respect to the effects produced on the inferior agents engaged in this branch of commerce, or as it is technically called, the 'lumber trade,' the opinions expressed by an individual thoroughly versed in its details are most conclusive, and the more so, since they are the opinions of a partisan attempting extenuation. The author describes the trade as follows.—

'There are two sets of opinions by two very different sets of persons—those who are interested in the trade, and those who are not. The first of these, looking at the hands and shipping it employs, consider it the great staple trade of the country, and in this they are backed by the mercantile interest at Montreal and the shipping interest at home. The others, who are landholders and cultivators, consider it a trade which diverts so much capital and industry from the agricultural improvement of the colony, which they look upon as the only legitimate pursuit in so large and improveable a country, and do not hesitate to brand it as a speculative and ruinous business to all connected with it, demoralizing the people, and creating in all who follow it a distaste for regular labour and habits, which unfits them for the duties of useful and respectable members of society.'

* 'An Elder of the Kirk, and bred in the most orthodox part of Scotland, I came to this part of the country strongly prejudiced against Catholicism and its ministers; but experience has shown me that these prejudices were unjust. I expected to find both priests and people as violently opposed to the British Government here as at home; I found them the strongest supporters of the Constitution. I had been taught to believe, that a Catholic priest was a hypocritical knave, who ruled his misguided followers for his own selfish purposes; I have found them a moral and zealous clergy, more strict in their attention to their parochial duties than any body of clergy I ever met in any part of the world, and not a bit more intolerant than their clerical brethren of any other sect. And I look upon this public avowal and recantation as a penance for my sins of ignorance, and I hope it will be accepted as such.'—*Sketches of Upper Canada, by a Backwoodsman*, p. 100. This is the honest and ingenuous confession of a High Tory and a High Churchman. It is clear from this statement, that in Canada there is no fuel for religious discord.

'The lumber trade has been carried on pretty much in the following manner. A person possessed of little or no capital, and inflated with the spirit of speculation, hires a number of hands, and purchases a quantity of provisions on credit, and betakes himself to the woods. His terms with his men are to feed them, supply them with what necessities they may require, and pay them when he sells his raft. This mode of proceeding is one which has a manifest tendency to render a business unprofitable. No capital being required, any number of competitors may come into the trade; and the provisions, goods, and wages, being not only bought on a long credit, but their ultimate payment depending on a contingency, a very large profit must be laid on to cover the risk incurred by such an arrangement. Besides, by the want of ready money, the master is put in the power of his men, whom, if idle or dissipated, he cannot put off, and though fewer hands would be sufficient to conduct the raft to Quebec, still all hands must stick to it, not only till it arrives at its destination, but until it be sold, at the same expense all the while to their master as if they were engaged in productive labour; because, if they quit the property over which they have a lien, they abandon the only security they have for their wages.'

'But the worst feature in this system is, that it has a tendency to perpetuate itself; for should a person with capital come into the trade, almost the only advantage he would possess over his poorer rival would be in getting his provisions and store-goods at something nearer their marketable value, (it being probable that from the tendency of mankind to hope the best, were he to pay his men every Saturday, they would still take but very little less than if paid at the end of the season,) and the power of paying off his men when he no longer required them.'

'Another pernicious effect produced by the trade is, that it draws farmers from their legitimate occupations, and makes them neglect the certainty of earning a competence by a steady perseverance in their agricultural pursuits, for a vision of wealth never to be realized. In fact, the only proper or profitable way in which a farmer can interfere with lumber, is by employing himself, his servants, and his cattle, in bringing out timber during the winter months, and selling it on the spot when the navigation opens; thus employing to profit a season that would otherwise be lost to him, and converting his produce which may not be saleable, into a commodity which is marketable.'—*Sketches by a Backwoodman.*

The writer after these observations proceeds to admit that 'lumbering' induces 'dissipated habits.' 'It ought to be remembered,' he says, 'that it is not the sober, the industrious, the persevering lovers of order and comfort, that engage in such employments; it is those restless adventurers, who despise regular industry, and wish to make money during one period that they may dissipate it in another, or as the sailors, 'to earn like horses and spend like asses.' He observes that 'lumbering,'

that is to say wood-cutting, is not attended with any such consequences in Norway and Sweden; and he might have added with equal propriety; not in England, nor in America, nor anywhere else in which it is not a forced, precarious, and gambling employment as it is in Canada.

Such is a tolerably fair view of that connexion which the vulgar believe, and the interested and selfish represent, as so reciprocally advantageous to the mother country and the colonies. Of what real and substantial advantage then, after all, are colonies to a country? As the colonies of modern nations have been heretofore managed, they have added not strength but weakness to the country sending them out, and in so far as the colonial system of trade has been adhered to, they have crippled instead of promoted commercial intercourse, by directing capital into channels less productive than it would have sought if left to its own natural exertions. A colony, is a transfer of a portion of the capital and labour of the mother country into distant regions, for the sake of some species of production which it is supposed can be carried on with advantage there; and the criterion of whether the transfer is advantageous or not, is simply whether the produce in question can be obtained more cheaply by the intervention of the colony, than it can be obtained elsewhere by other methods. All colonies that go against this rule, are inventions for paying a quart to receive a pint. In fact, the only colonial establishments in modern times that have in any way answered the legitimate purpose of colonies, and which are managed as colonies ought to be, are the so-called 'territories' of the American Republic. These afford a constant outlet to the population of the older states, as fast as it can only employ itself less profitably at home than abroad; the general Government conducts their administration with great economy, and for the charge which it thus incurs is more than reimbursed by the sales of the public lands of the new establishments, while the inhabitants or colonists are put at once in possession of every substantial advantage and privilege possessed by the community at large. 'Plenty of good land, and liberty to manage their own affairs their own way, seem,' says the author of the *Wealth of Nations*, 'to be the two great causes of the prosperity of all new colonies.' In these American colonies, for they are really and essentially so, these two great causes of prosperity are in full and active operation. In our North American colonies, the liberty is absent, and the colonists, the only good judges of their own affairs, are deprived of their management by the busy and impertinent meddling of an ignorant oligarchy three thousand miles off. Let us wisely,

and in time, imitate in this respect the example of the Americans.

ART. II.—*De l'Allemagne*, par *Henri Heine*.—Paris; Renduel. 1833.
2 vols. 8vo.

GERMANY and her politics have at length awakened the solicitude of Europe; the state of subjection to which that country is reduced has excited general indignation, and the resistance of her patriotic inhabitants has attracted universal interest. Must it not be expected that a time will come when this country, situated in the centre of Europe and covered by so dense a mass of population, will influence the general politics of this quarter of the globe?

France has not been behind-hand in the general movement in favour of Germany, as being most particularly interested in the fate of a country bordering her frontiers, where the Revolution of July was greeted with universal welcome, and which may prove a powerful barrier against the Holy Alliance.

The literature of the countries beyond the Rhine was eagerly sought for by the French, previously to the political events of 1830. The writings of Göthe and Schiller had already at that period proved an irresistible temptation to the modern school of Romance, which inhaling the spirit of fiction of the German authors, became as it were the reflection of German literature. This innovation is now more prevalent than ever, and has been extended to other branches of learning. Some of the French have crossed the Rhine, to study education; others have made deep researches into the works of the learned writers on jurisprudence at Berlin, M. L'Herminier for instance, who is about to produce the fruits of his studies; M. Marmier for many years a resident at Berlin, promises a work on German literature; M. St. Marc Girardin has already given much useful and important information collected during a tour in Germany.

Since Mad. de Stael until very lately, few French authors had endeavoured to extend the acquaintance with Germany among its western neighbours; but now a German comes forward and claims a right to show his country in a proper light. This is M. Henri Heine, a writer of reputation for his eloquent and energetic language, and whose quick, striking, and powerful imagination has been compared to that of Lord Byron. After being the author of several tragedies, lyric poems, and a celebrated work entitled *Reisebilder* in which will be found related with great accuracy his impressions of a tour

through Italy and England and of several sea excursions, he sought refuge in France from the persecutions of Russia, and soon after his arrival published *De la France*, a work entirely political, and later *De l'Allemagne*, which more particularly relates to German literature. By many, the political passages of the latter work have been looked upon as a mere digression; but such facts as those stated by the author, and above all his reflections on the present and future state of his country, are of the highest importance.

In the first volume, M. Heine characterizes with great ability the man who so materially contributed to the destiny of his country, Luther. On the principle that doctrines were liable to be discussed, and to be refuted either by the Bible or by notions suggested by common reason, Luther allowed man the right of explaining for himself the Scriptures by means of his own intelligence, and invoked reason to judge sovereignly in cases of religious controversy. From thence arose in Germany what is called the liberty of the mind, or freedom of thought. Thought constituted a right, and the decisions of reason became lawful. During the earlier centuries, it is true, mankind were far from being restrained either in their thoughts or speeches; and in those times the schoolmen were in the habit of openly discussing, what men would now shudder at the very mention of. But this originated in the distinction then held between theological and philosophical truths, a distinction which was thought a sufficient guard against heresy, but tolerated only at the Universities, and in a species of gothic Latin incomprehensible to the people. The Church had then but little to apprehend from these discussions, which still were not exactly sanctioned by her, and now and then some unfortunate scholar was burnt. Since Luther's time, all restraint on the contrary has been put aside, and theological and philosophical doctrines without any distinction have been publicly and heedlessly discussed in the German language. Reforming Princes have since made this freedom of thought lawful, and German philosophy is one among the important results. In no country in the world, not even in Greece, were opinions more freely expressed and developed, than in Germany during the last century up to the period of the French Revolution.

In speaking of the reform effected by Luther, M. Heine takes the opportunity of pointing out the striking contrast of modern ages, without, however, despairing to see yet greater benefits reaped from the system of Luther.

'In Prussia,' he observes, 'liberty of opinion is unlimited. The Marquis of Brandebourg was fully confident that he could not

attain the throne of that country unless with Protestant principles. Since then, things are altered, and the natural defender of our Protestant liberty has connived with the Ultramontane party to suppress it; he even converted to his treacherous designs, that deadly weapon the censorship, invented and directed against us by Popery.

'How extraordinary! We Germans are the strongest and the most ingenious people in the world. Princes of our race will be found on every throne in Europe; our Rothschilds are the kings of money; our learned men the sovereigns of science; we are the inventors of printing and gunpowder; and still one of us dare not fire a pistol-shot under pain of being fined three dollars for the offence; and when one of us inserted the following paragraph in the *Gazette de Hambourg*, "I have the pleasure of informing my friends and acquaintances, that my wife has given birth to a child as beautiful as liberty," Doctor Hoffmann takes a red pencil and erases the word "liberty."

'Whether this will last much longer, I cannot say; but this I know, the question of the liberty of the press which at the present moment is the subject of such vehement debates in Germany, is significantly connected with the questions I have discussed above; and I have an idea that its solution will not be attended with material difficulty, if we for a moment consider that the liberty of the press is the mere consequence of the liberty of opinion, and therefore incontestably a Protestant right. Germany has already shed her most precious blood for the maintenance of similar rights, and her natural courage may possibly be again put to the test in the present instance.'

The author speaks in similar terms on the question of academical liberty, which at present occupies the public mind in Germany. Since the pretended discovery has been made, that political excitement, that is to say, love of liberty, exists in the universities, it is from every side insinuated to the sovereigns that it is necessary these institutions should be abolished, or at least that common schools should be established in their stead. New plans are suggested from every quarter, and the ayes and noes of the question are vehemently argued. But none of the avowed partisans of the University system who have as yet rendered themselves conspicuous, seem to be fully penetrated with the real bearing of the question. They do not seem thoroughly to comprehend, that the enthusiastic feeling in favour of liberty is more prevalent among the students of these Universities than anywhere else; and that if these institutions were to be closed, the youth, who were under a certain restraint as long as confined within their precincts, would then be let loose, would unite with the youth and working-classes of commercial cities, and express their opinions with still greater force. The defenders of the Universities attach themselves principally to prove, that if these institutions were to be suppressed, science would be annihilated in Germany;—that

academical liberty is indispensable to education as enabling youth to consider things in their different points of view;—just as if a few ~~free~~ terms or hard words were of much importance in this case. And what do Princes care for the preservation of science, or the studies of civilization, if the holy security of the throne is to be in danger? They would surely muster courage to sacrifice all these benefits, for the possession of absolute domination. Their power is the gift of the Almighty, and all worldly considerations must give way to the will of God. There is therefore a misunderstanding, not only on the part of the worthy professors who so strenuously defend the University interests, but also on the part of the organs of Government who are so inveterate in persecuting these institutions. The real question is thoroughly understood only by the Catholic propaganda of Germany. These last, kindle secret enmity against the University system, which they undermine by artifice and deception; and whenever one of the pious brotherhood feigns a deep interest in the University cause, his apparently benevolent insinuations are invariably the forerunners of some trick. They are perfectly aware of the game they play, and of the nature of the stake. For the Universities in their downfall would overturn the Protestant Church, whose roots are so deeply imbedded within the precinct of these institutions, that her whole history during the last centuries, is comprised in the theological discussions of the Universities of Wittembourg, Leipzig, Tübingen, and Halle. M. Heine is of opinion with those who think, that the German people are not easily excited, but when once put upon a course, pursue it with a firmness that nothing can shake. At least the Germans have so shown themselves in religion and in philosophy; though M. Heine questions whether they will be as constant in politics.

He admits that it would be wrong to deny that considerable progress has been made. In relating the persecutions against Fichte in 1799*, he cannot help remarking that they bear an affecting resemblance to the more recent state of Germany; but with this exception, that in 1799 the love of liberty excited few except the learned members of the community, such as poets and scientific men, but now it is prevalent among the lower orders, particularly the labouring and working classes.

At the period of the first Revolution, a most heavy and completely German drowsiness overwhelmed the people; a kind of brutish tranquillity prevailed throughout Germany, but a most powerful impulse was given to our literature. Even authors who had hitherto

* *De l'Allemagne*, vol. i. page 209.

led a solitary life in the most remote corners of the country, took a part in the general movement. Without any precise knowledge of political events, in consequence of a species of secret allinity they thoroughly understood the great social importance of the facts, and expressed it in their writings. This reminds me of a phenomenon in those large shells with which we ornament our mantel-pieces; by applying the ear to them at the hour of the tide, however distant they may be from the sea, a murmuring noise similar to the waves breaking on the beach may be distinctly heard. When your great Revolution broke out in Paris, and a restless ocean of men were stirred up to rebellion, our Germans too murmured, and their hearts resounded with enthusiasm. But they sat alone, and were surrounded by inanimate porcelain, tea-cups and coffee-pots, Chinese pagods whose heads mechanically swung exactly as if they were aware of what was going on. But alas! this revolutionary sympathy turned out very unfavourably for our unfortunate predecessors in Germany. The petty noblemen and hypocrites deceived them in the basest manner. Some of them fled to Paris and died in abject want and misery. I lately fell in with an old blind fellow-countryman who had resided in Paris ever since that period. I met him in the Palais Royal, where he came to revive his withered limbs by the rays of the sun; it was painful to see him pale and emaciated, feeling his way by the walls of the houses; I was given to understand that he is the priest Heiberg. I also visited not long ago the garret in which our countryman George Forster breathed his last. A still more cruel fate would have awaited the friends of liberty who remained in Germany, if Napoleon and the French had not been quick in conquering us. Napoleon certainly never had the least idea, that he had been the providential saviour of ideology. If it had not been for him, the gulls and the wheel would have been the reward of our philosophers and their ideas. But still our German liberals were of those republican principles which would not allow of their courting Napoleon; they were too generous to bow to foreign domination, and they preferred remaining silent. They smiled sorrowfully at the downfall of Napoleon, but still were silent; they took no part in the patriotic enthusiasm, which at that period burst forth in Germany with the permission of the high authorities; what they knew, they kept to themselves. These republicans lead a most pure and frugal life, and live in general to a good old age; when the Revolution of July broke out, many of these oddities were still in the land of the living; several of them, who until then had always been reserved and apparently bending under infirmity and old age, now, to our utter astonishment, held up their heads, smiled familiarly on us young men, took us by the hand and joyfully related to us stories of their times. I even heard one of them sing the Marseillaise in a café; he taught us the melody and words of that national anthem, and in a very short time we were able to sing it as well as the good old man himself.

M. Heine points out the bad effect produced on the spirit of

politics in Germany, by the turn the study of philosophy has taken within a few years. Natural philosophy, which has to various branches of science been a source of the most beneficial effects, has in others produced harm. At the same period that Oken, one of the most thinking men of his day, discovered a new world of ideas, and buoyed up the minds of German youth in favour of the imprescriptible rights of mankind, of liberty and equality, Adam Müller, in his lecture on natural philosophy, argued that nations ought to be folded like a flock of sheep. About the same time M. Goerres held forth on the obscurantism of the middle age, founding his observations on the following philosophical notion,—that the state ought, like a tree, to be organically formed of a trunk, branches, and leaves, which were so admirably to be met with in the hierarchy of the corporations of the middle ages. At the same period also, the natural philosopher Steffens proclaimed the principle, in virtue of which the peasantry were to be distinguished from the nobility, because the former have received from nature the right to labour without being permitted to enjoy its benefits, and the latter the right of enjoying the benefits without being encumbered with the labour. Very recently—that is a few months back—a young fop in Westphalia published a memoir praying the government of his majesty of Prussia to take into consideration the continual parallelism which philosophy demonstrates to exist in the organization of the world, and to make the political separation more distinct, on the ground that the community has four elements—the nobility, the clergy, the burgesses, and the peasantry—analagous to those of nature, fire, water, air, and earth. When such distressing folly as this was seen to bud on the branches of the philosophical tree, and likely to expand into poisonous blossoms,—when it was observed that the German youth, buried in metaphysical abstractions, were forgetting the most pressing interests of the epoch, and in danger of becoming unfit for political life,—the patriotic friends of liberty must have felt just resentment against philosophy; some of them, indeed, were even persuaded to give it up as a lost game, and productive of no favourable results.

‘We shall be wiser,’ says M. Heine, ‘than to refute these discontented persons seriously. German philosophy is a question of general importance to mankind, and our descendants for several generations will alone be able to decide whether we are deserving of blame or merit for having let our heads run on philosophy in preference to our Revolution. I certainly conceive that such a methodical nation as Germany, ought in the first instance to have occupied themselves with reform; next with philosophy; and lastly, with their political revolution. This order of things, I think, would have been reasonable.

The heads which philosophy employed in meditation have been cut off by the Revolution at pleasure ; but philosophy could never have made any use of the heads which the Revolution should have cut off before. But never fear, my worthy countrymen ; the revolution of Germany will neither be more nor less violent, or important in its effects, nor having been preceded by the criticism of Kant, the transcendental idealism of Fichte, and natural philosophy. These doctrines gave full vent to the revolutionary power, which being previously kept in a sort of restraint, only awaited a favourable opportunity to burst forth and fill the world with terror and admiration. Then we shall see come forward the disciples of Kant, who neither listening to piety in the real or ideal world, will overthrow our European life with sword and axe, to tear from it without pity the roots of the past. After them, on the same stage will appear the followers of Fichte, whose volunteer fanaticism will neither be subdued by fear nor interest ; their life is in their genius ; they despise materialism ; in this they resemble the first Christians, who were not to be subdued either by corporal punishment or earthly enjoyment. Yes, such transcendental idealists as these, would be still more unyielding than the first Christians ; for the latter would suffer martyrdom to obtain celestial happiness, but the transcendental idealist considers martyrdom imaginary, and keeps himself inaccessible in the fortress of his thoughts. But the most terrific of all would be the natural philosophers, who would participate in action in a German revolution, and join in the work of destruction ; for if the hand of the Kantist strikes hard and with a good aim, because his heart is insensible to traditional respect ; if the Fichtean boldly despises danger, because he is in reality free from it ; the natural philosopher will be still more dreadful, because he acts in conjunction with the original powers of the world ; because he conspires with the hidden forces of tradition,—brings forth those of Germanic polytheism,—rouses the fighting propensities so prevalent in ancient Germany, where people went to combat, actuated not by the desire to destroy or to conquer, but by an invincible inclination to fight. Christianity appeared in a great measure to soften this brutal spirit of fighting of the ancient Germans, but did not succeed in entirely destroying it ; and when the cross—the talisman by which it is checked—shall fall to the ground, then will break loose afresh on the world the ferocity of the ancient gladiators, the frantic exaltation of the *Berserkers* that are even at the present day the subjects of the poets of the north. Then,—and alas ! the day will come—the old divinities of war will emerge from their fabulous tombs, and lay with their tears the dust of centuries. Thor will lift his massy hammer, and cast down the gothic-built cathedrals.

‘ When you hear the turbulent uproar, dear neighbours of France, be on your guard, and interfere not with us or our broils in our own country, or you might repent of it. Refrain from kindling the fire, refrain from extinguishing it ; you might burn your fingers. Do not scorn this advice, although it comes from a man of thought, who particularly recommends you to beware of the sects of Kantists, Ficht-

eans, and even the philosophers; do not laugh at a fantastical poet, who prophesies in the real world a revolution similar to that which has taken place in the moral. Thought precedes action, as lightning precedes thunder. Thunder in Germany, truly deserves the name of German; it does not come on in quick and successive claps, but rolls on slowly and gradually; but when you hear a peal louder than any yet heard since the commencement of the world, then rest assured that German thunder has struck its mark. Then will eagles fall dead from the air, and lions in the remotest deserts hang their tails and crawl into their royal dens. Germany will witness the performance of a drama, to which the revolution of France will be a mere idyll. Everything is at present calm, it is true; and if you see a few men here and there violently gesticulating, do not suppose that these are to be the actors of the great drama. They are merely curs who go running and biting about the arena, previous to the hour of arrival of the gladiators who are to figure in the deadly combat.'

'When the clock strikes, nations will crowd round Germany, as on the stands of a great amphitheatre, to witness vast and fearful games. I advise you then, Frenchmen, to keep quiet, and above all not to applaud. Your intentions might be misunderstood, and you might be rebuked rather abruptly, and with that unpoliteness common to our country; for if in our former days of indolence and bondage we could vie with you, we should now in the arrogant ebriety of our youthful liberty be much more able to contend with you. You are well aware of what wondrous things liberty can perform, you who can no longer call it to your assistance. Take heed then, be careful! My intentions are good and disinterested, and I tell you bitter truths. You have more to fear from Germany set free, than from the Holy Alliance and all the Croats and Cossacks put together. In the first place, you are not liked in Germany; which is really unaccountable. What you are reproached for, I could never exactly ascertain. I heard a young *Vieille-Allemagne* say one day in a public-house at Göttingen, that the death of Konradin de Hohenstaufen, whom you beheaded at Naples, ought to be avenged by French blood. You certainly have long forgotten this; but we never let anything escape our memory. You see, that whenever you take into your head to bring up old sores, we shall never be in want of German-like stubborn arguments to meet them with. At any rate, I would advise you to be on your guard; whatever may happen in Germany, whether the Prince Royal of Russia or Doctor Wirth be invested with the reins of government, remain quiet and let your soldiers be in readiness. I am kindly disposed towards you, and I really shuddered when I heard it intimated the other day that your ministers, had the intention of disarming France.'

'As in spite of your romantic spirit, you are not altogether void of classical knowledge, and have visited Olympus; among the joyful divinities who there feast on nectar and ambrosia, you must have seen a certain goddess, who in the midst of her celestial enjoyments, always wears a breast-plate and helmet, and bears a lance.'

'She is the goddess of wisdom.'

These pages, full of both humour and ~~scientific~~ knowledge, show that M. Heine, in appreciating the obstacles opposed to a revolutionary impulse by mystical philosophy and other means, still believes in a future revolution of Germany. At times, his work is strongly expressive of his irritation at the dullness of the political spirit of his country, but without evincing any discouragement; in this case eloquence of style is combined with witty raillery. At the period of the war against Napoleon, we Germans were ordered to evince a spirit of patriotism, and we became professed patriots accordingly, for we always obey the injunctions of our princes. But let it be understood that this patriotism is not the feeling understood by that denomination in France. French patriotism is a warmth, an expansion, a dilatation of the heart, and embraces the love not only of friends and near relations, but of entire France, as well as of every civilized nation. German patriotism, on the contrary, is a contraction of the heart which shrinks as leather does in frost, and the patriot ceases to be a citizen of the world, a European, and is nothing but a narrow-minded German. When God or the Cossacks had destroyed the *élite* of Napoleon's army, we were restored to animation by the melodious strains and bad verses of Körner, and gained our liberty by dint of battle, for we always obey the injunctions of our princes.

'At the period of this contest,' says M. Heine, 'a school so ostensibly opposed to France, and professing the old popular tastes of Germany both in art and in real life, was of course very generally supported. The principles of the romantic school, were handed about with the excitations of the government and the watch-words of secret associations. And Mons. A. G. Schlegel conspired against Racine with the same view as the minister Stein against Napoleon. The school rowed against the current of time, which was flowing to its own source. When at length German patriotism and nationality gained the victory, the romantico-gothico-germanico-Christian school was triumphant along with German patriotic and religious art. The great classic Napoleon, as classical as Alexander and Cæsar, was overpowered and fell; and the little romantic Messrs. Augustus William and Frederick Schlegel, as romantic as Tom Thumb and Puss in Boots, held up their heads in triumph.'

M. Heine allows that he was influenced by political considerations in his judgment of the romantic character of Germany; and declares positively in his preface, that he does not wish to censure French Romantic ideas either directly or indirectly.

'The writers who extolled the middle ages, had another object in view; the effect they produced on the public mind, was highly prejudicial to the liberty and happiness of the country at large. French

writers felt a mere amateur interest in these occurrences, which the French public contemplated out of mere curiosity. Many of them, in rummaging over historical events gone by, had no other object in view than picking out a costume for next carnival. The Gothic fashion was considered by them as a mere *mode*, and was resorted to only to augment momentary enjoyment. They wore their hair in long curls after the fashion of the middle ages; but if their hair-dresser inadvertently hinted that this coiffure was unbecoming to their features, they immediately insisted on his cutting them off, and the ideas therewith connected ended in smoke. Alas! it is quite another thing in Germany; and for this reason, that the middle ages are not quite so forgotten and adulterated as in France, and are not suffered to rot as it were in a tomb, but often rise like phantoms, in broad day-light attaching themselves like vampires to the hearts of the German people.

'Alas! don't you perceive the pale and languid countenance of Germany, and the abated spirit of her youth, formerly so lively and enthusiastic! Don't you observe the blood streaming from the beak of the plenipotentiary vampire at Francfort, who with such horrid and tedious patience sucks the very life of the German people.'

In his reproaches against the romanticists of Germany, M. Heine particularly alludes to Professor Schlegel of Bonn. Schlegel did not spare Burger, his master; and M. Heine avenges him. In literature, as in the deserts of the northern world, sons make away with their fathers as soon as they grow old and infirm. He attacks M. Schlegel as a writer as well as a man.

'If I were now to talk of M. Augustus William Schlegel in Germany, I should be stared at with amaze. Who now in Paris talks of the Giraffe?'

'M. Augustus William Schlegel was born at Hanover on the 5th September 1767. I am not indebted to him for these particulars; I never showed so little politeness as to ask him his age. If I am not mistaken I took this date from the Biography of celebrated female German characters by Spindler. According to this, M. Schlegel would be sixty-seven. M. Alexander de Humboldt and several other naturalists, say that he is older. Champollion was also of the same opinion, &c.'

Another remarkable passage of M. Heine's work is the following against the mystical author Goerres of Munich.—

'He is known in Germany under the denomination of the *Fourth Ally*. He was called this in 1814 by a French journalist, when by order of the Holy Alliance he publicly expressed his hatred for France. This complimentary *sobriquet* has stuck to M. Goerres ever since. Certainly nobody knew better how by means of our national recollections, to kindle the hatred of France in the hearts of his countrymen; nor could the journal he edited under the title

of *Le Mercure du Rhin*, and couched in the most irritating terms, be better adapted to produce a great effect in the event of a fresh war breaking out. But since M. Goerres has been almost entirely forgotten, Princes being no longer in need of his services have sent him about his business, and on his complaining of this ungrateful treatment, persecuted him. As the Spaniards did in their wars against the Indians, they trained up their dogs to feed on the flesh of the savages; but when the war terminated, the dogs had acquired a taste for human blood, and making no distinction, bit the legs of their inhuman masters, who were then compelled to rid themselves of their blood-hounds. When M. Goerres, left in the lurch by the Princes, had nothing else to derive nourishment from, he gave himself up to the Jesuits. He has ever since been subservient to them, and is now one of the principal props of the Catholic propaganda of Munich. I saw him there a few years ago in the very midst of his degradation. He was at that time giving lectures on Universal History, in the presence of a numerous assemblage consisting principally of Seminarists, and had got as far as the Fall of Man and the Origin of Sin. How dreadful the destiny of the enemies of France! The *Fourth Ally* as he is nicknamed, is condemned to discourse throughout the year to seminarists, on the Origin of Sin! In the utterance as well as the writings of this man, there was nothing but the most puzzling confusion, the most intricate medley of language and ideas, and he has been at times very justly compared to the tower of Babel. He in truth resembles a vast tower, where a thousand different ideas are huddled up together, and ejected in arguments totally incomprehensible to each other. At times the clatter would cease, and he would then make a long, drowsy, and unconnected speech, his discontented lips uttering a series of monotonous words, like drops of rain drizzling from a leaden spout. When the feelings of the uncivilized demagogue became apparent, and formed a singular contrast with the expression of his monkish humility when he harangued his hearers in accents of Christian charity,—springing from side to side with an air of ferocious rage, he might have been taken for a tamed hyena behind the bars of his cage.

M. Heine on some occasions seems to have left politics quite in the back ground; when, for instance, he speaks of the great works of imagination which have illustrated German literature, particularly those of Göthe. In his remarks on *Faust*, Heine gives proof of his own talent as a poet.

‘With the *Divan de l’Orient Occidental* of Göthe, we are less familiar than with his *Faust*. It is a work written much later, with which Madame de Staël was totally unacquainted, and which we will here endeavour to analyze. It contains opinions and sentiments on the East, expressed in a series of rich cantos, and stanzas full of sweetness and spirit, and all this as enchanting as a Harem emitting the most delicious and rare perfumes, and blooming with exquisitely lively nymphs with eyebrows painted black, eyes

enemies. The fire was smothered but not extinguished. The Bacchanalians were hidden in the darkness of the middle ages; like philosophy they slumbered for a thousand years, and appear to have risen with the light of the fifteenth century, but their stars still remained unfavourable. Germany was the stage on which they first appeared. Christian priests and professors became alarmed at the reappearance of these Pagan rites; pulpits teemed with sermons, and professors' chairs with lectures, denouncing all who participated in them, and (in the words of the Abbé de Citeaux, 'tuez les tous, Dieu saura bien distinguer ceux qui sont à lui*,') giving them over to indiscriminate massacre. 'I wish all the gods and goddesses in heaven and hell, had destroyed that contemptible priest, I say contemptible priest, who in the Consulship of Spurius Posthumius Albinus and Quintus Martius Philippus came to Rome, that priest who under the garb of religion and the service of the gods, by instituting the Bacchic rites introduced a sink of all iniquity (*omnis malitiæ Lernam*) and a laboratory of corruption. I wish too that the abominable prostitute Paculla Minia Campana, who after having conformed to the Bacchanalian worship from love of the aforesaid priest extended these rites to the female sex and proclaimed nocturnal instead of diurnal meetings, had been hanged; so true is the proverb that women are most dangerous, particularly in matters relating to religion, as being easily tossed about by every wind of doctrine. Although these Bacchic rites are so detestable and disgusting that the memory of them should not be recalled in an assembly of Christians, yet since scarcely a year passes in which some remains of them do not appear and spread themselves, mostly among the frantic vulgar, (not unfrequently also among those of more polished manners, who ought to afford a better example, living as they do in an age when light and truth surround them), I thought it my duty to call the attention of the youthful students to this subject. How grievous is it to behold Christians breaking the bond of holy baptism, and devoting themselves to the worship of Bacchus, and delivering up both their bodies and souls to perdition. The Bacchanalian conventicle like a second Trojan horse vomits forth all manner of wickedness †.' Such was the eloquent denunciation of Nicholas Calenus against the Bacchanalians in the year 1591; and such appear to have been the means by which the persecution which

* Raynald. Ann. Eccles. 1209. § 22.

† Oratio scripta et publicè habita in Marpurgensi Academiâ, die Martii 7, 1591, per Nicolaum Calenum.

by the motion of his pupils ; for, as I say again, the eyes of Gods are always immoveable. Napoleon's eyes possessed this peculiarity ; for which reason I feel confident he was a deity. Göthe's eyes I have no doubt were as divine in his old age as they were in his young days. Time might have whitened his locks, but never can have bent his head. He always carried it high and nobly ; and when he spoke he became still greater, when he stretched forth his hand he might seem to designate to the stars with his finger the road they were to pursue in the heavens. His mouth is said to have had an expression of cold egotism, but this feature is common to the Immortal Gods, and to the father of the Gods, the great Jupiter, to whom I have already compared Göthe. Really when I visited him at Weimar, and was face to face to him, I looked a little on one side to see if I could not perceive something of the eagle and the fiery thunderbolt. I was almost inclined to address him in Greek ; but as I perceived that he understood German, I observed to him that the plums which grew between Jena and Weimar were of particularly delicious flavour. I had passed many a winter's night in thinking what ingenious things I would say to Göthe, and when I saw him I could find nothing to entertain him with but the quality of the Saxon plums ! Göthe smiled, with the very lips which had touched those of the fair Leda, Europa, Danae, Semele, and so many other princesses and nymphs.

The remaining part of M. Heine's book contains a succinct review of other German authors and their works, with which the west of Europe is but slightly acquainted. Much knowledge is to be acquired from the study of these analyses and criticisms. To give some notion of the real extent of German literature, was the object the author had in view when he wrote his work ; and in this, his undertaking has been crowned with success. But with a noble enthusiasm in favour of the political interests of his country, his views have on every occasion been turned towards them, and his whole soul is revealed by the following words inspired by his sense of the unfortunate state of Germany. —

‘ O how I should like to stand on the tip-top of the steeple at Strasburg, and wave in my hand a tricoloured flag that should reach as far as Francfort ! ’

ART. III.—Quarterly Review, No. CXXX. Article ‘ *Eton School—Education in England.* ’

THE term ‘ Aristocratic ’ Education is used in the following article, not in what Mr. Bentham would have called a dyslogistic sense, but simply meaning thereby the education of the governing class ; in which view the subject is a deeply interesting one, for upon their education in a great measure

depends the happiness of the whole community. And this is conceived to be the proper meaning of the word Aristocracy. The word (*ἀριστων, ἀριστος*) originally denoted the power arising from physical force, from bodily strength; and at that time, though their rank might be nearly equal, Achilles was more an aristocrat than Menelaus, Hector than Paris. As civilization advanced in Greece, it came to signify the most powerful, from whatever sources the power was derived, and when riches rather than bodily strength had become the instrument of power. From the philosophers again it received another signification, being used to denote moral and intellectual superiority,—the most able, the most virtuous. And if the visions of Plato and of Hobbes should ever be realized upon earth, and the world be governed by philosophers, the philosophers would be the Aristocratic class.

In what follows, will be briefly traced the life of an English Aristocrat; and where it may appear needful, an attempt will be made to lay bare to the view for the benefit of his fellow-men, the texture of his thoughts and the springs of his conduct.

From his cradle to his grave, the English noble or aristocrat, (it will not be necessary to say more to prove the equivalence of the terms, than that the class of nobles formed until very lately one limb of the sovereignty, and returned a majority of another), is as much the victim of those institutions under which he comes into existence, as the weakest and meanest individual whom they trample into the dust. They reverse for his class, the end which a good education and good institutions would seek to attain. They render him as much as possible an instrument of misery, both to himself and to his fellow-beings. How grateful ought he to be to the giver of all good, that those institutions are in part amended, that one fruitful source of unhappiness is dried up, that he is deprived of a portion of power that had proved only an instrument of mischief to himself and others.

It is now pretty generally admitted, that the character of the individual human being is influenced by impressions received from the very commencement of its existence; that even at a very early age are imprinted marks that are indelible. At this period much, almost everything, depends upon the mother. If she understands her duty and performs it, the happiest results may be looked for. If she neglects it, the consequences are deplorable—especially to the wretch whom she has brought into the world.

In the present state of society, there are few mothers who do any high sense of the term fulfil the duty of watching over the early education of their children; and there are few men who

have not at some period of their lives had reason to regret the ignorance and folly of those who had the care of forming their infant minds. Of those few mothers, it is not likely that any considerable proportion would belong to a class, of which the following representation is given by the Honourable Mrs. Gore, allowed to be one of the best and most faithful depicitors of aristocratic and fashionable manners.

“Now [*loquitur* Sir William Wyndham] there's that daughter of my worthy neighbour, Lady Monteagle — Lady Stapylford I mean; — a fine kettle of fish she has made of it! For full ten years after Margaret Monteagle married, it was Lady Stapylford here — Lady Stapylford there — who but Lady Stapylford! — Lady Stapylford's new chariot at the birth-day — Lady Stapylford's masked balls — Lady Stapylford's diamonds at Carlton House — were as regular matters for newspaper discussion as the Slave-Trade, or the annual debate on Emancipation. And all this time, how was her family going on, I should like to know? My Lord was either at Newmarket, or playing hundred-guinea whist, by daylight, at Brookes's; — her hopeful son was tying fireworks to his tutor's pig-tail; — and her half-starved servants, baulked of their board-wages, were forced to live on the venison and pine-apple left from her Ladyship's entertainments.”

Such being the mother, and such being her public occupations, it could not be expected that she would attend very closely to domestic duties. Her own education having been so bad, it is not at all probable that, if she did attend ever so closely to the nurture and training of her children, her doing so would produce any widely beneficial results. But in the case under consideration, the mother does not attempt this. She commits her charge to hirelings — she devolves upon strangers the most sacred duties of her condition. Even where the parents do interfere with the persons to whose charge they have committed their children, they only interfere for evil; — to encourage their children in insubordination, in idleness, insolence, lying, gluttony, — in a word, in ignorance and vice.

Thus is commenced the formation of the character of the youthful aristocrat; and the termination does not belie the commencement. The immediate gratification of its animal instincts, is common to it with the other animals in whom reason is weak and appetite predominates. For this it is not to be blamed. It only obeys the tide of its blood, the impulses of its nature, drifted along in that ‘fery current and compulsive course.’ Like other animals in a state of savage nature, its pleasures are of the senses, and like them it seeks the gratification of its desires through the instrumentality of violence, for it knows no other mode. Compare a well-bred dog with an ill-

bred one, or one in the state of nature. The wild dog growls, snarls and barks at you, (it is well if it does not rend you into the bargain), and snatches fiercely and eagerly at what it desires to possess. The tame dog has been taught that in consulting the gratification of his desires, he must also consult the will of others;—in other words, he must be considerate of the feelings of those about him. This consideration greatly sharpens his faculties, as well as improves his manners. It sets him to devise expedients by which he may attain his end. Dogs have been known to display a degree of prudence, nay of political sagacity, in adapting their means to their ends, that left many human beings far behind.

To the cries, which the infant finds the most effective means of attaining the objects of its desires, succeed the threats and violence of the older child. The boy yet unbreeched, learns that kicking is a more effective argument than crying. By such training is generated that intense selfishness which has been often remarked as characterizing the aristocratic class. For there is no association formed in their minds between their own happiness and that of others; as would be the case, if the gratification of their wishes were made to depend in some degree on the will of those about them. This is not peculiar to aristocratic, but extends to all spoiled children; who are proverbially selfish. The others however, who have to make their way in the world by their own exertions, necessarily get rid of much of it. The aristocrat has not this advantage; and it is one of the worst features in his lot, that, except in very rare and extraordinary instances, he has no opportunity of really knowing what the world in which he lives is made of. Haunted from his cradle to his grave at once by his parasites and his passions, he lives without learning the philosophy of life, and dies in his ignorance. With respect to the statement in the *Quarterly Review* as to the effects of public school education, that argument shall be noticed presently, when it becomes necessary to follow the pupil to public school and University, and those other schools 'in which the English nobility are formed to virtue.' But first a few words more must be given to the subject of what is called his selfishness; for the purpose of comparing that point of his character with the corresponding one in the character of the poor man. This is the more called for at present, as the Report of the Poor Law Commissioners and the evidence upon which it is founded have tended to set in a strong light the vices superinduced in the labouring population by the mal-administration of the Poor Laws, and even in some confused minds to generate a notion

that those vices are the indigenous and spontaneous growth of poverty, and not the forced and artificial production of vicious institutions. Such minds would have arrived at a conclusion considerably nearer to the truth, if they had decided that the vices of the Aristocracy are the natural and necessary produce of unbounded wealth and irresponsible power. The Poor Law Commissioners have ransacked heaven and earth for arguments to palliate the vices of the magistrates. They are great on the virtues of the magistrates, they are eloquent on the excellencies of the magistrates, they enlarge even to overflowing, in what Hobbcs would have termed their 'copiousness of language,' upon the beneficent acts of the magistrates. The reason of all this is evident. The magistrates belong to the powerful class; and honour and glory be to Power, now and for ever! If the many had been the powerful, like the Sovereign Multitude of Athens, their loyal Commissioners would have found in them the germs of all talent and all virtue. But as it is, the multitude could look for no such discovery in the Report of the Poor Law Commissioners. Throughout the whole of that voluminous document, amidst many arguments to palliate the vices of the rich, there scarcely occurs one word in palliation of the faults of the poor. For this the Commissioners are not particularly deserving of reprehension, as they merely acted like all human beings who obey the laws of human sensation. Besides, their business was not to discover the virtues of the poor, but the vices springing from the mal-administration of the Poor Laws. This accordingly they have done; and they have done their duty.

It is one of the most important problems that could be offered to the consideration of mankind, to determine in what degree respectively the vices of an Aristocracy and of a nation,—of the governing rich and the governed poor,—necessarily inhere in either condition. Above has been shown the extreme probability of the existence of selfishness in the Aristocratic class, from the effect of early training;—or it should rather be said, from the effect not merely of early training, but of the influences that act upon them through life. The following is an illustration of the principle, from Mrs. Gore's '*Pin Money*.' She is speaking of an old woman of rank.

'She belonged to nobody,—was a bore to everybody;—and excepting when Lady A. or Lady B. had a place to find for a favourite servant, grown too troublesome to be kept in their own establishment,—or a tradesman to recommend whose failure must ensure the prompt payment of their own triennial bill,—she was very rarely troubled by the visits or importunities of her fashionable acquaintance.

Even when cards were first issued for the Ash Bank breakfast, they had been received with coldness or contempt. "What can that foolish old woman mean by giving a fête?" cried Lady A. "Who in the world will travel twelve miles to look at her mountebanks' tricks?" exclaimed Lady B;—and all the idle loungers of society, being satisfied that something better would present itself on the appointed day, threw their cards of invitation into the fire, and dismissed Lady Olivia from their recollections.'

'But it happened to be one of those London seasons when agricultural distress, or the distress of the manufacturing classes, or some other national disaster which could not possibly produce a reaction on the pockets of the higher ranks for two years to come, was universally quoted as a motive for dismissing one out of three French cooks, and sending back Collinet and Musari to Paris in ragged coats. Not a ball was to be heard of for love or credit; the select coteries expanded not a single inch in compassion to the general desolation; and even Almack's—so brilliant when relieved by the variety of other entertainments, became branded with the fatal epithet of *toujours perdrix* when thus affording a sole and unchanging point of reunion. Mammas who had a numerous progeny of angels in white satin to dispose of, grew distracted; young gentlemen who had looked forward to the season to dance themselves into fashion and the dining-out line of business, sat desponding over their official desks, or retired to the re-perusal of their tailor's bills in their monotonous lodgings;—it was all as dull as a rainy hay-time in a pastoral county.'

'Under such circumstances, the Ash Bank entertainment soon rose to a premium; and a few days of fine weather having brought the fashionable world into a rural mood, it was admitted that Lady Olivia's shrubberies were as propitious to sweet sentiment as Kensington Gardens; and that, as her ladyship was a come-at-able person, not rendered fastidious by the frequency and routine of her entertainments, everybody would go and take everybody,—that is, "everybody" privileged by their own standing in the world to take liberties. There seemed a probability that the despised Lady Olivia would assemble on this occasion all the select vestry of fashion,—from whose meetings she was herself unanimously rejected.'

Now compare with the above the following character of the poor, given in a communication made to the Poor Law Commissioners by Mr. Ostler, a person of great experience in the matter.

16. 'The poor deserve all the attention we can give them; they are grateful and respectful to their superiors, and most kind to one another. If treated with harshness, contempt or neglect, they will resent it, and they have a right to do so; but let any one manifest an interest in their concerns, address them kindly, assist them with discrimination, refuse, when necessary, with mildness, and reprove with temper, and he will never find reason to complain. As the almoner of public charities, I have been brought into contact with thousands of them of

all grades, from the respectable artizan down to the imprisoned felon, or the wretched inmates of the lowest abodes of vice. I have never been treated with disrespect; and have far more frequently had reason to blush at the excess of their gratitude, than to reproach them for unthankfulness; their kindness to one another in their distresses is most exemplary and affecting. When pleading for a neighbour, they will indeed represent the absence of every claim upon themselves, and their inability to afford any assistance; but when the aid they have been soliciting has either been obtained or denied, they will cheerfully divide their morsel, and perform voluntarily and gratuitously every service. Their faults are on the surface, and are often nothing more than that coarseness of manner which belongs to their station; but whoever will study them thoroughly, will be compelled to admire their general character, and will feel it an enviable privilege to be enabled to relieve distresses in which it is impossible not to sympathize.

The concluding sentence of the above quotation contains if not the explanation, what leads to the explanation of the phenomenon. Rank, from the polish of manners which it takes on,—one quality of that polish being to conceal deficiencies,—is enabled to simulate, to a certain extent, knowledge and wisdom and even virtue. The coarseness of the garb not only physical but moral and intellectual, in which poverty is necessarily arrayed, produces an effect directly the opposite. It conceals the real existence of those qualities, the semblance of which wealth and rank so ostentatiously obtrude upon attention. Thus first appearances are all in favour of the latter, all against the former.

In the evidence of Mr. Ostler quoted above, the kindness of the poor to one another is said to be most exemplary. This is what the analysis of the case would cause to be expected. There is a deep philosophy in Virgil's line,

Haud ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.

When myself have felt hunger and thirst and cold and nakedness, and the rest of the ills that follow in their train, I can enter into the sufferings of another whom I believe to feel them. Nay more, if I have but felt the fear of such ills, I can understand the feelings of others who tell me that they experience a similar fear. So is it with the poor. They have experienced such ills themselves, and they can understand the sufferings of others who complain of them.

But it is not so with the rich. They have about the same conception of distress, as a man born blind has of scarlet or any other colour. They have less, for they never try to obtain any conception of them. If you tell them you are suffering from

want of money to buy bread, and should therefore feel obliged if they would discharge the debt they owe you, they will answer 'Poor soul!' or 'Poor devil!' much in the same tone they would address a troublesome gnat; and turn their back upon you, or order their menials to shut the door in your face. When they distribute charity, it is rather from ostentation than sympathy. It is not surprising that the founder of Christianity, when he commanded his followers to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to visit the afflicted, should declare it to be very difficult for the rich to enter the Kingdom of Heaven.

At the same time it is not affirmed that selfishness is confined to Aristocrats, or that it pursues only such objects as animal pleasures. Some of the most intensely selfish men ever known, have been Democratic philosophers, men in whom the reason predominated and not the senses. The grand end of their existence was, like that of the Aristocrats and in fact of all other animated sentient beings, the enjoyment of the greatest possible quantity of pleasure attended by the least possible quantity of pain. But their pleasure differed in kind from that of the others, a greater portion of it being intellectual than animal; or perhaps it would be more accurate to say, a greater portion of it being of the imagination than of the senses. If you asked them, they would tell you that the end of their existence was the general good,—the greatest happiness of mankind. In reality it was honour, glory, fame. Their idol was, power under its least gross and most æthereal form. And to it they sacrificed with a constancy of devotion, only equalled by that of the most zealous worshippers at the altar of sensual pleasure. These solemn unimpassioned zealots, who regarded with unutterable scorn all zealots but themselves,—these stern votaries of a ruthless philosophy who waged eternal war against every baser aim of selfish nature's,—pursued their object with an unflinching unity of purpose and a recklessness of human weal or woe, worthy of a Regent Orleans or a Colonel Charteris.

In comparing the rich and poor, there is another point of comparison that presents itself. The evidence too which can be made use of, is of an authentic character. It is extracted from the evidence of Lord Brougham before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Libel Law, in June 1834.

'Even supposing the stamp laws could be carried into full effect, are there not stamped newspapers which do address themselves to that line of personal abuse and obscenity; and supposing we could carry into effect the laws against those publications, would the stamp have the full effect of preventing it?—I certainly do not read many such publications; for I read but one paper, and not that every day; but

I have at times had occasion to see, chiefly professionally, publications of the grossest nature, regular stamped newspapers, containing the grossest libels, and which appear to me to carry ~~on~~ a trade in personal slander, not unmingled with obscenity. There has sprung up a class of publications within the last fourteen years which I believe did not exist before; but in one particular they appear to have operated beneficially, for they seem to have formed a sort of drain for the other newspapers to carry of their worst trash; for I do not think so much slander is to be found in the daily papers of late years. Since those weekly papers have been carried on, the respectable papers have become ashamed of it, and have not dealt much in it.

"It has been supposed by some persons that the lower classes are desirous of that sort of reading; has your Lordship found that writers of that kind address themselves to the lower classes exclusively?"—My experience is very little in those papers; as I am generally the object of pretty copious abuse in them, I do not feel bound to read them, and still less to pay for them. I do not go out of my way to avoid them, but I certainly do not go out of my way to read them. I have seen them occasionally, and my experience would lead me to say, not only that they are not adapted to the working classes, but that those classes have no taste at all for what they deal chiefly in. Every writer who publishes for the discontented part of the common people, abuses the institutions of the country and all public men; but I do not think such writers abuse men's private character; they do not care to be personal, and to attack men's wives and daughters, and mothers and sisters; their readers, generally speaking, do not care for seeing private slander about individuals; that they do not trouble their heads about. On the contrary, I think that the appetite for such vile and often indecent trash, belongs to the higher classes of the community, extending down to the middling classes. There are some people among the latter who like to read the gossiping stories put in the newspapers. They say, "Let us see what Lady so-and-so is doing with Lord so-and-so." Also men milliners, ladies' maids, and upper servants are, I believe, great patrons of these sort of publications; and I have been told by many gentlemen and ladies that they have found them in their servants' halls and upper servants' rooms very much. But no doubt it is the drawing-room that furnishes the effective demand for such writings; and the upper classes are very unjust in blaming the press and its licentiousness, as they are so prone to do on all occasions, seeing that they themselves afford the market for the worst sort of scurrility.

It would appear from this, that it is not the much calumniated poor, that it is not the 'base rabble', the 'beastly mob', but that it is the 'higher classes of the community,' who are the patrons of that ribaldry and scurrility, of that private slander, of that licentiousness of the press, which are so disgraceful to humanity. But this is as might be expected. The man who earns his bread by his labour, whether of his head or of his hands,

is interested in public affairs in as far as they may influence his own individual well-being by acting upon the particular branch of industry in which he is engaged. He has other matters to attend to than to inquire "what Lady so-and-so is doing with Lord so-and-so." He is little solicitous about such things,—

What's Hecuba to him or he to Hecuba?

But the case is very different with the Aristocratic section of the community and their pampered and lazy menials. Living like the gods of Epicurus, 'in animi securitate, et in omnium vacatione munerum,' they are little interested by the business of the world,—by which are meant the useful occupations, guarding against the words being confounded with what they themselves might term business, viz. the frivolous or vicious pursuits that minister to their morbid appetites and their idle vanity. But man is a finite being. As he is finite in his intellectual reach, so is he in his physical susceptibilities of enjoyment. To the dominion of a Sardanapalus or a Nero, there may be set no bounds upon earth; but the tension of the nerves of his animal frame, hath a compass not wider than that of the meanest individual among the millions who own his sway. When that compass is attained, when that goal is reached, the ruler of the world may offer a province or a kingdom as a reward to the man who shall discover for him a new pleasure; and he may offer in vain. Such a state of things naturally produces many beings so wretched and so depraved, as to be scarcely sensible of 'below their lowest deep a lower deep,' and to feel it no increase of degradation to pander to the vilest appetite, the most revolting vices of power. Thus were produced the unutterable abominations with which the monster Tiberius, solaced the dignified repose of his retreat at Capræ. And thus arose the refinements in profligacy, which peopled with victims the *Parc aux Cerfs*, which graced the orgies of Choissy and Trianon, and damned to eternal fame the otherwise forgotten names of the Regent Orleans and Louis XV. These were examples of what the despotism of 'one' could effect. It was reserved for our own age to make the discovery of what could be effected by the despotism of 'the few.'

But there is one set of circumstances under which the poor may be placed,—one condition of poverty that must not be overlooked in an endeavour to investigate this question. It is that in which an attempt is made to confer upon poverty and weakness, the immunity from care and toil which is usually regarded as the privilege of wealth and power. The result has been, what it required little power of divination to discover, to introduce into the workhouse, and it may be added

the cottage, 'the worst ills that haunt the palace' (to borrow the eloquent and apt language of Lord Brougham), 'and make the pauper the victim of those imaginary maladies which render wealthy idleness less happy than laborious poverty*.' 'The dispensation of wrath,' said his Lordship on the same occasion, 'which appointed toil for the penalty of transgression, was tempered with the mercy which shed countless blessings upon industry—industry, that sweetens the coarsest morsel, and softens the hardest pillow†.' This dispensation the English Poor-Law sought to reverse. It might as well have sought to reverse the law by which an apple falls to the ground and a planet describes its orbit, or the law in obedience to which the tides ebb and flow. The inevitable consequence followed the experiment. Idleness acting upon that dangerous vacuum an unformed and uninstructed mind, produced its usual offspring. Unhappily the English pauper, like his brother idler the English rich man, had 'few exalted feelings, few desires above the low passions of an uneducated savage.' Having nothing to do, he felt the want of excitement. He sought it in the gin-shops or the beer-houses,—in intoxication, riot, and licentiousness. He sought it at last, like Nero, in the terror and ruin of wide-wasting conflagration. Was this wonderful? His whole education had furnished him with no other conception of pleasure, than what could be produced by animal excitement;—with no other means of attaining any end he had in view, than those of terror and pain. As ye sow, so shall ye reap. If ye permit your rich men to have political power without earning it, ye may expect to be badly, miserably governed; to be plundered and insulted by them. If ye permit your poor men to have bread without earning it, ye may expect to be plundered and insulted by them too. On the one hand is the aristocratic idler, talking to you of the blood and breeding, the knowledge wisdom and virtue, together with the right to rule rob and insult, he inherited from his ancestor who fought at Cressy or Agincourt, or what is far more likely, was jackall to a Tudor or pimp to a Stuart. On the other hand the democratic proser, talking of the indestructible prerogatives of man,—his inalienable claims upon the soil,—and everything except directing attention to the sources of the ill.

The young aristocrat is sent at an early age to a public school, say Eton. Here the propensities which it has been the

* Corrected Report of the Speech of the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords, July 21, 1834, on moving the Second Reading of the Bill to amend the Poor Laws. p. 33.

† Ibid. p. 32.

business of his previous education to implant and foster, are not weeded out but further nourished. In a late No. of the Quarterly Review (No. 103. p. 137) it is asserted that 'it is at the public school that birth and wealth receive their first, and their most salutary lessons of equality.' How is this assertion borne out by the facts of the case? On his first entrance at a public school, the boy becomes a fag. After having gone through his probation of fagging, he has fags of his own. Thus without reference to his rank, but simply as he is a denizen of the school, he oscillates between the condition of tyrant and slave. *Aut serrat humiliter, aut superbè dominatur; libertatem quæ media est, nec spernere modicè, nec habere scit.* Thus the association already planted in his young mind by the whole of his previous education, between the ideas of pleasure and dignity on the one hand and of the exercise of tyranny on the other, is further strengthened by the public-school discipline.

The Reviewer continues; 'The aristocracy of title and fortune has its first collision with the aristocracy of talent, and is taught that it may be, and will, without strenuous exertions, be worsted, and be obliged to submit to confessed inferiority in the contest. It is first taught that there is something besides hereditary distinction, which is of importance in the sight of the public.' This again, is not borne out by the fact. It is notorious that at several of the public schools, it is reckoned disreputable to study, or to read or 'sap,' as the cant term is at some; and the studious, reading boy, or 'sap,' is subjected to all manner of annoyance from the idle dunces, who will not condescend to plod or study, and therefore conceive themselves to be lads of spirit. Names could be mentioned of persons, that would be considered very high authorities on such a subject, who loudly expressed their delight, on their arrival at the University, at finding themselves freed, in the prosecution of their studies, from the annoyance, the persecution, and 'bullying' (that is the school word) of their idle or non-reading school-fellows. Whatever may be the opinion of Helvetius and his disciples as to the equal susceptibility of mental excellence among mankind, experience furnishes the reverse of evidence of an equality of mental excellence at present. The writer of this has seen something of more than one school and University, in more than one country of the more civilized portion of the globe, and he can conscientiously declare as the result of his experience, that whenever any question has to be decided by vote, the dunces have it. This is peculiarly the case at the English places of education,

where from the quantity of wealth on the side of the dunces, they have more than even their numerical superiority to depend on. At school and at the University there always has been—(there has not been the opportunity of ascertaining the effects of the Reform Bill in that direction, but doubtless it will have effects in time)—a formidable confederacy of dunces who style themselves ‘non-reading men;’—men for example, who at Cambridge come into hall to be marked, (it would be the very *bathos* of low to dine there), and afterwards dine at the Hoop or any other place of entertainment for man and beast, at a more christian-like hour than that of the College dinner. These sagacious persons have an instinctive dislike to ‘reading men,’ and let slip no opportunity that presents itself of exhibiting their contempt for the same. Even if one of their own ‘sol’ takes to reading, they consider him as having in some sort ‘ratted,’ and now little better than half a man. Their talk is of eating and drinking,—of dogs and horses,—of fox-hunting and horse-racing,—of tandem and coach-driving. If it were not counteracted by other evidence, it might be regarded as evidence in their favour that they appear to devote more than the usual attention to the calumniated part of God’s creatures, generally termed irrational animals. The walls of their rooms are ornamented, not like those of Dido with portraits of gods and heroes, but with portraits of dogs and horses, and the achievements of the dog Billy. They vary their refined and elevated enjoyments with occasionally acting a play or dancing a quadrille together, to the no small annoyance of any unfortunate ‘reading man,’ who happens to live below. It is such men as these, who when any public occasion presents itself of displaying at once their public spirit and their high breeding, are the first and the loudest to shout ‘Stinkomalee!’ ‘Down with the ministers!’—to give a ‘groan for the House of Commons,’ and a ‘laugh for the Dissenters.’

Even in the worst times of the history of our race, in the periods when man’s lot was darkest, it was impossible to govern the world altogether without mind. Yet that there has been marvellously little of it is so certain, that it has passed into a proverb *Quàm parvâ sapientiâ* &c. In our own oligarchical government, a certain quantity of mind, of a certain inferior quality, was required. And as even that quantity of that quality however inferior, could not always be obtained within the precincts of the governing or oligarchical class, an importation was required from the other classes forming the community. Great care was however taken, that this quantity of

mind should be employed, with the *maximum* of advantage to the employers, and the *minimum* to the employed and the classes from which they were drawn. They were placed in as subordinate a situation as possible, with some member or members of the oligarchical class immediately over them to control and coerce if necessary. Then their superiors had all the merit of the work done, if done well; if fault was found, it all fell upon the subordinates. They might rise early and sit up late; they might devote all their time and all their powers to do efficiently the work of their superiors, or what was more, to enable them to appear to do it themselves. They might sacrifice what is more precious than even time and labour,—honour. They might become the prostituted hirelings of a tyrannical faction, the ‘base betrayers of their brother’s blood.’ They might desert the cause of the many from whom they sprang, for that of the few who hired them. They might pander to the most pernicious vices of power, and ‘turn their very talent to a crime.’ They might share the fate of Sheridan and of Canning,—a far worse than ‘Lydiat’s life or Galileo’s end.’ But the gazette and the trumpet of fame, the sword of state and the gold-barred robe of honour, were not for them. They were not marked out by ‘birth and nature’ to be of the rulers of the earth. They were not made of that ‘porcelain clay which alone was worthy to bear the stamp and crown of empire.’

In such a state of things it was not to be expected that the ‘Aristocracy of title and rank’ should either feel or show much respect for the so-called ‘Aristocracy of talent.’ They knew that they were not only hereditary legislators, but hereditary statesmen. They felt assured that without the possession of any very extraordinary capacity, and without even any extraordinary exertion of the very mediocre capacity they did possess, they could take at once a much higher place in the State than others after a lifetime of the most laborious cultivation, and employment of the most capacious mind ever possessed by man. What cared they for the display of plebeian talent, or for the paltry prizes that were offered to its exertion? What was it to them if it achieved a University-scholarship, a first-class or a senior-wrangler’ship,—or even a fellowship,—nay more, an episcopal mitre or judicial coronet? They knew well that the only worthy prize in the eyes of a man of powerful and capacious mind and lofty ambition, was beyond its reach. They knew well that he could never while ‘Glorious Constitution’ continued inviolate, hope substantially to sway the rod of empire. A plebeian might wield the pedagogue’s ferule or the lacquey’s wand, but the leading staff was all their own.

It does not fall within the present design, to inquire how far the studies pursued at these places are calculated to fit any person for the high functions of Government. However ill calculated they may be, the Aristocracy of title and rank take especial care to receive little detriment from them, inasmuch as they eschew them entirely.

The Quarterly Review further says :—

‘ The trifling distinctions which are permitted to persons of rank in the great schools, as well as in the Universities, enforce little respect among the boys themselves ; unless he is gentlemanly in his manners, courteous and unassuming in his behaviour, the young patrician will come in for his share of that ruder discipline by which boys are apt to correct presumption and insolence. A plebeian boy will thrash an impertinent lord with most indiscriminating impartiality, and a high-born dunce will be laughed at with as little scruple as the blundering son of a tradesman.’

In the above passage at the commencement, the writer has slipped in a very large assumption which completely vitiates the logic of the whole. He says ‘ as well as in the Universities.’ Now the writer, if he personally knows anything about the matter, knows that the case is totally different at the public schools and at the universities ; so much so that boys who have been very intimate at a public school, often do not speak, or even bow to one another, when they meet at the University. This is the etiquette generally understood and observed ; and it is more especially acted upon when there is a difference in the rank of the parties. The one whose rank is inferior, if a person of the ordinary range of independent feeling, is naturally on his guard against appearing to make any advance to court the acquaintance of his patrician school-fellow. The latter on the other hand, perhaps from the pride natural to his position, very possibly from mere shyness (for people of rank are shy as well as others, and often get the credit of being proud when they are only shy), does not make any advances either. The result is, that intimacies between patricians and plebeians existing at school, often cease at the University ; and the patricians almost invariably associate with one another, or sometimes with the college dignitaries. In short at the University the distinctions are by no means ‘ trifling,’ but are on the contrary all-important.

At school the distinctions are certainly neither so marked nor so important ; and there is even some appearance of an establishment of equality. But the equality does not extend to the *mind*. It has reference rather to the young noble’s physical education, which (with the exception of those cases, probably

not few, where he is enabled to indulge in habits of gluttony and drunkenness), may be considered to be promoted at the public school. 'A plebeian boy will thrash an impertinent lord.' So will a 'clod' or 'snob.' But though the impertinent lord's arrogance and insolence may be somewhat checked for the moment by such thrashing, it never even for that moment enters his lordly cranium to make the slightest admission of equality between his lordship and the plebeian boy his school-fellow, or 'clod' of the town or village where his school may be situated.

There remains to follow the course of the Aristocratical youth from the University to those schools 'in which the English nobility are formed to virtue.' It may be noticed in passing, that in one of those schools, Newmarket, he may and generally does attend, while keeping his terms at the University, particularly if that University be Cambridge.

Perhaps the school on the advantages of which the Aristocratic class most plume themselves, is foreign travel. But from passing a few months, or even years, in various foreign lands, what is got? The colour of the skies, the form of the mountains, the general features of the landscape;—in a word some notion of the face of external nature, that may supply with imagery the mind of the poet or the novelist. Some impressions also are doubtless conveyed to the sensorium, of the outward form and bearing, of the food, clothing, lodging, and other more obvious accidents, or accidental differences of the various tribes they visit; some fainter and more vague impressions of their language and literature; and some still fainter and more vague of their character, their government, and laws.

But it was not thus that the great anatomists of man's moral and intellectual nature, the Aristotles, the Lockes, and the Hobbeses, were enabled to accomplish their task. It was by pursuing with the mind, the course so successfully pursued in regard to the body by the professors of anatomy. 'Our chief duty here,'—says Mr. King, a skilful anatomist, in a lecture which exhibits in its treatment of its subject an example of the physical classification so important in conveying the rudiments of any science, yet so rarely seen in the works of the modern English scientific men*, and is well calculated to show the application of Bacon's *methodus philosophandi* to

* The French themselves are well aware of this defect of the English. 'Il n'y a personne,' says M. Guizot, *Hist. de la Civ. Fran.* tom. i. p. 13. 'qui ne dise que les anglais sont peu habiles à composer un livre, à le composer rationnellement et artistement tout ensemble, à en distribuer les parties,' &c.

the science of anatomy,—‘is to study the body mechanically by dissection. We ought also to investigate its intimate nature by chemistry; to apply to its examination the principles of natural philosophy, in considering the influences exercised on it by other bodies of the universe; to observe it, during life, under the greatest possible number of circumstances of health and disease; to bring to its study the knowledge derived from experiments upon living animals, made, of course, with the utmost caution to avoid pain;—and all this should be done in reference, as much as possible, to the races and varieties of man; his position on the earth; his age, or period of development and decline*.’ But this inductive method necessarily includes the possibility of effecting a complete and searching analysis;—which is impossible alike to the ‘assiduous students of the history of past ages,’ as to the travelled exhibitors of ‘a few broken languages.’

Returning from his wanderings to and fro upon the earth, the patrician hero considers his education as completed, and at once enters upon his high hereditary functions of legislator and statesman. How he performs these functions, may be learned from the observation of his recorded acts;—from the scrutiny of his votes, from the perusal of his parliamentary speeches, but more thoroughly and satisfactorily from the perusal of parliamentary reports. The inquirer will there learn, from the statesman-like depth and comprehensiveness of his views, but especially from the relevancy and sagacity of the interrogatories which he puts to the witnesses who have the good fortune to be brought before him, that the end does not belie the means, and that the man is what might have been expected from the education of the boy.

ART. IV.—*A Tour through North America, together with a comprehensive view of the Canadas and United States as adapted for Agricultural Emigration.* By Patrick Shirreff, Farmer, Mungo's Wells, East Lothian. —Edinburgh; Ballantyne and Co. 8vo. pp. 473.

THIS is the production of a mind of great observing and discriminating power, and which has given evidence in the present work, of a store of useful knowledge, which will be

* Substance of a Lecture, designed as an Introduction to the Study of Anatomy considered as the science of Organization; and delivered at the reopening of the School founded by the late Joshua Brookes, Esq. By Thomas King, M. D., Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, Surgeon to the French Ambassador, and formerly House Surgeon to the Hotel Dieu in Paris.

looked for in vain in the flippant and perverted works that have for some years been the fashionable sources of British information on the subject of North America.

Mr. Shirreff in his preface makes a somewhat unnecessary demand on his readers to overlook a want of polish in his style, 'as he is a farmer in the strictest sense of the word.' But its freshness and vigour are well adapted to the subject and the view the author takes of it. He went out to America with no purpose of private speculation; and he suffered no disappointment. He laboured under no hallucination as to his political creed like a writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*, who conceives he has only been converted from radicalism by a sight of American men and manners. His object in visiting America, was to assist a younger brother in the choice of a place of settlement. And in travelling for this purpose, he was led over the most interesting part of that great country, on which the attention of the humane of our own has become fixed, as the refuge of those whom our commercial restrictions are driving in yearly crowds from their native shores. He went out with a melancholy consciousness of the many disadvantages under which our farmers at home labour, particularly the Corn-laws, which have pressed more on the farmers than on any other class; their raised rents being a certainly increased obligation, while their returns remain, from the chances of failing crops, in their original uncertainty.

The work is divided into two parts; first an account of his tour, which is remarkable for its great extent and short duration. Between the end of May and the beginning of November, he crossed New Jersey and looked into Pennsylvania, he travelled over the greater part of the State of New York, and several of the New England States, the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, he touched on the Missouri, and traversed the territory of Michigan, and the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. He availed himself in his tour of whatever conveyance his line of travel was supplied with, from a steam-boat to a waggon. The want of an artificial conveyance formed no stoppage to the traveller; who, failing other modes of progression, seems always to have been ready to walk, in which way much of the most interesting part of his journey was performed. Yet in his tour there is no appearance of inconsiderate hurry. He had always time to observe every object, animate and inanimate, that came under his view; and he seems never to have omitted an opportunity of observing the character and condition of the inhabitants of the country. He had always time to examine the soil and its productions as well spontaneous as the results of

culture, and to make *détours* to visit all interesting objects ; while he invariably declined staying for mere pleasure, where he had already satisfied his desire of information. He seems duly to have appreciated every comfort he met with, and most readily to have dismissed from his mind the idea of seeking luxury where it could not reasonably be expected.

It is curious to observe the treatment such a person may expect from the people in whose way he may be thrown, and under what aspect he is likely to see the inhabitants. He says ;—

‘ Throughout the whole of my intercourse with hotels in the United States, I did not receive an uncivil answer, or experience neglect from any one connected with the establishment, and every request which I made was cheerfully complied with. The landlords are much less fawning in manner than those of Britain, but equally civil and anxious to oblige.’—p. 288.

He draws a broad distinction between courteousness of manner and mere civility. The former cannot be ascribed to the Americans.—

‘ I was surprised at first,’ he says, ‘ with the plainness of their manners—at the total absence of grimace and corporeal tokens of respect, with corresponding sounds of address, an expression of obligation or thankfulness seldom being heard. In courteousness the inhabitants appear as far behind the British, as the French exceed *them*.’

On the other hand he remarks ;—

‘ The civility of all classes is so universal, that during my intercourse with the inhabitants I scarcely experienced an indication of insolence, and never observed that democratic sauciness which I was taught to expect among the lower orders. Every individual feels that he is independent, and never alludes to the subject.’

There is one observation which, after all that has been heard of American want of principle, it is delightful at length to meet with. After alluding to the knavery commonly imputed to the Yankees or New Englanders, he says ;—

‘ In the course of conversation I never heard imposition of any kind alluded to in terms of approbation ; while honesty of character, and more especially among public men, was universally praised.’—p. 407.

The second part of the work is what the author calls a view of the Canadas and United States, in which he has embodied a great deal of matter for which he seems not to have found a place in his ‘ Tour ;’ but its more proper object seems to be, as a field for his general observations, arguments, and conclusions. As his arrangement however is not quite systematic, the liberty will be taken of substituting the following.

And first,—Who should emigrate? It is always a severe trial to leave one's native land, to bid adieu to old friends and commence the precarious work of making new ones, to renounce the second nature of habit, and encounter the discomfort and danger of a new climate. In a country like America, recently and only partially settled, where the inhabitants are mostly engrossed in the eager pursuit of the first necessities of life, there is little inducement to a mere man of pleasure to settle. Even the labourer and the mechanic will miss, on their days of relaxation, the delight of witnessing, and the gay dream of the possibility of one day sharing, the parade and the luxury of wealth. There is an 'all work and no play' appearance about the country, which strike a sadness into the European breast, when the wanderer or the emigrant drops for a moment the shield of his resolution, and yields to the luxury of reflecting on the joys he has left behind, contemplating them through the warm medium of distance and affection.

It is not therefore the man who is comfortable at home who should be tempted to emigrate, whether his comfort arise from the extent of his fortune, or the gratified moderation of his desires. There should be a strong operating motive, as a reposing point to the mind when feelings of discontent arise, and when the discomforts of the country of adoption are felt. There should be poverty or a want of prospect of success from exertion at home, or a restless ambition and bright prospect of acquiring wealth and distinction abroad.

To persons in some situations, the advantages of emigration are peculiarly tempting.

'An ordinary mechanic obtains one dollar per day, with board, including washing; and superior workmen, engineers and millwrights, get from two to three dollars. Farm labourers are engaged at 100 to 120 dollars a-year (still with board). Female house-servants obtain one dollar in private families, and from 2 to 2½ dollars a-week in hotels.'

This is in Illinois. And these rates of hire, especially when converted into wheat at Illinois prices, make a bright contrast with the wages of common labour at home. There are however some drawbacks. Besides the original expense, loss of time, and privations during the voyage and journey, which people of small means must suffer in passing from Britain to America, clothing is a great deal more expensive in that country than in this. The periods of engagement to labour are shorter, and consequently there is a greater risk of time being lost. In many of the richest settlements there is a great deal of sickness; and protracted fevers are common. Yet it may be consolatory

to those whose situations are such that prudence calls on them to emigrate, that the danger of sickness may be in a great measure avoided by temperance, cleanliness, and proper clothing.

But the class to whom of all, the advantage of emigration is most obvious, is that of small capitalists who have a taste for and a knowledge of agriculture. On the prospects of such, a great deal of information may be had from Mr. Shirreff, conveyed in calculations, founded on the known prices of land, labour, and produce, and the estimated returns in different situations, and in different kinds of soil, woodland and prairie. And here allusion must be made to an uncontrolled, and as it would appear an erroneous, though not unaccountable preference for Illinois displayed by the traveller; to the utter comparative condemnation of all other parts of America, especially the Canadas, to which he seems to entertain a peculiar aversion.

In the Canadas Mr. Shirreff saw many, both of the newly arrived emigrants and those who had been some time settled, subjected to a great deal of hardship, a large measure of the blame of which he ascribes to the bad principles and worse practice of the Canadian Government, and to the intrigues and puffs of the Canada Company and other extensive land-speculators in Canada, by which many ignorant and credulous persons are induced to emigrate under false pretences, and many others are induced to settle in unfavourable situations. He had been particularly shocked by the exposure of the unfortunate emigrants in their progress from Montreal upwards; a way of approach which should never be taken from Britain to Upper Canada. If the saving of time and provisions on the passage, resulting from the superiority of the vessels that make it, and its shortness and directness, be taken into account, the passage to New York, even in point of economy, is preferable to that by Montreal. The loss of life in the spring in some seasons at the mouth of the St. Laurence, is enormous. But the chief cause of suffering to the emigrants passing to the Upper Country, is the violent, and by many emigrants unlooked-for change of temperature to which they are subjected, and the certain exposure to these changes of all the poorer passengers, from the utter impossibility of finding shelter for the shoals of them that travel together.

'At Coteau de Lac,' says Mr. Shirreff, 'our steamer took seven batteaux, or open boats, in tow. in one of which I counted 110 emigrants, of all ages, who were doomed to pass the night on board. Men, women, and children were huddled together as close as in a slave trader, exposed to the sun's rays by day, and river damp by night, without protection. It was impossible to look on such a group of

human beings without emotion. The day had been so intensely hot, that the stoutest among them looked fatigued, while the females seemed ready to expire with exhaustion. Conversation was carried on in whispers, and a heaviness of heart seemed to pervade the whole assemblage. Never shall I forget the countenance of a young mother, ever anxiously looking at twin infants slumbering on her knee, and covering them from the vapour rising from the river, and which strongly depicted the feelings of maternal affection and pious resignation. Night soon veiled the picture, and, I fear, brought no relief to the anxious mother. The navigation up the St. Laurence in battenaux is accomplished by propelling them with poles, and is necessarily tedious. The accommodation is so wretched and irksome, that the emigrants' privations of transport may be said only to commence at Montreal, where they perhaps expected them to end.'

Mr. Shirreff deserves great praise for the fearless manner in which he exposes the system of deception that generally pervades land-dealing in Canada from its highest practitioners to the lowest. And if his zeal has led him into a severity sometimes perhaps excessive, it seems based only on a pure abhorrence of deception. He makes a furious attack on Mr. Fergusson, the author of 'Practical Notes on Upper Canada,' whom he discovers in the error of assuming, in one of his published calculations of probable profit from the purchase and cultivation of a part of his land in the township of Nichol, one crop too much as the result of four years cultivation. This error however seems not one of the most dangerous, as it must be obvious to almost every farmer on reading the statement. It seems in truth to be an extraordinary oversight in Mr. Fergusson; and might with more propriety have been ranked under the head of inconsistent zeal, than of puffing and exaggeration. Mr. Fergusson after visiting Upper Canada in 1832, published an account of it, which has always been deemed a flattering one, though its truth has been unimpugned. And he has shown the sincerity at least of his own published views, by leaving an independent station and a comfortable establishment in Perthshire, and emigrating with six sons to Upper Canada.

The general puffing system is thus described by the author.—

'The writers of private letters, the verbal tales of individuals, and the public journals, are often called into requisition to laud and misrepresent the country, and the people of Britain ought to consider the accounts well before giving them credence. In a Montreal newspaper which lately reached me, I observed a paragraph announcing that a yacht club had been formed at Goderich, of which Captain Dunlop was president. At the time of my visit to Goderich, in the end of August 1833, the population were chiefly subsisting on flour and salt

pork, imported from Detroit. The harbour contained three craft of the smallest size, and I did not see a boat or yacht of any description. The youth of Britain, who anticipates displaying at Goderich the uniform of a yacht club, and having the fair sex greeting his triumphant entry into the harbour by the waving of handkerchiefs, may delay his departure for half a century.'

'Captain A——, in the township of Blenheim, was told by an agent of the Canada Company, that a stage coach would convey himself and family from Hamilton to the property he had purchased. No such conveyance existed. On representing the imposition that had been practised on him to the managers at York (Toronto), an abatement of price was offered. I saw the correspondence on the subject.'

He objects to the system practised by the British Government in Upper Canada, of selling land to emigrants, only at auction and at the highest prices that can be obtained, on credit, and receiving payments by installments; by which he alleges many are induced to buy, who ought to be working to get capital. This plan does perhaps make way for a poorer class of settlers, than would result from the mode now adopted in the United States of selling for ready money only. But on this subject Mr. Shirreff's view is subject to great doubt, like every other that interferes with free trade. The consequence of the low fixed price in the United States has been, that speculators have purchased up most of the land of good quality on all the lines of probable future communication, and the actual settler is deprived of the benefit of the low prices. These speculators have the advantage of a previous knowledge of the country; whereas purchasers with a view to personal settlement are generally from a distance. So that in practice, under the United States system, the speculator gets, what is gained to the Government in Canada. As to the payment by installments, it seems hard to prevent people from judging for themselves of the prudence of entering into such an agreement or not. But it surely would be a great convenience, if in every surveyed township there were a fixed price put on the lands; so that intending purchasers might go straight to the record, as in the United States; and buy whatever lots they might chuse, without further trouble.

The British Government have made a most unprofitable bargain in selling out to the Canadian Company a large tract of the richest land in Upper Canada, at an extremely low price, and which the Company are not bound to pay till they have resold the land. So that the profit of the Company consists in simply pocketing the difference. There is not even the excuse of saving the expense of having Government Agents. There is a regular establishment supported by Government for

the sale of their lands. The Company in return has made some roads, in particular one through the Huron tract, where they themselves are the sole proprietors. And they have been the means of inducing a great number of industrious people to leave Great Britain for Upper Canada. This Company has fallen under the most severe censure of Mr. Shirreff. And he is most decided, that, for the benefit of the province, it ought to be got rid of, or forced to dispose of its land at low fixed prices and on stipulated conditions.

It must be confessed, that from one cause or other, there is a great proportion of settlers in Upper Canada, who form the most wretched body of farmers within the range of Mr. Shirreff's tour. Driven from Britain or Ireland by the hard pressure of poverty, and unaccustomed to the sort of labour necessary to success in their new situation, many of them soon flag in spirit, and rest satisfied in comparative inactivity, in a state elevated only one remove from that they left. The manners of many of them are coarse in the extreme; and the idlest and the worst are most thrown under the view of travellers. It is in Canada, and not in the United States, Mr. Shirreff says, that one is apt to be informed, by some emigrant just disenthralled from real or imaginary bondage, that the country is free, and that the speaker is above caring for any man. There is a great deal of pseudo-americanism; and the caricature, as usual, is much less seemly than the object represented. The best part of the Upper Canada settlers do not seem to have been those who fell chiefly under Mr. Shirreff's observation. His principal course of travel was through the newest settlements, where he was fed on the diet, to him most unpalatable, of 'fried bacon 21 times a week.' It is inexpressibly fatiguing to a British and more particularly to a Scotch eye, day after day to thread regions of forest, changed occasionally, though it were flattering to say, varied, by newly-cleared fields, surrounded uniformly by that most monotonous and ugly, though most cheap and efficient of all fences, the zig-zag rail fence of America.

It was after serving his apprenticeship to the personal discomfort which must be endured by a traveller in these newly settled parts, by travelling in a waggon near 200 miles, along roads either of *corduroy*, or of the natural surface of the forest not much the better for any change prior travel had effected, and with the stumps still standing,—to which he added some excursions on horseback with accoutrements so defective that he seems never to have enjoyed girths to his saddle,—that Mr. Shirreff visited the Prairie country in the western United States. His eye was delighted with the long

unenjoyed freedom of vision, the novelty and beauty of the prairie.

'The works of man are mere distortions compared with those of nature, and I have no doubt many prairies containing hundreds of square miles, exceed the finest parks in beauty as they do in extent. Sometimes I found myself in the midst of the area without a tree or object of any kind within the range of vision; the surface clothed with interesting vegetation around me, appearing like a sea, suggested ideas which I had not then the means of recording, and which cannot be recalled. The wide expanse seemed the gift of God to man for the exercise of his industry; and there being no obstacle to immediate cultivation, nature seemed inviting the husbandman to till the soil and partake of her bounty.'—p. 244.

It is certainly a blessed change from the laborious process of clearing the forest, to behold an open plain covered with luxuriant herbage, and ready for the immediate application of the plough. The Prairie land may be ploughed in spring; it will yield the same year a crop of Indian corn; and in the autumn, without any additional ploughing, it is ready for the seed of a wheat crop to be reaped the year following. Whereas, during the first summer on woodland, labour must be employed in burning the wood; and the wheat crop, during the second after the cutting, is the first that is reaped. From this circumstance poor settlers have a great advantage in beginning on prairie.

Illinois is the author's chief favourite of all the regions he visited. Nature has been bountiful to this State. Coal, lime, free-stone and clay abound, wherever wood is scarce or wanting. Mr. Shirreff saw everything in Illinois through a favourable medium. He seems never to have considered the remoteness of the prairie country he admired; but viewing it as the centre of the world, as it seems to be of natural agricultural productive wealth, he regarded its all but surrounding limits of navigable waters, the Mississippi, the Ohio, the Wabash, which flow into the gulph of Mexico, and lake Erie on the line of the St. Lawrence, as connecting it with the best parts of the world beyond. He dilates with delight on its extent of inland navigation, in existence and in prospect. And in his enthusiasm he bends his eye up the course of the Missouri, which approaches it from a distance of 3,000 miles to the west, and looks forward to a time when by that route there may be a direct communication between Illinois and the richest countries of Asia.

By the time the author had arrived in Illinois, he had acquired a more than *modern* philosopher's disregard of the smaller inconveniences of life. He performed the journey from

Detroit to Chicago on Lake Michigan in the first stage waggon that had ever traced the line, and in the first journey it made. From Chicago to Springfield on the river Illinois, he walked on foot; and the accommodation he sometimes met with, and the light in which he regarded it, can best be conveyed in his own words. He had been overtaken in his walk, towards night-fall, by two young men in a waggon. With them he shortly arrived at a tavern called 'The Doctor's,' from its master being a practitioner of medicine. The house was a small log hut, and in it there were already, besides the family, two other travellers, one of whom was called 'Squire,' which denotes what is called a Justice of the Peace in England.

'I was puzzled to conceive,' he writes, 'where we were all to sleep; and at length four of us were shown up a ladder into a garret or cock-loft, in which there were two beds. I took possession of one in partnership with the Squire, who told me, before going to sleep, that he had lately suffered much from fever, and finding himself unwell, he had stopped here for the night, instead of proceeding to Chicago. On rising at day break, I found two travellers sleeping on the floor at the foot of the ladder, the doctor, his wife, and two children, lying in bed in the ordinary way, and other two children lying across their feet.'—p. 232.

On one occasion he passed the night, among other company, with two Kentuckians, father and son, the latter a most complete specimen of a Kentucky ruffian. This fellow insisted on entertaining the author during the evening, with an account of his prowess in fighting and gouging, which last word means thrusting out the eyes of an enemy by inserting the thumbs into their sockets.

'The house was in all respects a mean one, containing little furniture, and two beds, from one of which rose an emaciated person, labouring under aberration of mind, and to whom the house and lands adjoining belonged. I began to feel uneasy about the sleeping accommodation, as both beds would be required for the family, and there was no garret apartment. The landlord at length drew forth from the corner of the room a dirty tick and covering, which were placed in the middle of the floor, and formed the sleeping-place of five individuals, who arranged themselves latitudinally on the pallet. I was anxious for an outside berth, in order to have sea-room in case of accident, but the complaisance of the gouger deprived me of this position, and I found myself placed for the night between the old man and his son. None of the travellers thought of unrobing; and after putting off my shoes, I laid my head on my knapsack, which was the only thing in shape of a pillow to be had. My situation was far from enviable; fumes of whisky and squirts of tobacco juice assailed me on every side, and I considered the partner of my bed more savage than the wolf of the forest.'—p. 236.

A more nice traveller might have been provided with a cloak, and have enjoyed at least a solo on the floor, for the few successive nights he could not be provided with a bed.

'I invariably,' he remarks, 'obtained a whole bed in hotels, and it was only in the huts of the remote parts of the country that I did not sleep alone.'—p. 252.

Fever seems to have been very prevalent in some parts of Mr. Shirreff's tour. Indeed, in his pedestrian expedition across the Prairies of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, he seems to have visited more houses where it was, than where it was not. His conclusion, that this disease affects all newly settled countries, may be suspected of being too general. At least it affects them in extremely different degrees. He found fever and ague, he says, at Hyde Park on the banks of the Hudson, at Niagara, Whitby and Chatham in Upper Canada, and a great deal of it in the Prairies. Hyde Park is one of the oldest and most completely settled and cleared parts of America. But the same cause remains, and is likely to remain, for the continuance of fever on the banks of the Hudson, that operates at the other parts where he found it,—viz. rank vegetation on the banks of a sluggish river. Where fever or ague is the result of the decomposition of vegetable matter on the first clearance of forest land, there is a prospect of its ultimate abatement. And this has been fully realized in the Genessee country in the State of New York, where fever was extremely prevalent on its first settlement, and has now quite disappeared. But along the line of the all but stagnant waters in the extensive Prairies of Illinois and Michigan, where there is a deficiency of fall for draining, there is a melancholy prospect of a continuance of the evil. Mr. Shirreff has omitted to observe, that fever prevailed generally in the low and rich flats, while in the dryer ridges and more undulating surfaces, where the small streams run clear, the inhabitants are free from its ravages. And in crossing the Prairies, an acute observer may learn to judge, from the situation of each house, long before arriving at it, whether he is likely to find half the family blanched with fever, or the whole wearing a healthy appearance. Unfortunately the richest crops are often got in the least healthy situations; and hence the numerous cases of settlements in the very hot-beds of disease.

In this respect the settler in Upper Canada has the advantage. There the finest land is often disposed along or near to streams, where the spotted trout bears evidence of the lively running of the waters, and fever is comparatively uncommon. There is a ridge of land in particular, elevated

from 200 to 300 feet above Lake Ontario, that extends along the whole line of its northern side, at the distance of from twelve to twenty miles from the Lake, and of variable breadth, where the land is of the most valuable quality, and where fever is little known. On this ridge which Mr. Shirreff crossed, stands the village of Newmarket, which he visited.

'The country from York (Toronto) to Lake Simcoe is generally well cleared and settled, the soil being chiefly loam, carrying excellent wheat crops, and seems fitted for almost any kind of husbandry. It is difficult to classify the soil around Newmarket, which seemed well fitted for turnip growing, and such as would be considered of too soft a texture in the place of my nativity, yet it was producing wheat crops, with stiff straw and large ears. The farm-houses seem comfortable, and the stumps are chiefly removed. The surface is undulating, and free from stagnant water.'

The fever he found at Niagara (the village), Whitby, and Chatham, may be accounted for by the immediate vicinity of the Lake and its low banks in the first two instances, and by the flatness of the country and the consequently stagnant waters in the third.

The price of wheat as stated by Mr. Shirreff at Columbus, the capital of Ohio, which stands on the line of canal from Lake Erie to the Ohio, is fifty cents a bushel. At the large and flourishing city of Cincinnati on the Ohio, he states the price at fifty-seven cents. And in the Prairie country, at Springfield in Illinois, which though an interior town, has still water communication with the Mississippi, it is as low as 37½ cents. Whereas at Toronto and along the border of Lake Ontario, it may be stated at from 75 to 87½ cents. The common price at Rochester on the American side of the Lake is one dollar a bushel. But there is a tax of 25 cents a bushel on carrying wheat across the American line, which of course excludes altogether the wheat of Upper Canada, and confines it to the Montreal market. This, however, it is hoped may be only a temporary evil. The Montreal prices are generally nearly the same as those of New York, and sometimes higher. And though the navigation is not yet so easy, it is in the course of yearly improvement. The Rideau canal, which cuts off all the rapids from Lake Ontario to the island of Montreal, was opened to steam-boats in 1834. The western waters which have New Orleans for their mart, will never probably be such valuable means of conveyance for agricultural produce as those of the St. Lawrence or the Hudson. The heat of New Orleans is too great for keeping wheat; and consequently the whole that is carried there must be immediately sold, and often, in case of an over supply, at a sacrifice of price.

The situation, then, of Upper Canada on the line of the waters of the St. Lawrence, and with only a political, and therefore probably a temporary exclusion from the Hudson, makes the land worth a higher price than is paid for land of equal quality in Illinois. And the principal difference of cost is in cutting and burning the wood; which, with fencing and preparing for seed, generally costs from 2*l.* 10*s.* to 3*l.* 10*s.* an acre on rich land. There is no ploughing for the first crop in wood land, the ground being ready for the seed on the burning of the dry leaves &c. on its surface, and which are consumed with the wood. White clover does not grow spontaneously in Illinois, but it does so in remarkable profusion in Canada; and red clover grows with a luxuriance unknown in this country. Grasses and clover may be sown with the first wheat crop in Canada. And the land may be allowed to lie in pasture or meadow, the greatest desideratum in such a country during the seven or eight years necessary to rot out the generality of the stumps; the process of clearing being in the mean time continued over the rest of the farm, and the wheat being raised on the newly cleared land.

Lower Canada is by no means so interesting a country in an agricultural point of view as its Upper neighbour; but in romantic beauty it far excels it. And there is an appearance of cheerful gaiety, and a courteousness of manner in the people, which operate as a charm on a European traveller, just emerged from the downright bluntness and plainness of the west. The forefathers of the French population of Lower Canada emigrated long before there was a republican idea in France. And it is strange to witness how their sons have imbibed the liberal notions of their neighbours without a shadow of their rudeness. Their long cherished dislike of the Americans, is a sufficient safeguard by which, under existing circumstances, and with fair treatment, to attach them to their British connexion. But the idea of being mixed up in the same government with the Upper Canadians, and so outvoted by British grants in their favourite objects,—which was threatened during Lord Stanley's administration of the Colonies,—was as hateful to them as the idea of the government of the Americans. Their present position will call for much wisdom and forbearance on the part of the British Government.

The Government of each of the Canadas resembles the British Constitution in having three estates,—a Governor, a Legislative Council, and a House of Commons,—endued in a considerable degree with parallel powers and functions to our King, Lords, and Commons at home. The Governor is nominated by the King.

during pleasure. The members of the Legislative Council are nominated by the King for life. And the Commons are chosen by the people of the province. There is at present a quarrel between the House of Commons of Lower Canada and the other two branches of the Government. The misunderstanding had its origin, in part, (for there were many grievances), in a claim by the Commons to certain property at present occupied as barracks by British troops, but of which the Commons claim restitution to certain schools, to which they maintain it properly belongs. The Legislative Council and the Governor, are said to have behaved ill in the matter;—refusing to sanction the restoration of the property to the desired object, after having once admitted the justice of the claim. The Commons have, in consequence, exercised the full extent of their powers against both the other estates. They say the Legislative Council are too much under the influence of the British minister of the day, and form an intolerable check on their liberty. They therefore demand that this body should be made elective by the people like themselves; and they have entered into solemn resolutions to vote no more supplies till these demands are acceded to. In this way the Governor and the Judges have already been two years without salary. And their prospects of getting any are even diminished by the latest election. The question must therefore arise, Will the British Government dispense with a Governor,—or pay him themselves,—or give up the Canadian House of Lords to popular election,—or make war on Canada?

Mr. Shirreff is an admirer of the Government of the United States. A project of a law for diminishing a duty on salt, had been submitted by the State Legislature of New York to the people, with a view of obtaining a knowledge of their desires on the subject; and when the author returned to New York from his tour in the West, he had an opportunity of seeing votes taken on this subject by ballot. It is no part of the constitution, either of the United States or of the State of New York, that the legislature shall consult the public on each individual law before passing it. But about the law in question there was a peculiar delicacy, seeing the duty had been mortgaged to defray a particular State obligation, which might ultimately require to be paid from another fund; and they considered the matter as somewhat beyond the bounds of their commission, the affair having been arranged with third parties by their predecessors, and at the period of their election not deemed likely to be mooted.

The author throws a portion of merited ridicule on the author of '*Men and Manners in America*,—1st, for his vagaries on the inherent principle of destruction, which he pretends to

see in the system of popular government. 2ndly, for his imaginary 'society of workies' in New York, combined to prevent the education of the rich beyond the degree of knowledge of the common labourers, lest the last should be over-reached in the government. And 3rdly, for confounding political liberty and equality, with a necessity for indiscriminate social intercourse. That able writer has himself pointed out the existing safeguard to the American Constitution, — viz. that 'the great majority of the people are possessed of property, and have a stake 'in the hedge.' Can he not open his eyes to the extent of seeing, that the very nature and genius of their laws is to diffuse property, and that their freedom from the laws of primogeniture and entail, which do indeed require an Aristocratic Government to maintain them, is a provision for the continuance of the safeguard which he has pointed out ?

ART. V.—1. *A Discourse of Natural Theology, showing the Nature of the Evidence and the Advantages of the Study.* By Henry, Lord Brougham, F.R.S. &c.—Fourth Edition. Knight. 1835.

2. *Observations on Lord Brougham's Discourse of Natural Theology ; chiefly relating to his Lordship's Doctrine of the Immateriality of the Human Mind as proved by Psychological Phenomena, &c.* By Thomas Wallace LL.D., one of his Majesty's Counsel at Law in Ireland, &c., &c. Ridgway. 1835.

3. *Two Words on Lord Brougham's and Dr. Paley's Natural Theology.* By A. C. G. Jobert, Member of the Geological Society of France ; of the Society of Natural History of Paris ; of the Academy of Clermont Ferrand ; &c. Author of *Researches relative to the Fossil Mammifers, &c.* Late Editor of the *Geological Journal*.—E. Bull, Holles-street. 1835.

THIS Discourse of Natural Theology is a very important book for several reasons. The whole country is in a state of excitement on the question of Church property and influence, and whether its incorporation with the State is at all necessary to the true interests of either ; while the subject of the Discourse is in itself of serious weight, affecting our belief and conduct here and hopes of an hereafter. The public mind which has so long been almost exclusively absorbed in politics and the means of effecting practical reformations, is thus suddenly opened, and at a critical moment, to considerations which have hitherto been confined to a comparatively insulated class of abstruse thinkers ; while this class has never yet obtained any fair hearing with the public, but has uniformly been opposed by irrational bigotry, sectarianism, and self-interested zeal, alarming the imagination,

prejudices, and fears, till the slightest chance of logical discussion was utterly superseded; for the fierceness of intolerance will listen to no arguments, whether sound or futile, except such as chime in with its prejudicate opinions. The popular position of Lord Brougham has occasioned hundreds, perhaps thousands, to reflect for the first time on these subjects, and will occasion thousands more; and it is clear that his identification with the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and with the peripatetic Schoolmaster who is at home as well as 'abroad,' will exercise an influence over the heads of families, and consequently over a considerable portion of the 'rising generation.' From these circumstances the publication of this book at the present time is an event that is not unlikely to be of more serious importance, both ostensible and latent, than anything which the press has originated for many years.

Opinions about this book are divided and opposed. The majority of what is called the 'reading public,' seem to consider it an admirable and scientific production; subtle thinkers and close reasoners seem agreed in denying that it possesses any very high merit, either for originality of matter, or logical argumentation. Perhaps there is an intermediate class, among whom it is accounted a hasty assumption of dogmatic proof with regard to subjects beyond the range of the human faculties. The acute author of the 'Confessions of an English Opium Eater,' in a recent number of a popular periodical, has given it as his opinion that Paley as a philosopher, is a jest,—the disgrace of the age. If there be any truth in this verdict against the text-book of the Universities, then Lord Brougham's 'Discourse' can be of little value unless it supersedes by its superiority all the fancied advantages to be derived by the rising generation from reading those works of which it is put forth as an illustration. Whether a reprint of the able Abridgement of Tucker's *Light of Nature* would not have rendered the present 'Discourse,' together with the republication of Paley's works, unnecessary as far as the amount of knowledge is concerned—to say nothing of the *Bridgewater Treatises*,—might be a question in the minds of many.

That Lord Brougham is one of the first men of the time, is a tolerably general opinion; and the vulgar abuse with which his maligners of the adverse faction assail him, is at least a negative proof of his superiority. Those who are conscious of a deficiency in argument, usually supply its place by a redundancy of scurrility. Reason always wins in the end, but has little chance of finding its level until prejudice and party rancour are exhausted, or 'come round' as truth multiplies its adherents.

and advocates. It is generally admitted that had Lord Brougham concentrated his powers on any one of the sciences, he would probably have been the greatest of his time in that particular science, and his name would have gone down to posterity with those of Linnæus, Hunter, Herschel, Bentham, &c. But he has dispersed his intellect over so wide and diversified a field of law, politics, experimental science, general education, and now of theology,—that his admirers cannot but see that from the very fact of his having done so much in each, he might have done far more in any one. The originality, and the common-place, contained in the present volume; the acute and laborious reasoning, with the frequent feebleness and carelessness; here the elaborate crudition, and there the substitution of declaration for its absence; the satisfactory moral courage in one page, and the vexatious submission to conventional prejudice and ignorance in the next; are sufficient proofs of the foregoing remark.

The Introduction describes the arrangement of the subjects, and defines terms. Natural Theology is distinguished from Natural Religion. The term Theology is used to express the science of which Religion is the subject. Natural Theology is also limited to the knowledge and attributes of the deity; as contradistinguished from Natural Religion, which speculates concerning his will and our most sacred hopes and duties. The term moral, as applied to obligations, rights, duties, is used as synonymous with ethical, and contradistinguished from intellectual or mental. Again spiritual and mental are used in opposition to natural and material. The mental faculties are divided into intellectual and active. The term active expresses the powers of the passions and will; and is employed in opposition to the intellectual, or speculative and reasoning powers.

Thus the science of mind—say *Metaphysical science*—may be said to consist of two great branches, the one of which treats of existences, the other of duties. The one accordingly has been termed, with great accuracy, *Ontology*, speaking of that which *is*; the other, *Deontology*, speaking of that which *ought to be*. The former, however, comprehends properly all physical as well as mental science. The division which appears upon the whole most convenient is this: That *metaphysical science*, as contradistinguished from *physical*, is either *psychological*, which treats of the faculties both intellectual and active, but treats of existences only; or *moral*, which treats of rights and duties, and is distinguishable from psychological, though plainly connected with it nearly as corollaries are with the propositions from whence they flow. Then physical truths, in one respect, come under the same head with the first branch of metaphysical truths. Physical

as well as psychological science treats of existences, while moral science alone treats of duties.'

'According to a like arrangement, Natural Theology consists of two great branches, one resembling *Ontology*, the other analogous to *Deontology*. The former comprehends the discovery of the existence and attributes of a Creator, by investigating the evidences of design in the works of the creation, material as well as spiritual. The latter relates to the discovery of his will and probable intentions with regard to his creatures, their conduct, and their duty. The former resembles the physical and psychological sciences, and treats of the evidences of design, wisdom, and goodness exhibited both in the natural and spiritual worlds. The latter resembles rather the department of moral science, as distinguished from both physical and psychological.'—*Discourse* &c. p. 8.

It does not seem very appropriate, by any 'analogy' or 'resemblance' to apply the title of *Deontology*, or what 'ought to be,' to the will and intentions of the Deity with regard to his creatures. But this mode of expression is too common with theologians.

The chief originality of the present work consists in a systematic attempt to render Natural Theology a regular science 'the truths of which are discovered by induction, like the truths of Natural and Moral Philosophy.' It is an attempt worthy of the very vigorous and original mind of the versatile and indefatigable author; with what degree of success however, remains to be seen. The '*Discourse*' is not an exposition of the doctrines of Natural Theology; but 'explains the nature of the evidence upon which it rests,' and endeavours to prove it an inductive science. 'Secondly, the object of the *Discourse* is to explain the advantages attending the study. The work therefore is a Logical one.'

THE FIRST PART treats of the nature of the subject, and the kind of evidence upon which Natural Theology rests. It is divided into seven sections.

'The *first* is introductory, and treats of the kind of evidence by which the truths of Physical and Psychological science are investigated, and that shows there is as great an appearance of diversity between the manner in which we arrive at the knowledge of different truths in those inductive sciences, as there is between the nature of any such inductive investigation and the proofs of the ontological branches of Natural Theology. But that diversity is proved to be only apparent; and hence it is inferred, that the supposed difference of the proofs of Natural Theology may also be only apparent.'

'The *second* section continues the application of this argument to the Physical branch of Natural Theology, and shows further proofs that the first branch of Natural Theology is as much an inductive science as Physics or Natural Philosophy. The first section compared

the ontological branches of Natural Theology with all inductive science, physical as well as psychological. 'The second compares the physical branch of Natural Theology with physical science only.'—*Discourse &c.* p. 11.

These two sections are clearly and ably argued. The author observes that the merely contemplative pursuits *seem* divided into two classes; 'those with which we are conversant through the medium of the senses, and those with which we are made acquainted by reasoning only, or by the evidence of things unseen and unfelt.'

'To the one class of speculation belong the inquiries how matter and mind are framed, and how they act; to the other class belong the inquiries whence they proceed, and whither they tend. In a word, the structure and relations of the universe form the subject of the one branch of philosophy, and may be termed *Human Science*; the origin and destiny of the universe forms the subject of its other branch, and is termed *Divine Science*, or *Theology*.'

'It is not to be denied that this classification may be convenient; indeed, it rests upon some real foundation, for the speculations which compose these two branches have certain common differences and common resemblances. Yet it is equally certain, that nothing but an imperfect knowledge of the subject, or a superficial attention to it, can permit us to think that there is any well-defined boundary which separates the two kinds of philosophy; that the methods of investigation are different in each; and that the kind of evidence varies by which the truths of the one and of the other class are demonstrated. The error is far more extensive in its consequences than a mere inaccuracy of classification, for it materially impairs the force of the proofs upon which Natural Theology rests. The proposition which we would place in its stead is, 'That this science is strictly a branch of inductive philosophy, formed and supported by the same kind of reasoning upon which the Physical and Psychological sciences are founded. This important point will be established by a fuller explanation; and we shall best set about this task by shewing, in the first place, that the same apparent diversity of evidence exists in the different subjects or departments of the branch which we have termed Human science. It seems to exist there on a superficial examination: if a closer scrutiny puts that appearance to flight, the inference is legitimate, that there may be no better ground for admitting an essential difference between the foundations of Human Science and Divine.'—*Discourse &c.* p. 18.

The author shows that by placing Natural Theology among those studies which are conversant only with things unseen and unfelt, the force of the proofs on which it rests is impaired. All our knowledge comes originally through the medium of the senses, and he argues that the same fallacies may be assumed with reference to Natural and Mental Philosophy, as to Natural

Theology; and that they are equally dependent on inductive reasoning. We can only reason of things unseen and unfelt, by reference to things we have seen and felt. The author does not expressly say this; but it is a logical inference. The following is a good illustration of part of his previous argument.—

So we are acquainted with the effects of heat; we know that it extends the dimensions of whatever matter it penetrates; we feel its effects upon our own nerves when subjected to its operation; and we see its effects in augmenting, liquefying, and decomposing other bodies; but its existence as a separate substance we do not know, except by reasoning and analogy. Again, to which of the two classes must we refer the air? Its existence is not made known by the sight, the smell, the taste; but is it by the touch? Assuredly a stream of it blown upon the nerves of touch produces a certain effect; but to infer from thence the existence of a rare, light, invisible, and impalpable fluid, is clearly an operation of reasoning, as much as that which enables us to infer the existence of light or heat from their perceptible effects. But furthermore, we are accustomed to speak of seeing motion; and the reasoner whom we are supposing would certainly class the phenomena of mechanics, and possibly of dynamics generally, including astronomy, under his first head, of things known immediately by the senses. Yet assuredly nothing can be more certain than that the knowledge of motion is a deduction of reasoning, not a perception of sense; it is derived from the comparison of two positions; the idea of a change of place is the result of that comparison attained by a short process of reasoning; and the estimate of velocity is the result of another process of reasoning and of recollection.—*Discourse &c.* p. 21.

We see a body moved, and hence the existence of a principle is inferred. Comparison of position or change of place, could not be made or perceived except through material agency. Motion means that something is moved; and farther than this nobody can possibly know anything of what it is *essentially*. A discussion of this latter question would lead to labyrinthine and fruitless Cartesian inquiries into the essential nature of space, extension, substance, &c. of which Locke and most other philosophers very wisely confess their ignorance; and thence into the subtleties of Aristotle and Zeno, concerning the *vacuum* and the *plenum*, and the divisibility or indivisibility *in infinitum* of the particles of space and time, tending on the part of the latter to a negation of the existence of motion altogether; unless the argument be cut short by agreeing with Bishop Berkeley, that 'great and small, swift and slow, exist no where without the mind, being entirely relative, and changing as the frame or position of the organs of sense varies. The extension therefore which exists without the mind, is neither great nor small, the motion neither

swift nor slow; that is, they are nothing at all.' [Principles of Human Knowledge, sec. xi.] It is evident how much these elaborate disquisitions concerning that which appears a simple physical fact, tend to strengthen his Lordship's argument as to the difficulties that surround even the physical or experimental sciences.

‘Thus, then, there is at once excluded from the first class almost the whole range of natural philosophy. But are we quite sure that anything remains which when severely examined will stand the test? Let us attend a little more closely to the things which we have passed over hastily, as if admitting that they belonged to the first class.’

‘It is said that we do not see light, and we certainly can know its existence directly by no other sense but that of sight, but that we see objects variously illuminated, and therefore that the existence of light is an inference of reason, and the diversity of colour an object of sense. But the very idea of diversity implies reasoning, for it is the result of a comparison, and when we affirm that white light is composed of the seven primary colours in certain proportions, we state a proposition which is the result of much reasoning—reasoning, it is true, founded upon sensations or impressions upon the senses; but not less founded upon such sensations is the reasoning which makes us believe in the existence of a body called light. The same may be said of heat and the phenomena of heated bodies. The existence of heat is an inference from certain phenomena, that is, certain effects produced on our external senses by certain bodies, or certain changes which those senses undergo in the neighbourhood of those bodies; but it is not more an inference of reason than the proposition that heat extends or liquefies bodies, for that is merely a conclusion drawn from comparing our sensations occasioned by the external objects placed in varying circumstances.’

‘But can we say that there is no process of reasoning even in the simplest case which we have supposed our reasoner to put—the existence of the three kingdoms, of nature, of the heavenly bodies, of the mind? It is certain that there is in every one of these cases a process of reasoning. A certain sensation is created in the mind through the sense of vision; it is an inference of reason that this must have been excited by something, or must have had a cause. That the cause must have been external, may possibly be allowed to be another inference which reason could make unaided by the evidence of any other sense. But to discover that the cause was at any the least distance from the organ of vision, clearly required a new process of reasoning, considerable experience, and the indications of other senses; for the young man whom Mr. Cheselden couched for a cataract at first believed that every thing he saw touched his eye. Experience and reasoning, therefore, are required to teach us the existence of external objects; and all that relates to their relations of size, colour, motion, habits, in a word, the whole philosophy of them, must of course be the result of still longer and

more complicated processes of reasoning. So of the existence of the mind : although undoubtedly the process of reasoning is here the shortest of all, and the least liable to deception, yet so connected are all its phenomena with those of the body, that it requires a process of abstraction alien from the ordinary habits of most men, to be persuaded that we have a more undeniable evidence of its separate existence than we even have of the separate existence of the body.—*Discourse &c.* p. 23.

The concluding sentences are sufficiently Berkeleyan ; but it is difficult to give an unqualified admission to the 'separate existence' of that principle 'all of whose phenomena are connected with the body.' The author terminates this first section by iterating the position, that 'there is no real foundation for the distinction' hitherto made by those whom his Lordship designates as 'superficial reasoners' and 'imperfect logicians,' between 'the different objects of scientific investigation ;' and that the evidence in all cases 'is of the same kind, namely, the inferences drawn by reasoning from sensations or ideas, originally presented by the external senses, or by our inward consciousness.' Hence, Natural Theology is to be considered as one of the inductive sciences.

The Second Section, which compares the physical branch of Natural Theology with Physics, and tends to the same purpose as the foregoing, contains numerous instances of that style of language whereby theologians are so apt to lower our ideas of the Deity by associating divine attributes and emanations with human faculties and labours. The eye being an achromatic instrument, and the discoveries of Newton having taught the laws of optics and the different refrangibility of rays, these truths were 'found to have been acted upon, and consequently known by the being who created the eye.' But it was 'reserved for Mr. Dollond to discover another law of nature—the different dispersive powers of different substances,'—and it was then 'observed that this truth also must have been known to the maker of the eye, for upon its basis is that instrument framed *far more perfect than the achromatic glass of Dollond.*' Now, with all respect for Newton and Dollond, does not this mode of comparison savour too much of a *triumvirate*? Again, 'That beautiful instrument, so *artistly* contrived that the most ingenious workman could not imagine an improvement of it.' p. 29. The Deity is also said to possess a 'hand skilful in mechanism, and acting under a knowledge of dynamics ;' and to be 'thoroughly acquainted with the laws of hydrostatics, as well as perfectly skilful in workmanship.'

It is much to be doubted whether the feelings are inspired with elevated impressions of supreme power and beneficence, in proportion as theologians are pleased to be complimentary. Let it be admitted however, that his Lordship exposes himself to less reprehension on this score, than many writers that might be named. His observations on the structure of the Planetary System are free from these objections, and characterized by that simplicity which in such subjects carries with it an inherent grandeur.

'The influence of gravitation, which is inseparably connected with all matter as far as we know, extends over the whole of this system; so that all those bodies which move round the sun—twenty-three planets including their satellites, and six or seven comets—are continually acted upon each by two kinds of force,—the original projection which sends them forward, and is accompanied with a similar and probably a coeval rotatory motion in some of them round their axis, and the attraction of each towards every other body, which attraction produces three several effects—consolidating the mass of each, and, in conjunction with the rotatory motion, moulding their forms—retaining each planet in its orbit round the sun, and each satellite in its orbit round the planet—altering or disturbing what would be the motion of each round the sun if there were no other bodies in the system to attract and disturb. Now it is demonstrated by the strictest process of mathematical reasoning, that the result of the whole of these mutual actions, proceeding from the universal influence of gravitation, must necessarily, in consequence of the peculiar arrangement which has been described of the orbits and masses, and in consequence of the law by which gravitation acts, produce a constant alteration in the orbit of each body, which alteration goes on for thousands of years, very slowly making that orbit bulge, as it were, until it reaches a certain shape, when the alteration begins to take the opposite direction, and for an equal number of years goes on constantly, as it were, flattening the orbit, till it reaches a certain shape, when it stops, and then the bulging again begins; and that this alternate change of bulging and flattening must go on for ever by the same law, without ever exceeding on either side a certain point. All changes in the system are thus periodical, and its perpetual stability is completely secured. . . . The reasoning upon this subject, I have observed, is purely mathematical; but the facts respecting the system on which all the reasoning rests are known to us by induction alone: consequently the grand truth respecting the secular disturbance, or the periodicity of the changes in the system—that discovery which makes the glory of Lagrange and Laplace, and constitutes the triumph of the Integral Calculus, whereof it is the fruit, and of the most patient course of astronomical observation whereon the analysis is grounded—may

most justly be classed as a truth both of the Mixed Mathematics and of Natural Theology—for the theologian only adds a single short link to the chain of the physical astronomer's demonstration, in order to reach the great Artificer from the phenomena of his system.'—*Discourse* &c. pp. 39—42.

There is a fine passage in this section, illustrative of the means of investigation possessed by those who are learned in comparative anatomy. The process by which a few bones, or a decayed bone found in a forest or a cave, may be gradually traced by close inspection of the shape, extremities, texture, and other circumstances, to the animal of whom it once formed a part, is ably described. The following passage displays considerable graphic, though somewhat grotesque power.—

'In these curious inquiries, we are conversant not merely with the world before the flood, but with a world which, before the flood, was covered with water, and which, in far earlier ages, had been the habitation of birds, and beasts, and reptiles. We are carried, as it were, several worlds back, and we reach a period when all was water, and slime, and mud, and the waste, without either man or plants, gave resting place to enormous beasts like lions and elephants and river-horses, while the water was tenanted by lizards, the size of a whale, sixty or seventy feet long, and by others with huge eyes having shields of solid bone to protect them, and glaring from a neck ten feet in length, and the air was darkened by flying reptiles covered with scales, opening the jaws of the crocodile, and expanding wings, armed at the tips with the claws of the leopard.'—*Discourse* &c. p. 47.

The Third Section compares the psychological branch of Natural Theology with Psychology, and argues very ably in some respects, the truth of the former from observation of the nature and faculties of the human mind, and from the reason as well as instinct of animals.

The noble author very properly informs the public, that Paley's work 'is chiefly taken from the writings of Derham, deriving from them its *whole plan* and much of its substance, but clothing the harsher statements of his original in an attractive and popular style.' He tautologically adds in a note, that 'this observation in no wise diminishes the peculiar merit of the style.' Now, why should not Lord Brougham have told the world in plain language, that Paley was a wholesale plagiarist. In his *Natural Theology* he has not once so much as mentioned Derham's *Physico-Theology*, nor even its author's name. In the preface to his *Moral Philosophy*, Paley himself says, 'I have scarcely ever referred to any other book, or mentioned the name of the author whose thoughts, and sometimes, possibly, whose very expressions I have adopted.' This is an honest admission certainly, and a cool

one. After which he says in the same page, 'I make no pretensions to *perfect* originality.' Surely this modest admission was not quite necessary; but he adds 'I claim to be something more than a mere compiler.' That something is easily awarded. If from Paley's very popular works, all his palpable obligations to Derham's Physico-Theology, Tucker's Light of Nature, and a mass of other authors (Tucker being the only one he has nominally acknowledged) were abstracted, there would remain nothing of the popular Paley, but clever adaptation and a clear style.

There are several instances in this 'Discourse,' of style that is loose, careless, and illogical. Thus, 'The influence of habit upon the exercise of all our faculties is valuable beyond expression.' That depends on the value of the habit. 'Curiosity is proportioned to the novelty of objects, and consequently to our ignorance.' It is rather proportioned to the degree to which such novel objects excite the imagination. Curiosity is also said to be 'more powerful in proportion to the ignorance in which we are.' This is a *non sequitur*; for if a clown knows nothing of astronomy, it is most probable he has no curiosity to know. 'It is undeniable that *all* this [the desire of communicating as well as acquiring knowledge], might have been differently arranged without a material alteration of our intellectual and moral constitution in other respects.' It is anything but undeniable, or at all events there are good reasons for doubting, whether *any* arrangement made by the Deity could possibly be different, without a *very* material alteration the ramification of which might extend through the whole system of moral or physical nature. In a brief and meagre account of the passions and feelings, it is merely said of *love* that it 'tends to the continuation of the species.' The *affections* are also treated in the same circumscribed manner, as merely tending 'to the rearing of the young.' This is reasoning on the principle of Wombwell; it is the philosophy of the menagerie. *Sympathy* is 'excited by distress and by weakness,' and nothing more is said of sympathy, as if distress and weakness were its only legitimate subjects. '*Fear* is the teacher of caution, prudence, circumspection, and preserves us from danger.' It very often gets men *into* danger, by causing them to stand still where they ought to be alert, or to retreat when they ought to advance. 'Such is the process of reasoning by which we infer the existence of design in the natural and moral world.'

The Fourth Section examines the value of the *argumentum à priori*, and shows that it is sufficient for the purpose to which it is applied, being of limited extent, and that even in this extent it is not essentially distinguishable from induction, or the *argumentum à posteriori*.

Dr. Clarke endeavours to show that 'the existence of space and time (or as he terms it, duration) proves, the existence of something whereof these are qualities, for they are not themselves substances,' and 'cites the celebrated *Scholium Generale* of the *Principia*,' concluding 'that the Deity must be the infinite Being of whom these are qualities.' Lord Brougham refutes this by arguments that may lead a disciple of the Berkeleyan philosophy to conjecture that his Lordship entertains a similar theory.

'But to argue from the existence of space and time to the existence of anything else, is assuming that those two things have a real being independent of our conceptions of them: for the existence of certain ideas in our minds cannot be the foundation on which to build a conclusion that anything external to our minds exists. To infer that space and time are qualities of an infinite and eternal being is surely assuming the very thing to be proved, if a proposition can be said to have a distinct meaning at all which predicates space and time as qualities of anything.'

'Again, if space is to be deemed a quality, and if infinite space be the quality of an infinite being, finite space must also be a quality, and must, by parity of reason, be the quality of a finite being. Of what being? Here is a cube of one foot within an exhausted receiver, or a cylinder of half an inch diameter and three inches high in the Torricellian vacuum. What is the being of whom that square and that cylindrical space are to be deemed as qualities?'—*Discourse &c.* p. 84.

The author proceeds to argue, that 'if infinite space is the quality of an infinite being, infinite distance must be the quality of an infinite being also.' It is very much to be doubted whether any distinct ideas can be formed of either, and whether his Lordship (p. 80) is not labouring under a degree of hallucination in supposing, the latter especially, so easily to be conceived by generalization and abstraction. In attempting to understand infinite distance, *i. e.* an interminable right line from a fixed point, the mind only reiterates the same idea, after a few efforts, and without any sense of belief in the immense progress intended. As to infinite space and duration, Locke considers it absurd for anybody to suppose he has any positive ideas of them. In short, it is impossible for any one to have any clear conception of space, except as fixed extension or progressive distance; and in the latter, the mind will soon be thrown back upon itself with unavailing reiterations of the same confusing recommencement.

On arriving at the Fifth Section it becomes necessary to take some notice of a very thankless subject, the controversies about which have occupied philosophers as well as

sophists in almost every age, and without any advantage to human nature, or even to science, except that of having discovered the impossibility of arriving at any positive knowledge. But even this negative advantage is now snatched away, by a dogmatic assumption of proof from a high quarter, after the 'good old orthodox style,' which is likely to lead to much discussion. Perhaps Lord Brougham conjectured that the long silence which has been maintained on the question of the materiality or immateriality of the human mind, amounted to 'giving consent' to the latter doctrine. The appearance of Dr. Wallace's *Observations* must ere this have convinced his Lordship that such is not the case. This section, however, contains various anecdotes and speculations which will be found very curious and amusing. The motive of Dr. Wallace is laudable,—that of stopping a useless controversy; and as he is a master of the subject and an acute logician, a summary of the respective arguments may be interesting.

Dr. Wallace commences with a few words in explanation of his object,—

'The following *Observations* are written by one who, firmly believing in the Immortality of the Soul, acknowledges his ignorance whether that soul be material or immaterial. It is also his firm conviction, that certain knowledge on that subject is neither attainable by man in his present state of existence, nor necessary for the government of his concerns, either as they respect this world or the next.'

'The very recent publication of Lord Brougham's work on Natural Theology, however, not only expresses his decided opinion that the mind is in its essence immaterial, but professes to *prove* that it is so, and that its immateriality is essential to its existence in a future state. Being persuaded that the revival of that disputed question is, in many ways, injurious, and that the immateriality of the soul is neither proved by his Lordship, nor proveable, the writer offers these observations to recommend a suspended opinion, where certainty is unattainable.'—*Observations* &c. p. iii.

The '*Observations*' open with an elegant and no less just comparison between Lord Brougham and Necker, who when 'dismissed from the councils of his *unfortunate* sovereign' did not yield either 'to chagrin or indolence, but applied his leisure, his learning, and his talents, to a work which has raised him as a man, a philosopher, and a Christian, much higher than he could ever have ranked as a statesman, had he remained in the high office to which his private virtues had called him.' A great statesman must be a philosopher, and yet it is questionable whether Lord Brougham is not greater as the former than the latter. Dr. Wallace then proceeds with an eulogy, at once handsome and appropriate.

'It is delightful to witness in our own times, a still more striking example of this kind—a nobleman of the highest order of intellect—of the most extensive and varied acquirements in every branch of human learning, after having passed youth in the discharge of the most arduous duties of a laborious profession, to which were early added those of a political writer, an assiduous and unwearied legislator, and finally, those of one of the highest and certainly one of the most arduous offices in the state—it is, I say, truly delightful to see such a man, when delivered from, or escaping the weight of official labours, resuming with renovated energy the philosophical pursuits of his earlier studious life. Such a man is Lord Brougham; who now gives to the world, as the first-fruits of his resumed liberty, a *Discourse on Natural Theology*.—*Observations* &c. p. 3.

Dr. Wallace now objects, that the noble author states his intention at the commencement of his work 'of entering at large into the subject of the soul's immortality,' and that 'the reader almost immediately afterwards find this to mean the *immateriality* of the soul.' Dr. Wallace laments this identification, as unphilosophical, unnecessary, and indeed irrelevant to our belief of a life hereafter. He considers it as matter of deep regret, that one of the greatest men of the time, however good his intention might be, should 'step aside from the direct path, and endeavour to narrow our hope and darken our prospect of future existence,' and while labouring to elucidate, should in fact embarrass our faith, 'by teaching us that the possibility of a future life depends on the contingency of an abstruse and metaphysical question being decided one way, namely that the substance of the human mind is immaterial.' The objector is so far right, for his Lordship most unequivocally asserts that 'The Immateriality of the Soul is the foundation of all the doctrines relating to its Future State. If it consists of material parts, or if it consists of any modification of matter, or if it is inseparably connected with any combination of material elements, we have no reason whatever for believing that it can survive the existence of the physical part of our frame; on the contrary, its destruction seems to follow as a necessary consequence of the dissolution of the body.'—*Discourse* &c. p. 100.

Now according to the position his Lordship has taken up in so positive a manner, resolutely cutting off all retreat for himself, and almost all salvation for the opposite party, he was bound to *prove* that if the soul or mind be material, its destruction is a necessary consequence of the dissolution of the body. To say merely that it *seems*, is not sufficient.

'May it not, however, be permitted to free and friendly criticism, to inquire whether, even in this work, as far as it has gone, that

has been done which might reasonably be expected, and in the manner least dangerous to sound philosophy and rational religion? Can it be attributed to invidious feeling—to critical malignity—or a want of due zeal for the success of such a literary or scientific labour, if a perfectly private individual neither having nor pretending to a scientific or literary character, and who has certainly outlived the ambition to acquire, even if it were within his power to attain one, shall venture to say, that some things have found their way into this volume which a friend to its object would not wish to meet there—some things which unnecessarily lead to the evil that appears to have been apprehended when this work was contemplated—“*Religious Controversy*,”—and things, I will add, which might well have been avoided—because in no degree necessary to the purpose which the Noble Writer and philosophical statesman professed to have in view.”—*Observations* &c. p. 9.

Dr. Wallace argues that as writers on Natural Theology have hitherto considered ‘the essence of the human mind’ as not being ‘within the limit of their proper province,’ the comparative silence on this ‘high theme’ was rather a merit, than a ‘defect’ as declared by his Lordship. But

‘—his Lordship thinking otherwise, now introduces into a work, having for its professed object to give its proper place to Natural Theology among the sciences, this most difficult, perplexing, and to a Christian Public, most useless topic—the Immateriality of the Soul!—*useless*, inasmuch as whether the soul be material or immaterial, the Christian Creed inculcates that, not only the human mind but the human body, are destined to immortal existence.’

‘Surely it could not be necessary in arranging Natural Theology in its proper place among the sciences, to introduce for *discussion and decision* a metaphysical dogma like this; though it might, possibly, have been permissible, to enumerate among the subjects which fall within the range of that science whatever *established truths* may exist connected with the nature of the soul, and which might furnish matter for *inductive reasoning* to extend or give stability to science itself—What beneficial purpose could be answered by introducing into such a work a disputed and most disputable question, and which *because* it is disputed, and while it shall continue so, can furnish no inductive matter either for proof or illustration? Did it not occur to the noble Lord that the writers on Natural Theology who had preceded him, and, as he admits, omitted to discuss or entertain this metaphysical and vexatious doctrine, did so with design, and because they were of opinion that it was neither necessary nor useful to introduce *doubtful* doctrines, in the hope of extending *certain* knowledge—and that therefore the negative precedent was one which ought to be followed? And is it not strange, too, that it should escape his observation, that, *possibly*, the introduction of a doctrine teaching us that if the human soul be material or connected with any modification of matter, that soul *must die with the body*, *whatever revelation might teach to the contrary*, might, as far as the influence

of his argument and doctrine went, tend to weaken and contradict that revelation?'—*Observations &c.* p. 16.

Dr. Wallace also finds good grounds to object, that if in a popular treatise professing to place Natural Theology among the sciences, it shall be found that a disputable and unproved position is made 'one of the principal supports of the science,' its rank as a science is by no means likely to be raised. Induction, he contends, should 'be carried on upon the safe ground of experience,—reasoning from things actually and positively known, to what is sought, being unknown,—and above all by the abstaining from reliance upon opinions instead of proved facts.' In treating Natural Theology as a science, the inquirer is apt to be 'not only trammelled by the opinions and the interest of the religious, or other party to which he belongs, and from which he feels, at all times, the strongest inclination and the most important interests pressing him to avoid separation or dissent—but he finds, too, that everything connected with the research after truth on subjects of that class, is, from its nature, remote from the possibility of conclusive experiment.' It has been the same with those who preceded him. Hence, Natural Theology is far from presenting the same facilities for induction, and probabilities of unbiassed conclusions, as the other sciences.

The following extract from a note that occurs in the pages of these 'Observations,' is characterized by acute reasoning and manly sense and feeling.

'Now, it is a curious inquiry, how among Christian Philosophers and Christian Teachers, Matter should have ever fallen so low in estimation as to be thought unworthy of any thing like *identity*, or even *inseparable companionship* with the soul; for certainly belief in the doctrine of the "*Resurrection of the body and its life everlasting* with the soul in the future state," is inconsistent with such a disparaging opinion of matter. ... But if a *material* body shall actually be raised, and made an immortal participator with the soul in a future eternal life, it must follow that *ipso facto* matter would be proved to be in no degree inconsistent with any of the higher, indeed the highest qualities of spirit or mind,—yet strange to say, it is in that body of men who so believe and so teach, that we find those who most violently impugn the doctrine of matter being susceptible of the qualities and powers which they attribute to the immaterial mind only: and it is among them that we find the metaphysical dogma producing the greatest quantity of evil, mixed up as it is with, if not producing, theological hatred and discord. Will it not be for the peace of the religious world if the day shall arrive when the minds of men shall be neutralised, and led to hold at least a suspended opinion on a question on which error can produce no mischief, whatever may be the truth? For surely the interests of religion or virtue are in no way endangered by a suspended judgment, or by ignorance on the

point, as at whatever side truth may be, those interests are effectually secured by the belief (which always remains unaffected by the materiality or immateriality of the soul) that there will be a full recompense in a future life for all that has been done well or ill in this.—*Observations &c.* Note, p. 28.

Dr. Wallace now proceeds to combat at some length the various positions concerning the essence of the mind or soul, as assumed to be proved in the Discourse. Notwithstanding his very courteous bearing, he is a truly formidable antagonist, and his Lordship will find it no easy task to answer his objections. A few only of the respective arguments can be given.—

‘The proof of the *mind’s separate existence* is at the least, as short, plain, and direct, as that of the body, or of external objects.’—*Discourse &c.* p. 20.

‘The evidence for the existence of mind is to the full as complete as that upon which we believe in the existence of matter—indeed it is more certain and more irrefragable—the *consciousness of existence*—the *perpetual sense that we are thinking*—and that we are performing the operation quite independent of all material objects PROVES to us the EXISTENCE of a Being different from our bodies.’—p. 56.

‘The first of these statements announces the *separate*, i. e. *independent and distinct existence of immaterial mind*. The second states, not merely the proposition to be proved, but the alleged proof of it—viz. *consciousness*, or, the *perpetual feeling* we have that we are *thinking quite independent of matter*—which, it is said, proves the existence of a *mind, different from our bodies*—that is, *immaterial*; and in the way of comment on the nature of this proof, it is alleged, that it affords evidence higher than any we can have for the existence of *body itself*, or of a *material world*.’—*Observations &c.*, p. 36.

After remarking that the word mind is used in both the foregoing propositions without any strict definition of the sense in which it is to be understood, and that this discrepancy, as to the different meanings intended, frequently occurs in the Discourse, Dr. Wallace thus proceeds.

‘Let this inaccuracy however pass; and let the word be taken in what appears from the context to have been his Lordship’s meaning, namely—‘That *mind* means the thinking power and that *that* is an *immaterial being*,’ then the result is, that the Noble Writer has palpably begged the question—for what is his proffered proof? *Consciousness of thinking*; but consciousness of thinking, proves nothing as to the mind’s being *material or immaterial*; for in either case we should be conscious of the act of thinking, and though we are thus conscious of thinking, it does not follow that the *thinking thing* is *matter or immaterial*. Consciousness of thinking proves that thought exists, and that something which is the *cause* of thinking exists, but it proves nothing as to *what* the thinking thing is.’—*Observations &c.* p. 39.

His Lordship also asserts that in consciousness of thinking we are performing the operation of thinking independently of all material objects ; and the objector very shrewdly asks,—

‘ Must it not depend on the opinion we had previously formed as to the nature and source of thought, whether our consciousness of thinking be an operation performed quite *independently of all material objects*? or, whether the consciousness, which is thought, must not depend on the material organ? If we think that consciousness and thought is the result of bodily organization, we will be of opinion that it depends *entirely upon material objects*. If the consciousness we have be of the enjoyment of a purely sensual pleasure, there cannot be a question that material objects have been the cause, and most probably the exclusive objects of our thought, and our consciousness can in no sense be *without any dependence on material objects*.’

‘ Hence, nothing can be more obvious, than that his Lordship's reasoning, or his language at least, on this subject, is not only loose, but perfectly inconclusive. See what the question is ;—it is, whether there be any evidence of the existence of mind distinct from, independent of, and capable of a separate existence from, matter. His Lordship says, *consciousness of existence proves it* ; ask him *how* it proves the fact?—there is no answer—and then the reasoning comes shortly to this—“ Consciousness of thinking is an act of thought ; thought is an act of the mind ; therefore it proves the existence of mind ; but *mind* (assumes his Lordship), thinks quite independently of all material objects, therefore *there exists a being different from our bodies*.’ There is not a shadow of proof in this apparent reasoning.’—*Observations &c.* p. 41.

The Discourse alludes to ‘ instances in which the perception of matter derived through the senses, are deceitful, and seem to indicate that which has no existence at all.’ Dr. Wallace argues that ‘ sensation is perception,’ because there can be no sensation without mental perception ; and that ‘ perception is consciousness,’ because there can be no perception ‘ without a consciousness exactly corresponding to it.’ Hence, his Lordship's argument from consciousness is invalidated on his own showing. But does not Doctor Wallace here confound a process of abstract thought, with the actual phenomena of the external senses? However the former may be originally indebted to the latter, or dependent on it, their respective phenomena are certainly different.

Dr. Wallace (page 45) says, that it would be very gratifying if the noble and learned writer would favour him with ‘ something like a definition’ of what mind is, instead of describing it either by the negation ‘ it is not material,’ or by ‘ its powers, functions, attributes,’ &c. because ‘ that which is not the essence but the act,’ can only occasion ‘ fruitless controversy,’ being referred by some to organization, by others to a spiritual substance.

The nature of instinct is next discussed, and it must be confessed that his Lordship has got himself into very great difficulty. He says (page 73) that the instincts of animals 'are unquestionably mental faculties, which we discover by observation and consciousness, but which are themselves wholly unconnected with any exercise of reason.' Upon this passage, as might be expected, Doctor Wallace pounces like a hawk. He argues that 'mental' must of course mean 'belonging to mind;' therefore if mind be immaterial, instinct must be so too. Or does his Lordship mean that the brute has a different species of mind from the immaterial mind of man; and if so, what is the difference between their respective essences? Again, as 'we discover these instincts in ourselves by consciousness,' which he says proves to us the existence of mind, 'a being different from our bodies, i. e. immaterial,' how can such instincts or mental faculties be 'wholly unconnected with reason?'

The only fundamental difference that can be found to exist between the mind of man and that of other animals, or between the human intellect and instinct, is that the latter, however wonderful its effects, includes no faculty of abstract reason or imagination. Instinct always has a personal and practical tendency. There is no Utopia among a colony of beavers; not a single visionary among a swarm of bees. They are all practical, and not speculative philosophers.

Nor is the noble author very consistent, however dogmatical. For in the next page he says, 'allowing that the brutes exercise but very rarely, and in a limited extent, the reasoning powers, it seems impossible to distinguish from the operations of reason those instances of sagacity which some dogs exhibit.' He also mentions the ingenuity of birds, adding that 'these are different from the operations of instinct, because they are acts which vary with circumstances novel and unexpectedly varying.' The workmanship of bees (page 76), the mathematical precision of which, it required the solution of the problem of *maxima* and *minima* by Maclaurin, and the discovery of the *fluxional calculus* by Newton, rightly to estimate, although the bees had continued to work for thousands of years in strict accordance with such rules, is peculiarly at variance with his Lordship's argument. It might be shown from his statement concerning them, that bees have a positive claim to mind, or reasoning power—therefore an immaterial mind—therefore immortality. The conclusion is unavoidable. Or will his Lordship fall back upon the 'limited extent' of mind or reasoning powers? It must then be questioned how there can be a limited extent of immateriality? How a limited degree of immortality or diuturnity? Nay, is not his

statement about the bees precisely the same kind of argument he used with reference to the Deity's having 'acted under a knowledge of hydrostatics, dynamics,' and being 'perfectly skilful in workmanship?' Surely this ought to be a warning to future theologians in their temerarious disquisitions concerning the Divine attributes.

His Lordship says, 'the existence and action of matter, vary it how we will, cannot account for the phenomena of mind;' and Dr. Wallace answers,—

'This, I presume, must mean that a material mind cannot account for those phenomena. But can the mind of man, whether material or immaterial, do so; and if not, if the immaterial mind cannot account for those phenomena, there is no weight in the objection; it is retorted. If it can do so, there is still no weight in the objection—unless it be assumed that the mind is immaterial.'—*Observations &c.* p. 81.

The reply is not quite fair. What his Lordship meant, was, that no experiment can make it understood, and no imagination enable it to be conceived, how matter could produce the phenomena of mind. In the latter part of the dilemma to which Dr. Wallace reduces the question, he tauntingly admits the immateriality of the mind, and then calls his own gratuitous admission an assumption.

In arguing the essential difference of mind and body from the fact of the former remaining fundamentally the same while the latter is in a state of perpetual change, so that 'probably no person at the age of twenty has one single particle in any part of his body which he had at ten,' his Lordship says of the mind, that

'The developement of the bodily powers appears to affect it, and so does their decay; but we rather ought to say, that, in ordinary cases, its improvement is contemporaneous with the growth of the body, and its decline generally is contemporaneous with that of the body, after an advanced period of life. For it is an undoubted fact, and almost universally true, that the mind, before extreme old age, becomes more sound, and is capable of greater things, during nearly thirty years of diminished bodily powers; that, in most cases, it suffers no abatement of strength during ten years more of bodily decline; that, in many cases, a few years more of bodily decrepitude produce no effect upon the mind; and that, in some instances, its faculties remain bright to the last, surviving the almost total extinction of the corporeal endowments.'—*Discourse &c.* p. 119.

Doubtless, this is occasionally the fact; but do not the foregoing passages partly contradict one another? Moreover, a greater practical authority thinks differently on this subject. Dr. Southwood Smith says, 'the higher faculties fail in the reverse order of their developement; the retrogression is the inverse of the

progression. In the descending series, the animal life fails before the organic, and its nobler powers decay sooner and more rapidly than the subordinate. First of all, the impressions which the organs of sense convey to the brain become less numerous and distinct, and consequently the material on which the mind operates is less abundant and perfect; but at the same time, the power of working vigorously with the material it possesses, more than proportionately diminishes. Memory fails; analogous phenomena are less readily, and less completely recalled by the presence of those which should suggest the train; the connecting links are dimly seen or wholly lost.'—*Philosophy of Health*, vol. i. p. 68.

In the following passage, does not Dr. Wallace appeal to thoughtlessness under the semblance of that very equivocal personage denominated common-sense?

'Let any man, not a metaphysician, one ignorant of the dispute connected with the *immateriality* and separate existence of the mind, be asked for his *consciousness* respecting mind, it will be found that he has not the most remote notion, opinion, or *consciousness* that he consists of *two* parts, mind and body, and that when he uses the pronoun *I*, as referable to himself, he considers and thinks of himself as one and *indivisible*—the *concrete* person, composed of body and mind, making together an individual thing. He understands nothing of the supposed dominion of *his* mind over *his* body, that the one is master, the other slave—that when he speaks of self, and uses "he" or "I," he feels, means, or intends his *mind* only; or that when he walks he conceives that his feet are obeying orders only; that the command is given by a thing called *mind*, separate and independent of body, and that the *feet* only comply as in duty bound. The notion of a *consciousness* ascertaining or recognizing a diversity between mind and body, is assuredly known, if it does really exist at all, in those *minds* which are, perhaps *unconsciously*, swayed by opinions which they have been taught, or have formed upon argument, whether well or ill-founded.'—*Observations* &c. p. 104.

After this, the objector, in his anxiety to refute, attacks *consciousness*, and refutes rather too much; or at all events, gets himself into dangerous ground by his speculations on what he terms *false* consciousness. An equally tough and uninstructional argument might here be raised, as to how far any one—whether sane or otherwise—*could* have a false consciousness of anything of which he really *was* conscious. Might it not rather be a false notion of identity? Dr. Wallace, probably from haste, has confounded the two things. Mental identity depends on consciousness, but the latter may exist as a truth to itself, independently of any continued personal identity.

Dr. Wallace next proceeds to the examination of his Lord

ship's dreams, and-forgets his usual courtesy in the unmerciful havock he makes with them.

'With respect to the particular classes of dreams mentioned by his Lordship, two or three observations occur which tend to render it in the highest degree doubtful that they can ever be of use as facts for scientific induction,—at least as at present collected and acted upon. In the first place, the statement of all dreams must rest on the fidelity and correctness of the individual relator. His Lordship indeed says, that in the dreams which he refers to, the *facts* are numerous,—of *undeniable certainty*, and of daily occurrence. Now I doubt extremely whether were a man to devote himself to the search for *authentic dreams* of any class or description, he could find any single dream so recorded as that it could fairly be said to be of *undeniable certainty* and *exactness*,—or so as to be rightly fitted for scientific induction. He also seems inclined to believe, that *experiments* may be made in dreaming, and that we may have such a collection of them as shall afford precedents or proofs for after times.'—*Observations &c.* p. 112.

Another difficulty with regard to the value of the knowledge to be derived from dreams, is, that important parts of the same dream are very liable to be forgotten, without the dreamer being aware of his loss. This is proved by the dream being sometimes remembered a few days afterwards with the hiatus filled up, the circumstances of which are *then* perfectly remembered as having formed a part of the dream.

"Every one knows," [says his Lordship,] "the effect of a bottle of hot water applied to the soles of the feet." (112.) This he gives as a kind of approved prescription for producing a certain dream,—and he avers that if the application be made, "you instantly dream of walking over hot mould,—or ashes,—or a stream of *lava*—(in this case the patient must, I presume, have been at *Ettna*, *Vesuvius*, &c.)—or having burnt your feet by coming too near the fire."—Again: "So if you fall asleep in a stream of cold air,—or in an open carriage, you will have a most "instructive" dream;—you will, instantly that the wind begins to blow "*dream of the following things*," or one of them,—that is to say,—*in primis*, "that you are on some exposed point, and anxious for shelter—but unable to reach it;"—*secundo*, "or you are on the deck of a ship suffering from the gale, and you will run behind a sail for shelter." Moreover, "the dream will proceed to a change of the wind—and the wind will still blow and you will be driven to the cabin—and then," *pour comble!* "the ladder is removed—or the door of the cabin will be locked"—but your calamity will not end here, for "you will, presently after, be *on shore*, and in a house with windows, all of which will be open—you will endeavour to shut them in vain, one after the other, or," if you escape this long catalogue of horrors, "you will see a *smith's forge*, you will of course be attracted by the fire, and then," *horresco referens*, "you will have one hundred pair of bellows," neither more nor less, "playing upon it, and extinguish it in an instant; but you will have still to suffer, for the one hundred pair of bellows in

blowing out the fire, will fill the whole smithy with their blast, till you are as cold as on the road."—*Observations* &c. p. 113.

It is the grave tone of experimental science and generalization with which these dreams are introduced, that renders them so ludicrous; otherwise there is no reason to question their individual authenticity, as they plainly illustrate his Lordship's private experience, imagination, and indigestion.

"A puncture made [says his Lordship] will immediately produce a long dream, which will seem to terminate in some such accident as that—the sleeper has been *wandering in a wood, received a wound from a spear—or the tooth of a wild animal*, which at the same time awakens him." It is not apparent whether his Lordship states these romantic and "*instructive*" dreams from his own particular experience. If he does, we cannot in courtesy refuse our assent—but if *not*, it might be worthy the consideration of that very learned body, the Royal Society—or that of the Society for "*Diffusing useful Knowledge*," whether they should not cause experiments to be made by the best dreamers that can be found, to corroborate those extraordinary statements, and ascertain the practicability of thus dreaming "*according to order*," or "*by particular desire*." If large *premiums* be given to the *successful* candidate, no doubt something like this may be done—but, for myself, I do most potently believe, that, if no premium tempt the dreamer, no sleeper will produce a single dream according to his Lordship's "*pattern*!"—*Observations* &c. p. 115.

His sarcasm at the mention of 'the Eastern Tale,' may show Dr. Wallace to be a hard-headed cautious man, but it also shows a circumscribed philosophy as well as imagination. Most people, however, will agree with him, that 'all that has been stated on this subject of dreaming, is such as is not likely to recommend dreams *as at present cultivated*, as a safe source of facts for inductive reasoning to extend science.' But, immediately after this remark, and after the objector has been so cautious, logical, caustic, and jocose, who would have expected to find him come over to his Lordship's side, with the following admission.—

'Though the *extraordinary* instances of the dreaming power may, in the estimation of some, derogate from the character of that mode of collecting *Inductive Facts*, yet there can be no question that certain phenomena of dreaming might be collected by observers of those phenomena, who should be free from the influence of preconceived opinions, and not attached to any hypothesis; from facts or phenomena so collected, valuable accessions of certain knowledge in psychology might eventually be obtained.'—*Observations* &c. p. 117.

Now this is the very principle advocated by Lord Brougham, only that Dr. Wallace's '*facts*' are to be considered as subjects for induction, because they are *not* '*extraordinary instances*.'

be seen what the specific measures are, which experience has pointed out for ensuring that end.

On the 9th of March last, Mr. Bagshaw introduced an important discussion concerning this people in the House of Commons. The following report of the debate is taken from *The Watchman* of the 11th of March, a weekly newspaper devoted to disseminating intelligence among the Wesleyan Methodists, whose missionaries have been the most successful of all that have been yet sent to the Caffres.

Mr. Bagshaw in moving for copies of the despatches received from the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope relative to an invasion of the colony by the Caffres, said :—

‘ In the month of December a simultaneous attack had been made on the colony by the natives or the Caffres—an attack differing from any previous attack, both in the mode and in the season of making it, and also in its disastrous effects. A great many lives had been lost, and a vast amount of property had been destroyed. The causes of this irruption had been the want of a Lieutenant-Governor at Graham’s Town, to control the colonists in the first instance; and the want of a proper local force to back his authority with the Caffres in the second. He had had with him, during the last day or two, almost all the persons connected with the traders to the Cape, and with those excellent men the missionaries. It was their sentiments rather than his own, that he was then speaking. Give the colonists at Graham’s Town a local governor; give them 500 men more of the local (Hottentot) corps; *enlist the Caffre Chiefs to protect the frontiers from invasion and disturbance*, and all will yet be well; everybody will be satisfied. They will then endeavour to remove past grievances, and to give no cause for future aggressions.’

‘ Mr. F. Buxton concurred with the honourable Member who had just sat down, in all the expressions of horror which had been called from him by the late sanguinary proceedings in the neighbourhood of Graham’s Town. He hoped, however, that our treatment of the natives of that colony would undergo strict revision; so sure he was, that it had been such as would make every honest man blush. He was certain, that the colony would never enjoy permanent prosperity if substantial justice were not done between the natives and the colonists. He thought that a Lieutenant-Governor, and a civil magistrate, ought to be appointed to reside in that part of the colony.’

‘ Sir G. Clerk was not aware that there was any objection to the despatches from the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope upon this matter being produced. But the facts were new to him, and he was not prepared to give an opinion upon them.’

‘ Mr. Spring Rice said, that if his hon. friend the Member for Weymouth would renew the motion which he had made last session for the production of papers relative to the treatment of the natives of our colonies, he should have no objection, and he thought the present Government would have no objection to produce them. His hon.

rational collocation of ideas? As to the speech which so much exceeded his own notion of his waking abilities, that ought to have been given also. But the probability is, that he made no speech at all, and only woke with the impression of having done so.

'In dreaming it would sometimes become necessary to read, or to write, but in no instance was he *able to distinguish* any of the figures or letters minutely, so as to enable him to do either; and yet so suspended was memory in these instances, that it never occurred to him that this *incapacity to read was a proof* that he was then dreaming, and that he had *often before* been so embarrassed.'—*Id.*

Very likely; but was it a proof? Did the same never happen to him when he was awake? It is to be presumed that he was able to read and write; yet how could he do either, whether asleep or awake, if from the deficiency of light, organic affection, or other causes, he was unable to see well enough to distinguish? The relator concludes his account by admitting that 'could we obtain continued and faithful accounts of the operation of the minds of others in circumstances similar or analogous (to composing poetry in a dream, making speeches, looking out, in a French dictionary words which had 'never been known by the individual before, &c.)' 'valuable results might be reasonably expected.'

From the general absence of all reason, judgment, connected memory, or common coherency of parts, dreams must of necessity be absurd in their phenomena. The psychological science may eventually be benefited by the study; but it must be seen that the collecting, classification, and test of authenticity, will always be attended with difficulties scarcely to be surmounted. If however the gravity of Lord Brougham and Dr. Wallace has not made them disdain to produce the several instances of their experience or private knowledge on this subject, the gravity of criticism will not be permanently endangered by the offer of a single contribution to the museum now first established.

When Lavalette was in prison and under sentence of death, he had the following dream. It made a deep impression on his mind, which increased years never effaced. Here are his own words.

'One night, while I was asleep, the clock of the Palais de Justice struck *twelve*, and awoke me. I heard the gate open *to relieve the sentry*, but I fell asleep again immediately. In this sleep, I dreamed that I was standing in the Rue St. Honoré, at the corner of the Rue de l'Échelle. A melancholy darkness spread around me; all was still, nevertheless a low and uncertain sound soon arose. All of a sudden, I

1835. *Quin's Steam Voyage down the Danube.*

Accounts of this kind are neither to be rejected, nor taken to the letter. Men of a little experience know how to deal with them. There is generally at the bottom, some mixture of acknowledged and disputed rights. With the alteration of a few words into 'tithe-proctors' and 'Orangemen,' the description would be one likely enough to be given in Ireland.

The steamer having anchored for the night, Mr. Quin sallied forth into the village in search of a bed; but his enterprise being unsuccessful, he returns to the boat.—

'Finding my companions at supper I was very glad to join them. They were in the midst of Hungarian politics, two of them being deputies on their way home from the diet. I have seldom met a more engaging person than the Count P——, who appeared to have taken an active part in the business of the legislature. He was inexhaustible in anecdotes about his fellow-deputies, and the mode in which the national affairs were carried on. Eloquent, cheerful, off-hand, and thoroughly conversant with human nature, he often placed the most serious things in a ridiculous point of view, which kept the table in roars of laughter. His features beamed with benevolence, and I was not surprised afterwards to learn, that in his own country of Presburg, where he has ample possessions, he is universally beloved. He had frequently the goodness to explain to me in Latin the political parts of his conversation. He said that the diet was the mere image of what it ought to be according to the ancient constitution of the country. Many of the deputies were determined on eventually effecting a reform, but from motives of personal respect for the then reigning emperor, they would take no steps during his lifetime. Under a new sovereign, however, they would certainly insist upon the restoration of the Hungarian constitution. I had more than once occasion to remark, that politics were by no means forbidden topics in this country: they are in fact as freely spoken of as in France or England. No notice is ever taken by the authorities of this liberty of speech; I have heard even the authorities themselves discuss public questions without the slightest reserve. The freedom thus generally enjoyed must be founded not only on custom, which cannot be changed, but upon a sense of inherent strength with which it might be dangerous to tamper.'—i. 35.

The grapes with which the table was supplied were delicious, and Mr. Quin thinks that if more attention were paid in the making, the wines of Hungary would rival those of Spain. Coals are found at a short distance from the river. They are small and stony, but form a strong fire when mingled with wood. The following picture is curious, and looks as if it belonged to another age.—

'The coals and wood were carried to our boat in wheelbarrows by a number of muscular, active, hardworking girls; hundreds of men

something analogous to the causes of gravitation, electricity, magnetism, &c.* Lord Brougham has certainly done wrong in thus theoretically involving the truth of the Christian religion and the belief of a future existence, in a doubtful metaphysical speculation, merely because he thinks fit to assume that he has reduced it to a demonstration coincident with another assumption, *i. e.* that futurity depends upon it.

Of the various answers and observations that this 'Discourse of Natural Theology' has already occasioned, one more only can be noticed. A. C. G. Jobert, the late Editor of the *Geological Journal*, has published "Two Words" on the subject; and from the tenor of them, it is plain that he could add considerably to their weight as well as number, in the shape of objections to many portions of the philosophy of Lord Brougham and Dr. Paley. The first section of his Tract is an exposition of the proposition, that men can acquire only the knowledge of facts. That which he calls a law, or a succession of causes and effects, is simply a set of facts which he perceives to be connected or always coming in succession. The second section shows that we arrive at the knowledge of facts through the medium of the senses only, and exposes the fallacy of Lord Brougham's assertion, that a man deprived of the exercise of every sense might by possibility have discovered the *integral calculus*. He argues rightly, that no being could be born and receive his developement without using some of his senses—taste, smell, &c., and so might acquire the idea of the succession of numbers, and that if such a case could be, as that of a man who had never exercised any of his senses, he would have no ideas. In the third section, he inquires, 'Has the universe been created?' Ocellus, 500 years before Christ, propounded this question, and settled that the world was eternal. Paley's argument of the watch and the stone is then analyzed. Jobert argues, that if we found a watch lying upon the ground, though we had never seen one before, we should certainly conclude a man had made it. We should see that arms, hands, eyes, had been employed upon it; the idea of a being who had acted upon nature, by arranging a certain number of facts, under the conditions requisite to their succeeding each other, would immediately come to us. But if we examine a living being, the case is quite different; the analogy will not hold; the chain of facts is broken; we cannot discover the spring that sets it in motion. We can see that external objects act upon its senses; but we cannot see, cannot picture to ourselves, what makes it exist, or feel, or think. If we conclude that the watch has not always existed, it is because we can recur to the 'fact antecedent to its existence,' which is the

workman, or the workman's labour; but if we try to go to the fact antecedent to an organized being's existence, we arrive with distinctness at no idea but that of a succession introduced by generation. Section fourth inquires 'Has the inorganic world had a beginning?' That stone has not always lain there; we can examine it, see that it is made of parts cemented together, that it has been broken from a rock near at hand, that this rock is part of a certain kind of strata, that there are other strata showing the action of fire and water; but this process cannot be carried on without limit; therefore the inorganic world has had a commencement. Section fifth, 'Has the organic world had a beginning?' The question has been answered in the preceding section. If the world originally existed in the form of gas, or even that of igneous fusion, organized beings could not exist on it,—there must have been a time when it became fit for them, and fossil remains prove that the organic world has not always existed. Section sixth inquires, 'How did the inorganic and organic world begin?' What are the facts which preceded and accompanied the existence of the centres of attraction in space, and the appearance of organized beings upon earth? M. Jobert conceives that this is the proper manner in which the question of a Supreme Power ought to be presented, and that it is only through the knowledge of these facts that mankind can arrive at a knowledge of the Deity. He contends with Helvetius, in opposition to Brougham and Paley, that Theology is not a science. It is only by the knowledge of the history of the earth, that the imagination can attain to the knowledge of its formation. So that after all, this rigid philosopher of facts confesses that our ultimate knowledge must be derived from imagination.

The Sixth section of the noble author's 'Discourse,' treats of Lord Bacon's doctrines of Final Causes, and shows with considerable ability, from various passages contained in the writings of the latter, that he 'does not disapprove of the speculation concerning final causes absolutely, and does not undervalue the doctrines of Natural Religion, so long as that speculation and those doctrines are kept in their proper place.' And yet the following remarks are somewhat contradictory of the above.

'That Lord Bacon has not himself indulged in any speculations akin to those of Natural Theology is, beyond all dispute, true. There is hardly any writer upon moral or natural science, in whose works fewer references can be found to the power or wisdom of a superintending Providence. It would be difficult to find in any other author, ancient or modern, as much of very miscellaneous matter upon almost all physical

subjects as he has brought together in the *Sylva Sylvarum*, without one allusion to Final Causes.'—*Discourse &c.* p. 147.

The Seventh and last section of Part the First, examines the methods of inductive analysis and synthesis, and shows some important errors prevailing on this subject. It contains much interesting matter connected with scientific arrangement.

Part the Second, comprises a very small portion of the work. It treats of the advantages of the study of Natural Theology, and is divided into three sections. The arguments are clearly and briefly stated, and some of them possess both force and originality. The First elucidates the pleasures of the science in an able manner; except that page 181 is a mere tautology. The Second treats of the pleasure and improvement peculiar to the study of Natural Theology, and infers its superiority over all others. The Third section treats of the connexion between Natural and Revealed Religion, and is the most original in its arguments; at all events they are such as have scarcely ever been employed before. They tend to show that 'Revelation cannot be true if Natural Religion is false,' and are managed with great skill and erudition.

'Suppose it were shown by incontestable proofs that a messenger sent immediately from heaven had appeared on the earth; suppose, to make the case more strong against our argument, that this messenger arrived in our own days, nay appeared before our eyes, and showed his divine title to have his message believed by performing miracles in our presence. ... Now, even this strong evidence would not at all establish the truth of the doctrine promulgated by the messenger; for it would not show that the story he brought was worthy of belief in any one particular except his supernatural powers. These would be demonstrated by his working miracles. All the rest of his statement would rest on his assertion. But a being capable of working miracles might very well be capable of deceiving us.'—*Discourse &c.* p. 205.

The Notes appended to the 'Discourse,' are characterized by much learning, research, and elaborate arguments. The validity of these arguments may be generally admitted, excepting always where they assume positive proof of things not cognizable to the senses, such as the materiality or immateriality of the mind; the solution of which question will still be considered as remote as ever, by those who are conversant with the various writers on the subject, especially with Priestley's disquisition on 'Matter and Spirit,' not to mention the acute remarks and queries contained in the recent publication by Dr. Wallace.

The style in which this 'Discourse' is written, is generally lucid, unadorned, and weighty with scientific facts and reasoning; frequently energetic and discursive, more often dry,

literal, and inductive; for the most part familiar and popular, but occasionally tinged with scholastic pedantry, and sometimes bearing a close resemblance to 'special pleading,' as in the use of such expressions as 'I have examined the evidence' or 'we may put a still stronger case' &c. But the most reprehensible error of style or phraseology in a logical work, is the noble author's continual use of the words *seem* and *appear* in the middle of an argument; and this will be found to occur almost in every fourth or fifth page throughout.

The amount of present usefulness to be derived from Lord Brougham's work, is considerable; the progressive good to be anticipated, still greater. Vague in their opinions, enslaved by habit, adopting this or that creed as mechanically as their family name, and either without moral courage to examine the grounds of their own belief, or wanting the necessary impulse from stronger minds in whose principles and character they could feel sufficient respect and confidence, the mass of men have hitherto weakly given way to the notion that there was a degree of impiety in the exercise of the understanding concerning matters of faith. To correct such negative errors, prejudices, and 'groundless alarms,' is one object of Lord Brougham's 'Discourse.' The object is not only great in itself, but one that is to a considerable extent attainable. Nor ought his Lordship to feel dissatisfied with the general estimation and evident popularity of his labours, merely because it is not likely that he will receive the thanks and prayers of the Bench of Bishops. As to the discussion concerning the essence of the human mind or soul, objectional as it is for the reasons previously given, there can be no doubt but it may have a beneficial tendency by preparing the public mind for abstract thinking on subjects of practical importance. If it accomplish this in ever so small a degree, the previous bandying about of a troublesome metaphysical problem will not have been without its use.

ART. VI.—*Memoirs of Lord Bolingbroke*. By George Wingrove Cooke, Esq.—2 vols. London; Bentley. 1835.

THE reign of Queen Anne, and the government of Walpole, exhibit the best specimens of that system of governing by party influence, which has in this country bid a protracted defiance to the progress of knowledge in the art of ruling. The tangible system of prerogative had been levelled by repeated blows; and statesmen, deprived of its protection, had to exercise

their ingenuity in discovering plans for supporting courts and aristocracies, which were not so obviously obnoxious and insulting. The supply came to meet the demand, and a set of men appeared, who knowing that the open defiance of a Stafford or a Jeffries would be dangerous and unavailing, found in corruption and party spirit, fortresses less chivalrously to be defended, but more impregnable. The sturdy citizens, who could so effectually bring their strength to bear against the Star Chamber, the High Commission, voluntaries, ship-money, purveyance, and monopolies, were not so ready to perceive the effects of bribery, pensions, the infusion of placemen in parliament, the Septennial Act, or the cry of the Church in danger. These constituted the dominion of artifice, which succeeded that of force; and it has required long-suffering experience, and the investigations of numerous active minds, to lay them bare for attack.

The life and character of one of the most highly gifted, active, enterprising, and unscrupulous spirits of the age, whose great powers were employed to their utmost stretch both in attack and defence, afford a good medium through which to view the political system of the period, and the effect it produced on the public, and on those whose faculties capacitated them to be the best servants of the country. The subject will afford a useful view of the extent to which misgovernment may be carried, when the people either do not know how to control their ministers, or knowing neglect the duty. Wars will be found entered on, and the leaders appointed,—treaties formed, and territories and privileges ceded or demanded,—the public treasure spent, and public offices disposed of,—public morality undermined at one moment, and attempts to make the people frantic about peculiarities in religion at another,—all with no other view, and no other system, than such as avarice, pride, or party spirit may have dictated. A war continued to enrich a general and gratify the pride of one waiting-maid, is suddenly terminated by the intrigues of another, and to keep her flatterer in power. A frantic priest is sent to raise the country to commotion, to benefit a party; and an expedition is planned to give employment to a favourite's poor relation.

When Henry St. John commenced his political career at the age of twenty-two as a member of Parliament, he attached himself immediately to the interest of Robert Harley, who, an older and more experienced man, was laying the foundation of a political party distinct from the high and low-church parties which then divided the country. The career of these men rendered it afterwards a question, whether their union was one of friendship or of interest. The author of these volumes seems anxious to support the former theory, while his facts are more favourable to the latter.

'The struggle for ascendancy which afterwards divided Harley and St. John, and the virulent hatred with which they ever after regarded each other, have induced the belief that the friendship of these two great men was never sincere; that St. John attached himself to Harley, only that he might share his rising fortunes; and that the latter encouraged his advances, only that he might strengthen the party by which he intended to reach the summit of power. These views doubtless had their weight in forming and cementing the union of the two aspirants after distinction; but there is no reason to suppose that these were their only motives. The experience and cunning of Harley might perhaps have led him to simulate what he did not feel; but St. John had not yet learned to dissemble, and he at least, doubtless entertained the sentiments he professed. We may find a bond of sympathy in their private tastes as well as their political interests. Harley was not indeed in the habit of indulging to excess in either of the pleasures which were so seductive to St. John; yet he could appreciate his talent and enjoy his conversation. The love of literature had revived with tenfold force in St. John's breast; it was now aided by ambition. The undisputed master of fashionable follies had another object; and the desire of excelling in the senate taught him to labour in the study. That these pursuits were in accordance with the taste of Harley, can receive no higher testimony than the history of his country's literature affords. The collection of MSS. which bears his name, and which forms the most invaluable treasure that our national library can boast, attests at once his taste, his zeal, and his liberality.'—i. 22.

That St. John's temper disposed him to form friendships independent of interest, the literary correspondence of his remarkable age is a lasting memorial. His intercourse with Swift and Pope, when the former could no longer be his champion, is honourable to his feelings; but it would be charitable to believe that he had no real friendship for Harley. Before narrating their coalition, the author observes, 'St. John was far too ambitious to enter into the service of an established party, to bow himself to its leaders, and to rise by slow gradations from the lowest steps of office. His original genius prompted him to chuse an eccentric course, and the juncture was highly favourable to his design.' The "juncture" was the conduct of Harley, in having chalked out "an eccentric course;" and on account of that conduct St. John thought fit to join him. Those who are fond of discovering very disinterested motives for the conduct of statesmen, are apt to lodge themselves in harassing difficulties.

At the time when Harley and St. John came into office as colleagues of Godolphin, some of those to whom the queen had trusted herself, showed a disposition to carry her own political principles beyond the limits consistent with her ease and safety. It was found necessary that some members of the party headed by Nottingham and Rochester, should retire or be dismissed.

Harley was then made Secretary of State, St. John Secretary at War, and Harcourt Attorney-General. Their taking office at such a juncture gave them the reputation of commencing their career as Whigs, a designation to which they had much the same title as Marlborough and Godolphin previously had to that of Tories. The uses of the political characters of the new ministers were indeed twofold. As between the high-churchmen and the rest of the nation, they were Whigs; as respected the queen, they were Tories of a more docile stamp than those just dismissed.

Harley might have long held the secondary position in the state, which his talents seemed to have naturally assigned to him, and St. John might after a long period of service have gradually and securely approached a higher eminence, had not a change at the queen's toilet subverted a cabinet, altered the state of political parties in Britain, and sheathed the sword over Europe. The character of the woman whose station made her the instrument of accomplishing these things, here obtrudes itself.

Queen Anne entered public life under the iron rule of a haughty, bold, talented, and it may be said high-minded female,—for the Duchess of Marlborough deserves well of posterity for the nothingness at which she could estimate hereditary supremacy. The public feeling of the country would never have rid the queen of the dominancy of the favourite. She bore it after it became offensive and oppressive; and it only ceased when she found protection in the low wiles of a more dangerous but no less insolent favourite, whose influence once established, was too artfully guarded to be shaken. Anne seldom concealed her natural aversion to the Revolution party. It has surprised historians that she should have attacked those principles by virtue of which the sceptre was put into her hands. A deviation from the direct line, is so startling a denial of the divine right which always in some way or other haunts the dreams of princes, that the person so chosen might be expected to be the last to deny the contract between governors and governed. But Anne felt herself too near the original stock, and possessed of too much of their old power, to trouble herself with the reflection that she was a queen by contract. She affords one of the proofs continually recurring,—though singularly enough each recurrence seems to give more astonishment to the world than its precursor,—that offsets of legitimacy who are raised to authority by revolutionists, will not hesitate to use it against the persons, who by accomplishing one revolution, have shown themselves likely to be the instruments of another. Anne had very little affection for her kindred; but with the

little which she had, she would not have permitted public principle or national advantage to interfere. But she had one prejudice too strong for this affection to overcome;—accident had educated her in the doctrines of the Church of England, and with all the bigotry of her race she adhered to its hierarchy. This seized on her narrow intellect, with all the force which attached the Roman Catholic persuasion to that of her father; and much as the English Church has undeservedly boasted of its services to the liberty of the country, it became certainly in this instance the means of putting to flight the race of the Stuarts. ‘You know,’ says the Duke of Buckingham in his secret correspondence, ‘the first dislike my brother [princess Anne] took, was upon Harry’s [the King’s] changing his religion; though, as I have often told him, it was no more than he might expect from the manner of sending him abroad; for I did not think so very young a man, indeed you know he was a very boy when he went, should be trusted altogether to his own conduct, and the event hath shown my fears were not in vain. Yet my brother [princess Anne] will not so much as own my imprudence, far less my fault, as I think it, in this management; and whenever I touch upon this string, I can very seldom get any other answer, than, “You see he doth not make the least step to oblige me; I have no reason to think he values me or my estate, and therefore I am resolved to give it to Dick [Hanover]*.’ The sin of bringing a Papist to the throne disturbed her conscience, and was almost the only feeling which influenced her lethargic mind in the question of the succession. But she did not trouble herself with putting it out of the way of others to commit such an offence, and obdurately resisted those decisive measures for the security of the Hanoverian succession, which were not without reason presumed necessary for the tranquillity of the country.

When the Duchess of Marlborough was superseded in the closet by Abigail Hill, she made a loud complaint to the world, and certainly with every appearance of justice. Her favours to her rival had been as follows. On discovering her indigent cousin, she got her appointed a bed-chamber woman to the queen, then Princess of Denmark. Her sister was made laundress to the Duke of Gloucester, and on his death, received a pension of 200*l.* a-year. The elder brother received a place in the Custom House. ‘His brother,’ she says, ‘(whom the bottle-men afterwards called honest Jack Hill) was a tall boy, whom I clothed, (for he was all in rags), and put to school at

St. Alban's.' He was first appointed page of honour to the Prince of Denmark; 'I afterwards got my Lord Marlborough to make him groom of the bed-chamber to the Duke of Gloucester. And though my Lord always said, that Jack Hill was good for nothing, yet to oblige me, he made him his aide-de-camp, and afterwards got him a regiment.' Thus the Duchess having quartered her 'good for nothing' relations on the country, complained to it of the vipers she had been nursing in her bosom, and that those for whom she had pillaged were ungrateful enough to take the task entirely into their own hands.

Harley was likewise a relation of Mrs. Abigail Hill; but he had not found it convenient to countenance her, until he found her placed in the bosom of royalty. It was by adroitly using his influence to acquire for her the hand of Mr. Masham—a page of the palace, her junior in years, on whom she had set her affection—that he obtained the footing from which he was enabled to grasp the Treasurer's rod, and become Prime Minister of Britain.

The carelessness of Harley in allowing an underling in his office to carry on a secret correspondence with the Court of France, provided the Godolphin Ministry with the means of driving their two colleagues from office; and the Queen, after a display of her usual obstinacy, was compelled nominally to support a Ministry consisting entirely of Whigs. But the tenure of Harley's influence was too strong and difficult of approach to be broken; and as it was secret, and even in those days discreditable, his being no longer in office only enabled him to preserve it with less inconvenience, and he is said to have boasted, that while the Ministry were labouring to support themselves in Parliament, he was undermining them in the closet. Some kind of support beyond the region of the backstairs, was in the mean time wanted for the friend of the queen and Mrs. Masham; and the Whigs were good enough to provide it in the person of Sacheverell. Never was the folly of coercing opinion more practically demonstrated, than when the supporters of Revolution doctrines attempted to destroy slavish opinions by persecuting those who maintained them. 'The Whigs,' says Bishop Burnett, 'took it in their heads to roast a Parson, and they did roast him; but their zeal tempted them to make the fire so high that they scorched themselves.' To find the half insane supporter of their doctrines solemnly impeached for his opinions, was a god-send of which the high-churchmen could not make too much; and those who viewed the foolish instrument of all this commotion with as much contempt as the Whigs themselves could have exhibited, joined in doing

him the honours of martyrdom. Freedom of opinion and loyalty went hand-in-hand, and were presented by the suffering hierarchy, to the notice of a compassionate and generous people*.

The Whigs seem to have been ignorant of the blow they dealt against themselves. The Tory Ministry of 1710 was formed before they were aware of their position. In the new Parliament various means aided the zeal of the clergy in returning a majority of Tories; and the majority was increased by the disputed elections being decided on the ministerial side, according to the practice of the period. As an auxiliary to the influence of the waiting-maid and the cry of Church in danger, it was requisite that Addison, Steele, and Walpole should be balanced in the press. St. John was here, as in every arena where he appeared, a tower of strength. He was assisted by Prior and Atterbury; and Swift was called on to adapt his gravity to such sentences, as 'The present Ministry are under no necessity of employing prostitute pens; they have no dark designs to promote by advancing heterodox opinions.' St. John was the great pugilist of the party in the House of Commons; and when Harley procured a peerage, he was left almost alone to struggle against fearful odds. He was well suited for the task as it was then managed. One who was frequently present observes, that in the House of Commons of that period, business matters were entirely slighted, and no regard was shown, or notice taken, of anything that did not directly strike against the reputation of some considerable person of the opposite party. Of these and the like the House was very fond, and took great pleasure in passing a vote reflecting on such person†. 'You know' says Bolingbroke, in his letter to Sir William Windham, 'the nature of that assembly; they grow, like hounds, fond of the man who shows them game, and by whose halloo they are used to be encouraged.' Unfortunately, little of what he said in the House has been preserved; and those conversant with the solemn loftiness of his philosophical works, would not be apt to presume their author an active leader in debate. But the philosopher of patriotism, and the political partisan, were very different men; and whenever in discussing political subjects he

* A writer of the present century thus displays his sympathy with the conduct of the high-churchmen on this occasion. 'Ridiculous as this farce was, it did some good, as it kept up the respect due to the national church, by engaging the voice of the people at large in its favour; and discouraging any attempt to lower or innovate upon it in the smallest degree.'— *noble's continuation of Granger's Biographical History of England*, ii. 129.

† Lockhart Papers, i. 352.

passes from general maxims to the vindication of his own political career, as he frequently does, his Ciceronian calmness of thought suddenly merges into a fierce and deep strain of invective and sarcasm, which must have rendered him a dangerous opponent. He had a memory so accurate, that of an extensive series of quotations which it provided without collation for his writings, few have been found erroneous by his many scrutinizing critics; and to this power, which often provides duller intellects with the sinews of debate, he added an almost unmatched judgment in the choice of illustrations.

The first act of the ministry, was to lay the foundation of their power on some measure which should contrast to their advantage with the proceedings of their opponents; and they made choice of a peace with France. Various circumstances, independently of the national weariness of war, tended to point this out as an advantageous scheme. Directions were issued from the Court of St. Germain's to the Jacobites to support it; it was wanted by Mrs. Masham; and among its supporters Cunningham enumerates 'all the bottle companions, many physicians, and great numbers of the lawyers and inferior clergy, and in fine the loose women too,' whose bond of union was the dearness of French wine.

The accomplishment of the design of the Tories, was the Treaty of Utrecht; in which they were accused of betraying their country, by changing the position of the parties and giving up the advantage of being the victors.

No condition was imposed on Louis by the Treaty of Utrecht, which he would not have gladly submitted to at the conferences of the Hague and Gertrudenburg, in which he yielded matters far more essentially connected with the great cause of the war. He would have restored Strasburg and Brisac, and demolished the forts on the Rhine and Dunkirk. The Dutch were to have had an ample barrier, the captures in the Netherlands were to have been restored, and the Duke of Savoy reinstated; but the most essential point of all was, that he was to have admitted the Austrian succession to the throne of Spain, and taken all means of making his grandson evacuate the Peninsula, short of taking arms against him. On this last point the conferences were broken off. The advantages to England by the Treaty of Utrecht, were chiefly of a commercial nature. Between France and England the stipulations were mutual, and found not very advantageous. England had likewise the honour of securing to herself the *Asiento* contract, or exclusive privilege of importing every year 4800 slaves from Africa to the West Indies. The captures in the West Indies and North America, were restored to

Britain, France retaining a settlement at Cape Breton and a right to dry fish on the coast. Gibraltar and Minorca were retained by England, the Duke of Savoy was provided for, and the Dutch with great difficulty procured their barrier. Thus England by a ten years war ornamented by successive victories, gained Gibraltar, Minorca, and a monopoly in the slave trade. The grand object of the war, the expulsion of the Bourbons from Spain, was given up without a struggle,—indeed was never looked upon by the new British Government as a subject of concern. It is true, that since the conference of Gertrudenburg a battle had been lost in Spain, and that the Archduke Charles had succeeded to the Empire; but the former event merely drove the allies a step back towards their previous situation, and the Treaty was in an advanced state before the latter occurred.

It is not, however, proposed to consider the Treaty of Utrecht as a question between the Whigs and Tories of Queen Anne's reign. Had it been put to one of the former, he would have answered, such a treaty should not have been entered on; for it lost to Britain almost everything she had gained by a long war. The Tory on the other hand would have maintained that *the war* should never have been entered on, and the more quickly it was terminated the better. But a more important question than any which could occur between St. John and Marlborough, arises between the people and the conflicting factions. They could charge one faction with having spent more than forty millions on a war for their own aggrandisement, and another with having given up the advantages so dearly bought with no better view. It was satisfactorily proved in parliament by St. John, that the British with their usual liberality, not only most anxiously performed all their own obligations in the war, but made up to excess for the deficiencies of their less powerful or less generous allies. This was the doing of Marlborough, and the object he had before him, was the increase of his own fame, his own influence, and above all his own fortune. He had not only manured Flanders with the bodies of his countrymen that he might be great,—in which he is only involved with most other great warriors,—but he had spent nineteen millions of the public money beyond the just quota of Britain, that he might get a share for the trouble of expending it. All this when brought prominently forward, created such a balance in favour of the Tory party, that unmindful of a day of reckoning against themselves such as their opponents were then suffering, they lost no time in running up on the other side. The whole course of the Treaty shows, that it was conducted, not for the country, but

for the ministry. The Abbe Gaultier, a French spy, who was too insignificant to attract the notice of the previous ministers or had contrived to elude it, had been used as a medium to communicate to the French court the hopes of the Tories; and on their entering office, he was sent on a secret message to Versailles, to state that though they dared not propose terms of peace, they should be glad to hear those which might be offered from France. This was undoubtedly commencing a negotiation; and the vindication of Oxford, that the overtures came from France, was morally false. The ministry conveyed a polite hope, that the King's offers would not be less advantageous than those he had made at Gertrudenburg; but he knew too well the persons he was dealing with, to think compliance necessary. If the establishment of peace was necessary to the French people, it was equally so to the English ministers, and in their persons were equalized the disadvantages of France in being loser in the war. 'Of all the powers in alliance against France,' says Torcy, who of course speaks of the ground on which he conducted the Treaty, 'England had been hitherto the most active. The new ministers of that Crown spoke quite a different language from their predecessors; and there was the less reason for suspecting any advances they might make, as they were personally interested in putting an end to the war, by which the reputation of their enemies was supported. . . . The negotiation made no progress; its success would have even appeared dubious, had not the English ministers been personally interested in concluding it as soon as possible*.' The secrecy with which the negotiations in London were conducted, was not only a breach of the alliance, which provided that no treaty should be made except by a communication of counsels, but was a sure indication of dread at home. Both Menager and Gaultier were invited to Britain by the ministers to place themselves in the position of spies, and their adventures have some dangerous interest. When Menager was introduced to the Queen, 'he was conducted back with the same secrecy as he had been introduced. The same attendant was in the outer apartment. He found the same centinels, He supped with St. John, saw Windsor Castle the next day, and set out for London with Prior, who warned him not to return to the Secretary of State while he staid at Court, because of the great number of spies whom the Whigs had about the Queen. The Ministers then in favour with that Princess, had great reason to be afraid of what might happen hereafter, and therefore thought it necessary to act with

* Torcy's *Negotiations*, ii. 118. 157.

prudence and circumspection *.' Such was the spirit in which the business of the nation was transacted by its servants. Secretaries and ambassadors were creeping about in the dark like housebreakers; and one accomplice must not be seen too much in company with another, lest justice should be alarmed. Such was the effect of party government, that the accomplishers of a great measure, felt that they were either committing crime, or that a revolution in the palace might put them in the situation of having done so. To give the Treaty an appearance of foundation, it was necessary that there should be an article providing against the Spanish and French Crowns resting on one head. All assurances to this end were undertaken by France with alacrity, and would have been given at any time, in so far as they were of use. The circumstances under which the war commenced, showed the respect paid to such engagements by France; and had an opportunity of infringing this one occurred, it would necessarily have yielded to the old argument of *extra vires*. Bignon indeed, a great Crown lawyer, gave honest warning of such an event, when he said, the heir of France 'is obliged for his Crown, neither to the will of his predecessor, nor to any edict, nor to any decree, nor to the liberality of any person whomsoever, but only to the law. This law is esteemed the work of him who established monarchies; the French hold that none but God can abolish it, and of course that it cannot be destroyed or made void by any renunciation.' It may be a question,—and is often stated as such in vindication of the Treaty,—whether the union of Spain with France or with Austria, would have been the more dangerous to the liberties of Europe. The feeling in Britain at that time was undoubtedly directed against the former. The Ministers, if they were not imbued with the same conviction, at least felt the necessity of countenancing it. Such, however, was their personal feeling of the necessity of concluding peace as speedily as possible, that they were content to allow this great principle to be guarded by empty words. 'The business,' said St. John to Menager, 'is to conclude a peace, and to conclude it quickly, in order to avoid the expences of another campaign,' or rather, as he more candidly continues, because 'we are sure of our Parliament, they will act in concert with the Queen.' The French all along looked on the Treaty of Utrecht as a boon, a gift out of the regular course of bargaining, for which, after returning praise to divine providence, they thanked Harley and St. John. 'If we compare,' says Torcy, 'the peace of Utrecht to the preliminaries proposed by the

* Torcy's *Negotiations*, ii. 173.

Pensionary Heinsius in 1709, and to the still harder terms which the deputies of the States-General insisted upon at the conferences of Gertrudenburg in 1710; if we have not quite forgot the distressed situation of the kingdom in the years 1708, 1709, and 1710; and if we recall to mind the fatal battles of Hochstet in 1704, of Ramilies and of Turin in 1706, the action of Oudenarde in 1708, and that of Malplaquet in 1709, the loss of so many battles, followed by that of such a number of strong towns; these unlucky æras will be ample proof of the easy rate, at which this peace was purchased by France, compared to the losses she had sustained, and to the state of the kingdom; nay perhaps will be a proof of the unexpected advantages which she derived from the obstinacy of her enemies in imposing unjust conditions which it was impossible for her to execute*. The last allusion is to the Dutch, who were far more anxious to have value for their expenditure than the British. The whole of the French diplomatist's protracted account indeed breathes wrath against the former, and a tone of deep gratitude towards the British Ministers and their excellent Queen.

But the Treaty of Utrecht was not accomplished without a struggle with the party so suddenly precipitated; and the supporters of it acquired at least the merit of courage. The court had at that time the command of the House of Commons, as from the nature of our constitution it ordinarily has of the House of Lords. It was from the latter that opposition was given, because the prerogative of the Crown had not been quickly enough exercised; but the defect was soon remedied. The intermediate crisis is thus spiritedly described by the author.

'In the Commons, Walpole moved an Amendment to the Address; which was, however, negatived by an immense majority. And in the Lords, a yet more stormy debate succeeded. The Earl of Nottingham seceded from the ministry, and moved a clause in the Address, that, in the Lords' opinion, no peace could be safe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the West Indies were to be allotted to any branch of the House of Bourbon. This was carried against the Ministry by a majority of a single voice; and the Tories and their adherents were in the utmost consternation. The Whigs were so exasperated against the ministers, that their fall from power was considered by them only as the prelude to their entire destruction. In the moment of triumph the Earl of Wharton is said—but upon very questionable authority—to have smiled and put his hands to his neck when any of the Ministry were speaking, intimating that the head of the speaker was in danger †. Whether a gesture so ferocious can be

* Torcy's *Negotiations*, ii. 374.

† See Swift's *History of the four last years of the Reign of Queen Anne*; a work in which, under the disguise of history, he takes every oppor-

justly attributed even to the Earl of Wharton, is very doubtful; and whether the Whigs contemplated the severities which the Tories dreaded, is yet more questionable. But it is certain that the terror of the adherents of the Administration was sincere.* The Queen was believed to have joined the Whigs; and even Mrs. Masham for a moment thought that her influence was gone. Swift was in terrible consternation: he begged of St. John to send him abroad; and told the Earl of Oxford that he should have the advantage of him, for that the Earl would lose his head, but he should only be hanged, and so carry his body entire to the grave*.

'Amid the general panic of his party, St. John alone was sufficiently calm and self-possessed to remedy the confusion which the negligence of Oxford had created. His exertions in the Commons, where his eloquence had contended with unqualified success against that of Walpole, had reanimated his party, and perhaps recalled the wavering favour of his mistress. When his party were downcast and dejected, his countenance was cheerful, his voice confident, and his counsels energetic. He urged the timorous and procrustinating Oxford to the only measure which could retain his party in power; and if his counsel and his language show but little delicacy for the constitution of his country, his resolution in emergency pointed him out as the support and leader of the Ministry. The House of Lords were now in opposition: the Queen, notwithstanding the doubts which had been entertained, proved firm in her adherence to the Cabal, which patronized the Tories; twelve new Peers were created; and St. John is reported to have declared that they should have three times as many more if these were not enough.'—i. 191-4.

Having thus established themselves, the next business of the Ministers was to deal some decisive strokes against their enemies. Walpole was proved to have either pocketed a sum of the public money, or to have allowed another person to do so; and was committed to the Tower. St. John lived to recollect in this measure, that a Whig could outlive disgrace, but might not outlive the remembrance of the person who had inflicted it. Part of Marlborough's enormous fortune was distinctly traced to the source of bribery, and the great leader was deprived of his offices, and compelled to humiliate himself before the once slave of his wife, in order to protect that wife from part of the insults intended for her. The author justly observes,—

'Although it cannot be denied, that such practices were sordid and disgraceful, we can accord no praise to the Ministers for exposing them.

tunity of pleading the cause of his party. Wharton seems to have been accustomed to the politics of intimidation, for which no period of history could afford better scope. He is said to have procured from Godolphin the Viceroyalty of Ireland, from the merit of possessing one of the letters from the Treasurer to the Court of St. Germain's. Macpherson, ii. 104.

* *Journal to Stella.*

St. John and his colleagues, as appears from his letters, knew of them while they continued him in office. Their object was not the punishment of a public delinquent, but the ruin of a powerful enemy. According to De Torcy, his influence had prevailed even upon the officers of the Queen's household to vote against her in the division upon the Address; and Oxford and St. John, when they remembered how near they had been to ruin, and how their mode of escape had exasperated their enemies and startled even their friends, thought it would be rather rashness than clemency to spare so dangerous and implacable a foe.—i. 195.

The celebrated schism between Harley and St. John seems to have had its origin in the discussions connected with the attempt on the life of the former by the Marquis Guiscard, when under examination by the Council as to his correspondence with the French court. If Harley's enthusiasm for his party was akin to that sometimes engendered by patriotism, he must have blessed the wounds which occurred so happily for its support and honour. The Marquis was fortunately a Catholic; and as the Cabinet were under the odium of designs in favour of the Pretender, it is difficult to conceive with what speculations the fruitful mind of Swift might have surrounded the subject, had not an unfortunate jealousy interrupted him in his labours. As the matter was found convertible into a broad question of politics, St. John considered himself entitled to a share; while on the other hand Harley, who had undergone the practical effects, naturally conceived that the honour and reward should be all his own; and Swift, after having attempted to give each his proper share, (the portion to St. John being in the intention of the assassin, that to Harley in his practice), found it better to submit the delicate distinction to the pen of Mrs. Manly. It is probable that the quarrel, which, if thus originated, was certainly aggravated by more serious events, had a considerable influence on the prospects of the nation. Looking over the whole events of the period, in connection with the character of the rivals, it can hardly be reasonably disbelieved that if circumstances had been favourable, and they had mutually agreed on their operations, they would have had no objections to establish their power on the restoration of the exiled family. Their jealousy, however, was one great impediment to such an event; and it would indeed appear that each suspecting the other of the project, conceived that attaching himself to the House of Hanover would be the best means of undermining his rival. In this respect they were not so conveniently situated as Marlborough and Godolphin, who not being spies on each other, renewed their correspondence.

with the Court of St. Germain's on the accession of the Tories, before Marlborough had given up the command of the army. With regard to Bolingbroke, his conduct after he was driven from the country is of itself sufficient evidence of the measures to which certain influences, which were not those of public principle, might have impelled him; and the presumption is rather strengthened by the reflection, that he had a contempt for the divine-right prejudices of the genuine Jacobites. So much has the conviction of what Bolingbroke might have been induced to do for the Jacobite cause attached itself to the minds of the historians of the period, that they have often carelessly stated, that he carried on a secret correspondence with the Pretender. This however, has never been proved, and the author of the present work justly corrects the mis-statement. The following passage commences with a quotation which is perhaps the strongest ground of suspicion against Bolingbroke that has been discovered.

'The only paper in this collection [Macpherson's] which has been ever cited against him, is a letter from one of the Jacobite agents; who says, "Your friend Mr. Cary [Lockhart] writes to me from Porter's quarters [London] that he is in friendship with Mr. Bruce Zfpvozingy [Bolingbroke] and has lately had much freedom of conversation with him, by which he thinks Bruce [Bolingbroke] an honest man, and much in your Uncle Frank's [the Pretender's] interest; but at the same time, he thinks Bruce [Bolingbroke] is not altogether well with Mr. Gould's successor [Harley] and by what Cary [Lockhart] draws from Bruce, he doubts of Gould's good intentions*."

'This amounts only to a second-hand declaration of Lockhart, that he thought Bolingbroke was in the Pretender's interest; which is worth literally nothing, when we remember the character of the relator. Lockhart was a hot-headed Jacobite, who did not scruple to spread any report, and to give any account which he thought favourable to the cause he had espoused. We find him, in his memoirs, describing it as the most easy of undertakings to bring about a repeal of the Act of Settlement, and telling us that he had avowed his principles before the Queen, who heard him with favour. It is singular that in these memoirs the name of Bolingbroke does not once occur. It is inconceivable that the Pretender's agents should have made no further mention of so illustrious a convert in any of their despatches, had he been so "honest" a man as James Forbes asserts upon the authority of Mr. Cary. This extract from Nairne is no evidence at all.'

'But whatever weight might be attached to this opinion of Lock-

* Macpherson, vol. ii. p. 367. Mr. Hallam, contrary to his usual accuracy, refers to this passage as proving a 'correspondence with the Stuart Agents.' *Constitutional History*, iii. 301.

hart, it cannot resist the direct evidence contained in the following circumstance, which is given from the Marchmont papers. While the negotiations for the Treaty of Utrecht were yet pending, the conferences of the Abbé Gaultier with the Secretary were of course frequent. Upon one of these occasions Bolingbroke observed that the priest left a sealed letter directed to him upon his table. The letter bore the arms of England upon its seal; and Bolingbroke immediately suspecting from whom it came, called the Abbé back and interrogated him. He confessed that the letter was written by the Pretender; upon which Bolingbroke returned it, with the admonition, that if he discovered him again to be the medium of any correspondence from that quarter, he should order him to quit the kingdom in twenty-four hours.—i. 350.

This anecdote rests on the authority of Bolingbroke himself; and as handed down, it is coupled with a preliminary notice, which, as containing a rather important admission, the author should have given. It is in these terms; ‘Lord Bolingbroke denied to the Earl of Marchmont, with whom he lived during the latter part of his life in the closest intimacy and strictest confidence, occasionally in the same house both in France and at Battersea, that he had the remotest intention of favouring the succession of the Pretender, until the approach of the Queen’s death, when it was in deliberation to secure the power and safety of the ministers. He mentioned an anecdote to Lord Marchmont, &c.*’

That Harley, although he showed himself in many respects the more honest of the two, might have been brought to assist a restoration, there is still less doubt than in the case of Bolingbroke. It would indeed be merciful to his memory to believe so, as he must otherwise lie under the imputation of having heartlessly encouraged in the exiles hopes he never meant to realize, and having attempted to allure them to the disturbance of tranquillity, and their own destruction. The confidential correspondence of the Jacobites during his ministry is full of references to hints and promises, too distinct, positive, and often reiterated, to have been mere effervescences of warm imagination; while at the same time the correspondence of the Hanover party expresses a conviction of his Jacobite inclinations. It may safely be calculated that the man who was capable of urging a party to the disturbance of the state and their own ruin, was at least capable of giving them assistance whenever it should suit his own views of ambition. He was distrustful, gloomy, and morose in his character, except when the excitement of intoxication prompted him to divulge state secrets out

* From a note in Mr Rose’s handwriting, in his copy of Coxe’s *Sir Robert Walpole*. Marchmont papers, li. 241 N.

of place ; and when engaged in business he assumed a mysteriousness of manner, on which seems to have been chiefly founded any reputation for wisdom he possessed. His colleagues complained that he would frequently allow none but himself to transact the business of the ministry, from which he incapacitated himself by being continually drunk. He was for a considerable period in the situation of a man without firmness of mind, hesitating between two opposite measures, a mistaken adoption of either of which was fraught with the most alarming consequences. He therefore admitted none to his confidence; and Dr. Radcliffe humourously attempted to waken him to a conviction of the light in which his conduct was viewed, by requesting him to read a portion of scripture, which turned out to be the advice to Moses by his father-in-law, to chuse a certain number of wise men to assist him in the administration of affairs.

Before the last illness of Queen Anne, Oxford had sunk beneath the influence of Bolingbroke ; but the honours were snatched from his grasp, and he succeeded only to additional dangers without proportionally additional means of meeting them. His bold spirit seems for once to have been completely subdued. Whatever were his intentions, the apathy which overcame him at this period, is one of the most remarkable features of his career. If he intended to advocate the cause of the Pretender, it was the time for a bold struggle. If on the contrary, he was to found his prospects on giving his influence to the house of Hanover, his permitting irresponsible persons to assume his proper duties and ostentatiously charge him with defects in their performance, makes him assume an aspect peculiarly feeble and pusillanimous, when compared to that of the great ministerial champion of 1711 ; nor were his flight and the circumstances connected with it, honourable to his reputation. He believed, as he has himself stated, that he was to be pursued to the scaffold, and leaving his character without its best protector, he took care of his person ; while his more feeble colleagues, whose danger could not be far inferior, remained to meet it.

Looking at the acts of the administration with which Bolingbroke is connected, it cannot but be admitted, that with all his ministerial talent, his vigilance, and the inclination he may have possessed to benefit his country whenever preferable claims of his party or his own ambition did not interfere, he did little to deserve the grateful recollection of posterity. In this respect he is inferior to most of the statesmen of his age. Somers made considerable improvement in the administration of justice. Marlborough zealously and effectively served his country in the

department for which his genius adapted him, though he contrived to serve himself at the same time. Godolphin, with singular inconsistency, while he plotted the overturn of the government, was an honest guardian of the national revenue, and corrected many abuses in its expenditure. Even Nottingham, who had in early life founded an evil reputation by combining against freedom, procured the thanks of his country from the remarkable integrity of his conduct; and to Walpole the great mechanist of the system of corruption, we owe important commercial improvements. Unless the Treaty of Utrecht can be viewed as a boon to the country, there is scarcely any important measure deserving commendation, which claims Bolingbroke as its author. He at the same time committed both blunders and crimes. The expedition to Quebec, which he took under his own peculiar protection, was a union of both. In this case he perhaps incurred unjust odium; but when it is remembered that he committed practical blunders in the outfitting which a man of so much penetration might have avoided, and that the officer to whom it was committed was Mrs. Masham's once 'ragged' and always 'good for nothing' brother Jack Hill, it was not to be wondered that the nation should suspect a treacherous understanding with France for the purpose of accomplishing the peace, and that adversaries of the ministry should urge it. But the loss from the defects in fitting out and from the incapacity of the leader, was not all that the nation suffered. The whole 'job' was the means of providing 20,000*l.* to Mrs. Masham, which as Harley lost her favour by refusing, St. John who was less scrupulous was naturally accused of having shared. This tangible proof of attachment secured the patronage of the favourite; and from the moment he had so effectually outbid his rival, St. John's superior interest at court was secured. The attempt against the press during this period must not go unnoticed. The publication of such works as those of Buchanan was prohibited, and Swift records with great glee the wholesale prosecution of his obnoxious opponents. To Bolingbroke himself, we owe the imposition of a load on intellect, which all its leviathan struggles for above a century have not shaken off,—the tax on newspapers. He made another attempt to protect himself from opinion, by a law that every pamphlet should bear the writer's name and address. Even the subservient Swift faintly raised his voice against this formidable proposal, and pleaded modesty. There were too many, even on the ministerial side, personally interested in secrecy to allow such a bill to pass. The readers of Bolingbroke's works cannot but perceive, that he was the last man

who was entitled to excuse himself for such acts. He had no stubborn prejudices or conventional opinions to conquer, before he should be enabled to govern liberally. But in attempting to support his power by religious persecution, he committed a still more flagitious inconsistency. Almost every school-boy who has received a high-church education from the Establishment, or a religious one from the Dissenters, has been taught a pious horror at the name of Bolingbroke, as the deserter of revealed religion, and the champion of *free* opinions. He was moreover educated as a Presbyterian. Such was the man who introduced 'An Act to prevent the Growth of Schism, and for the further security of the Churches of England and Ireland as by Law established.' This Act was for the purpose of making more effectual a law of the reign of Charles 2nd, rendering it imperative on all teachers of youth to take the Declaration of Conformity. It required certain licences from the Church to qualify for teaching, and strictly prescribed the routine of religious instruction to be administered under severe penalties. It was a desperate weapon of intolerance put into the hands of the clergy to purchase their assistance, and to draw a distinction between its author and Harley, who would not support so violent a measure. It was never enforced. The Bill against Occasional Conformity, so often ineffectually attempted, was likewise passed at this golden juncture for the church. Both statutes were repealed in 1719.

But with all the errors of his government, few will justify the vindictive impeachment of Bolingbroke by the man he had sent to the Tower for corruption. It was the carrying to its utmost extent that virulence of party warfare, which had already been the means of making his government what it was,—not a government for the people but for a party. With bitter feelings of resentment and disappointed ambition, he consented to join the Pretender, a step astounding to those who had formed a better opinion of his judgment. Disappointment and party feeling were the only excuses he could ever give for this step. 'What gave strength and spirits,' he asks, 'to a Jacobite party after the late King's accession? The true answer is, the sudden turn of the imaginations of a whole party to resentment and rage, that were turned a little before to quiet submission and patient expectation. Principle had as little share in making the turn, as reason had in conducting it. Men who had sense and temper too, before that moment, thought of nothing after it, but of setting up a Tory King against a Whig King; and when some of them were asked, if they were sure a Popish King would

make a good Tory King,—or whether they were determined to sacrifice their religion and liberty to him,—the answer was, no; that he would take arms against him if he made attempts on either; that this might be the case, perhaps, in six months after his restoration, but that in the mean time he would endeavour his restoration*.' Men driven from the position of vindicating themselves on public principle, generally seek an excuse in party feeling. The term is collective; it presents a more generous appearance than the personal pronoun, and is brought forward to support a claim for disinterestedness. The man however who should acknowledge that he assisted a party to commit a crime against the public, would get little credit for his motives being other than personal; and he who does not calculate whether the party is doing right or wrong, seems in little better situation. Bolingbroke's step was certainly not taken on good calculations of personal aggrandisement; but he cannot justly claim the credit of anything beyond personal feeling for his motive.

It did not require long experience to convince him of the folly of his act. To bow before the impotent shadow of a ruler,—to be the rival of Highland lairds and Irish chiefs,—to hold cabinet councils with monks and harlots,—must have been so deeply degrading to the man who had dictated to the House of Commons and aimed at the Premiership of Britain, that his greatest enemies must have rejoiced at his escaping the punishment intended by them, to find a sharper for himself. The origin of his difference with the court of St. Germain's has been variously described, and the truth of the case seems not easily attainable; while as compared with his other transactions, it is of little moment. It is probable that his offences derived their deepest colouring, from his not being able to keep clearly enough in memory the distinction between his companion in adversity and himself, as sovereign and subject. The scenes of real history he had just passed through, were accurately mimicked in this pantomime of government; his 'seals' were demanded of him in due regal form, and he was impeached on seven charges, upon which he was given to understand that he was found guilty.

The next step in Bolingbroke's career, it will perhaps be still more difficult to vindicate. While he was in the service of the Pretender, the Earl of Stair was commissioned to offer him a pardon, and treat for his return to Britain; but the power was not made use of until after his dismissal. When the offer

* *Idea of a Patriot King.* Works, iii. 96

was made, he embraced it with avidity; and the desire of being again in power, made his haughty spirit bow to urge with earnestness, and a considerable degree of cringing assiduity, the services with which he would repay his benefactors.

‘ He said that he looked upon himself to be obliged in honour and in conscience to undeceive his friends in England, as to the state of foreign affairs, as to the management of the Jacobite interest abroad, and as to the characters of persons—in every one of which points they were grossly and dangerously deluded. The treatment he had received from the Pretender would, he said, justify him to the world in doing this; and the critical situation of his party rendered it an imperative duty. He declared, that he had already determined in his heart to perform his duty to his King and his country; and even though the King should not think proper to extend to him the grace which it had been intimated that he was ready to extend, it would make no alteration in his conduct, nor would it in any respect weaken his resolve. Even then, he said, he was ready to co-operate with the Earl in any measure which he thought could be useful to the service of the Monarch whose allegiance he had resumed, and to assist him with all the local knowledge which his sad experience had enabled him to acquire. It was his future services however, which he tendered to the Ambassador,—not the discovery of the secret springs or the concealed agents of past transactions. The knowledge which confidence had enabled him to gain, honour required him to bury in oblivion. The result of future exertion might be honourably employed in the service for which that exertion had been made. The Pretender, who could find no occasion for his services, had no right to complain that others were more discerning to estimate and more assiduous to secure talents, which he could not appreciate; and the Tories had no cause to accuse him, because, when he could no longer advance their designs, he attempted to expose to them their futility.—
ii. 11.

No one was better able than Bolingbroke to tinge his motives with a hue of loftiness; but all his art cannot prevent the original colour of personal feeling from shining through. Persecuted in Britain, he joined the Pretender. Insulted at Commercy, he looked back to his previous position, not without a feeling of the lofty superiority which reinstatement there would give him over those who had last injured him. The relative situations of the country under a Guelph or a Stuart, a Protestant or a Catholic, seem never to have been enrolled among his motives. He pompously stipulated that he should not be called on to do anything dishonourable, or to betray the confidence reposed in him. Bolingbroke did not occupy that position before the world, in which the paid spy is found; it would scarcely have suited the ex-secretary to inform against the secret correspondents of the exiled family; still, it is impossible

to believe that he could have undertaken what he promised with perfect honesty,—consistency is out of the question. If a new light burst on him, and he suddenly discovered the wickedness of having served the Pretender, the better course would have been to retire from public life, and repent of his errors. By such a measure he would put a stop to the course of his evil deeds, and the country would be as free from any harm through him, as if he had never joined its enemy. But he seemed to admit that his disgust to the Pretender's cause arose from the manner in which it was conducted. If it was a just cause, mismanagement could not make it less so; indeed it would only render its calls on the assistance of those who approved of it more imperious. Nor will any one admit his right to say he discovered it to be unjust after joining it. That point was to be best ascertained in England; for the English people were the persons interested,—not the two courts, or the competitors for power in either.

He had to deal, however, with individuals whose motives were no less personal, and who were far his masters in duplicity. Having satisfactorily ascertained that there was little chance of his ever again coalescing with the Pretender, the British Government made no haste to restore him to the promised favour; several years elapsed before he even obtained his pardon, which was strongly opposed by Walpole. It is believed to have been only the threat of dismissal, that at length prevailed on the Minister to admit his restoration in blood; but he took care to keep the doors of parliament closed against his formidable rival, by resisting the reversal of his attainder. The history of these two distinguished men possesses a sort of romantic interest, which might suit very well (if it has not already served) for the groundwork of a fiction. They were nearly of the same age, and their original position in life, which both left far behind, was pretty equal. The animosity which shook empires, is said to have commenced at Eton School, where the embryo statesmen were rivals. Perhaps St. John's mind was not of itself suited to be long tenanted by vindictive feelings, had not ceaseless irritation and disappointment fed them; but the undying hatred of Walpole even when his enemy was at his feet, kept their enmity alive to the end; the one thundering from 'his place' in the House of Commons, where he reigned with undisputed power,—the other obliged to reply from the vulgar arena of the press, but with a vigour which forced him before the world, as prominent in his genius, as his enemy was in his station. They were in many respects men of far opposite characters. Walpole, the great master of figures, possessed an unwearied application to

business, a shrewdness in discerning the clearest way through the sea of politics before him, and a pertinacity in following it, which enabled him to hold the helm unrivalled longer than any other British statesman. We hear nothing from his admirers of grand bursts of eloquence, of richness in illustration, or quickness of repartee; but the speeches which have come down to us show a steady well-supported eloquence, and a clear business-like application to the point under discussion. He had a profound knowledge of the human heart, of which, however, he generally saw best the darker portions. His passions, especially the bad ones, it is easy to perceive were strong; but he kept them under powerful checks, when he felt that their indulgence would recoil upon himself. It is needless to observe how much Bolingbroke differed in his character from all this. If their rivalry at school was of a literary nature, Bolingbroke must have been greatly the superior. His knowledge of the French language was so far beyond that generally possessed at the period, that he was considered the only man connected with the ministry, capable of superintending the details of the Treaty of Utrecht. Walpole, on the other hand, was by his son's admission so ignorant of modern languages, that his intercourse with the sovereign was conducted in bad Latin. Bolingbroke, although it is easy to see that the legitimate path of his mind was that of political ambition, had accustomed it to excursions in so many directions, that when ignominiously driven from his more congenial course, he could find old companions in his solitude—the great ancient masters of reflection, who soothed his disappointment, and so far entertained his thoughts, that he could fancy himself like them, a voluntary exile from the cares and bitterness of statesmanship. Walpole to the last, had clung to his power with a convulsive grasp, and when shaken free, retired to his mansion and his unnoticed pictures, sullen and morose, a prey to dejection, and instead of being soothed by literature, holding it in contempt. Their morality, as it appeared before the world, was curiously distinct. Bolingbroke's assumed a lofty disinterested air, which does not belong to human nature at all, and was far too startling a contrast with the conduct of its author. Walpole was at least candid. Independence and political integrity he held in supreme contempt; and as he had established to himself no philosophy of morality to relieve his practice, he never concealed his opinion. He was a sheer merchant in government—everything was to be bought and sold.

Bolingbroke's mind was altogether fitted to produce better fruits; and when the sweet uses of adversity had made government, to him, a matter more of speculation than personal

interest, the share he took in passing events was directed more steadily to public ends.

'Affairs at last arrived at what the Opposition believed to be a crisis, and the fall of the Minister was thought to be inevitable. The people were in the highest state of excitement against the Excise Bill, then before the House; mobs besieged the Houses of Parliament, calling for its rejection; cockades with the words "Liberty, property, and no Excise," were publicly worn;—all things portended Walpole's downfall, and the Opposition looked upon their work as done.'

'While the prey was in view, the pursuers had been ardent and unanimous; now that it appeared to be within their grasp, their exertions were feeble and disunited. Bolingbroke found that the same selfishness and jealousy which he had always experienced in political conjunctures, was not banished from the counsels of his present friends. In the commencement of the struggle, they had drawn their weapons of opposition from the armoury of the constitution, and their temper and excellence had alone brought them to the very point of success; now, however, they were thrown aside, and the instruments of faction were adopted in their stead. Even these were turned against each other in domestic contest; and Bolingbroke grew disgusted with a cause which was no longer recommended by patriotism or honour. He had long ceased to be the slave of the Tory party; he had long ceased to consider the support of a faction the business of his life. Adversity, and the reflection it induced, had taught him juster views of the duty of a statesman: he was now only the servant of his country. Now, when his companions in opposition were supposed to be upon the very eve of success, Bolingbroke refused to abandon this better principle, which misfortune had taught him to take up. Immediately the expectation of power had blinded them to the object which they had before steadily pursued, he seceded from them, and declared his part was over: no promises or entreaties could induce him any longer to continue his support.'—ii. 89.

Still however, during the reign of George I. he repeated in some respects the game of ten years before, and tried to make his advances at court through the foul influence of the Duchess of Kendal, whose good graces he was not ashamed to employ the fascinating manners of his wife in securing. And long after, on the secession of the Opposition from parliament,—a desertion of duty which the author justly remarks 'no apology can justify,'—he proposes a project for re-instating them, in the pure spirit of party warfare.

'It comes into my mind, my dear Lord, to ask you whether you do not think, that an application from those counties and cities and boroughs whose Members voted against the Convention, might be as effectual as any method, and less liable to contradiction. I mean, that this application should be to their own Members,—approving their conduct, thanking them for it: expressing their abhorrence of this

infamous treaty, and their concern that it was not censured as well as the author of it : observing, that the same Minister who attempted to oppress his country a few years ago with new excises, has now not only attempted to give up the honour, and navigation, and trade of Britain to a foreign nation, but has really done it for many years together,—has given it up by the conduct of his administration, and almost directly by treaty : and has done all this with impunity.' &c.

'Some of the most glaring instances may be here interspersed. They may then express their sense, that restoring the independency of Parliament is the only secure way of correcting this and every other abuse of power ; and insist on their right to preserve that fundamental principle of their free constitution of government,—for which purpose they are ready to concur with and assist their Members in their endeavours to obtain an Act &c.'—ii. 184.

The author has an elaborate criticism on Bolingbroke's ethical works, displaying much reading and acuteness. The subject is too extensive to be discussed here ; but it may be just observed, that the author to show the confirmed safety of his own opinions, sometimes uses those terms of slight and contempt which cannot be considered within the limits of good taste. He seems much inclined to regret, both for the sake of their author and the public, that many of these works ever saw the light. Mallet may in editing them have behaved sordidly and for his own advantage ; yet unless he positively broke trust, it is difficult to see what injustice was done to the author. If the opinions committed to paper were sincere, the world was in a manner entitled to have them. If they were dictated by affectation, the author was himself the cause of the injustice. As to the public, to deny it the advantage of perusing the opinions and arguments of a thinker on any subject, is merely a part of that system of pious fraud, of which the supporters are only beginning to perceive the danger to the cause for which it is committed.

In the private life of Bolingbroke, is found a man of strong passions, of a disposition which despised restraint, and boldly courted notoriety to all that was really evil as well as to what was affectingly deemed so, profuse and extravagant, and careless of raising to himself that fortune which calm industry and prudence would have easily secured him. On the other side, a warm friend, affectionately devoted to his wife, of much generosity, and capable of appreciating all mental greatness. It was the evil nature of the times, that the dispositions which in a better state of society would have been exhibited only in private life, were allowed to commit havoc with the interests of the people. These bad systems moreover may be fairly charged, not only with the perverted statesman, but with the lost philosopher and historian. The world had a right to some-

thing more from the great intellect of Bolingbroke, than those fair fragments which are little more than evidence of what remained concealed, and the metaphysical conjectures which, showing a mind capable of having produced some great system, have only served to perplex a grand jury, and horrify divines and old women by their perusal.

ART. VII.—1. *History of Greece.* By Thomas Keightley.—8vo. London. 1835.

2. *Sur l'Etablissement des Colonies Grecques.* Par Raoul Rochette.—4 vols. 8vo. Paris. 1815.

THE constitutions of nations, like those of human bodies, insensibly become corrupted in time; when nature interposes, and exerting her native strength discharges the accumulated mischief, and purifying, restores them to their former vigour and function. Almost all that is found valuable in the institutions of the ancients may be traced to such a source; the tyranny of an oligarchy produced the code of Solon, and the same oppressive power in Rome led to the appointment of representatives and protectors of the people. The disorders of our own country have driven many from her shores to seek peace and toleration in less civilized countries, and have led to the foundation of her colonies and the extension of her dominion. To the same cause, Greece owed most of her power and splendour. Internal discord and the troubles of the domestic government gave birth to her colonies, in the foundation of which are to be traced the same stains of blood and cruelty, the same inhuman persecution of natives, the same confiscation of property, the same avarice and rapine, the same causes of hatred between the old and the new inhabitants, the same false and short-sighted policy in their government, and the same causes of revolt, which have ultimately led to their independence and the dismemberment of the mother country in the history of modern times. The limbs first became exhausted and decayed, and the disease gradually approached and dissolved the vitals of the parent State.

The native Greeks were taught the elements of colonization at a very remote period, while they were still plunged in the grossest barbarism, and preferred the acorns of Dodona's oaks to the harvests of Ceres. The troubles excited in Egypt by the wars between King Amenophis and the Shepherd races, compelled many persons of distinction to leave the banks of the Nile, and seek peace and tranquillity in the Peloponnesus and the ports of Greece north of the Isthmus of Corinth. These

Egyptian colonists made improvements in the arts and sciences which at that time flourished in their native country, applied themselves to reform the wandering and predatory habits of the barbarians among whom they had come to reside, to teach them the benefits of agriculture and of the social relations which ought to exist between members of the same community, and to unite them together by the bands of a sacerdotal government. When Inachus arrived in Argolis*, his first care was to raise a temple to Apollo on Mount Lycaon, which by extending its influence over his territories, might embrace both his own followers and the natives, and blend them together by a common form of worship. Cecrops pursued a similar system in order to reclaim the wild and savage inhabitants of Attica, and in a short time Zeus distributed laws, and his temple received the vows and offerings both of Pelasgian and Egyptian. The Pelasgians were not ignorant of the advantages which they had derived from their Egyptian invaders; and although many of them had withdrawn themselves into the mountains of Arcadia† for the purposes of protection or exclusion, and retained their own customs and language‡, yet generally they adopted the Egyptian laws and institutions, and showed their gratitude to those benefactors by the constancy and devotion with which they for a long time cherished and preserved them.

The Phœnicians succeeded the Egyptians in colonizing Greece. Their object was different; it was not civil war nor the evils of domestic government that drove them in search of a new settlement, and induced them to occupy a less fertile country than their own. Their commercial speculations, influenced by individual interests, blinded them to the honour of their country and to the calls of humanity; and notwithstanding the credit which is given to Cadmus of having first introduced the letters of the Greek alphabet into Bœotia, and having civilized the rude natives, sufficient historical evidence remains to show, that the evils of the colonial system existed in those early ages, and produced the same bitter feelings between the natives and the stranger, and the same constant determination and exertion to emancipate themselves from his yoke. The Greeks complained of the cruelty and robbery which were practised towards them§, that their coasts were infested with their vessels, that the inhabitants were induced to meet them for the purposes of

* B. C. 986.—Larcher, Chron. Ch. x. p. 309.

† Exc. Nic. Damasc. p. 445. 446.

‡ Similar to the retreat of the ancient Britons into the mountains of Wales.

§ Arist. de Mirab. p. 711.

traffic and then were forcibly carried on board and sent to work in their other colonies*. This was a portion of the slave-trade; and the word Phœnician among the ancient Greeks, like the 'Punica fides' of the Latins, was used to express fraud, deceit, and treachery†. The Gephyræans at Athens, who were descended from the ancient Phœnicians, formed a separate class distinguished both by their religion and habits. And the fables respecting the establishment of Cadmus's colony, conceal behind the allegory of the dragon's teeth and the bloody wars between the giants into which they had been transformed, a picture of the manner in which these colonies were founded, and of the horror with which it inspired the Greeks. The Egyptian settlements were formed in the agricultural spirit with which the first European settlements were formed in the United States of America; and local attachment, with a desire to extend the cultivation and improvement of these newly acquired possessions, were the natural consequences; while the Phœnician merchants looked upon the country with the commercial views of temporary profit, and having paid but little attention to the means by which they attained their ends, left a name behind them associated with injustice and oppression.

Besides these there was an uninterrupted influx of the wandering hordes from the north, into Greece. From whatever sources these streams of barbarians were supplied, they appear to have been as abundant in those distant ages as in more modern times, and issuing from the cold regions of Scythia‡ to have sought a milder climate and a more fertile soil than their own in the southern parts of Europe and Asia. *Soluti legibus, incertis sedibus vagabantur*; unrestrained by laws or moral obligations, they carved territories and rights for themselves with their swords and occupied those places where necessity or inclination led them, until a succeeding wave more powerful than they, either absorbed or swept them away, and awaited a similar fate in its turn; and the probability of the connection between the Pelasgians and Scythians is increased by considering the number and extent of the Pelasgic colonies,—*καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον γῆς τὸ Πιλασγικὸν γένος διαφορήθη*,—at a time when Greece is represented as covered with the darkness of ignorance and brutality. So early as the 19th and 18th centuries before our æra, these colonies are found established on the Tigris, on the

* Herod. l. i. c. 1.—Ezekiel, xxvii. 13.

† Hesych. v. *φινικαίωνων*.

‡ The Pelasgians are supposed to have been of Scythian origin. Court de Gebelin, *Monde Primitif*, p. 462.

coasts of the Euxine, spread over the isles of the *Ægean* sea, and penetrating into Italy and Spain*.

Such were the discordant materials of which the inhabitants of ancient Greece were composed; and it is in the combination of these that we must look for the spirit which dictated her colonial policy. Some were planted with the object of extending her religion, and adding to the glory of her gods and the riches of her temples; some for the purposes of trade and increasing the wealth of the nation; and others were founded by military adventurers, who inspired with discontent towards their domestic government, or with that working of restless activity which pervaded the Greeks for twelve centuries, sought opportunities of gratifying the appetite for blood and conquest beyond the shores of Hellas. From these component parts can also be deduced the relations which originally existed between the metropolis and her colonies. Sometimes she was united with them by the bands of a common worship and a common shrine, sometimes by the mutual benefits of commercial intercourse, and sometimes the colonies were entirely dis severed from and independent of the metropolis. Before the invasion of the Dorians and the return of the *Heraclidæ*, the colonization of Greece is so much overshadowed with the mists of mythology, that it requires almost supernatural light to lead us through those dark and sunless regions. And even if favoured with such a ray, the investigation, however interesting to the classical antiquary, could add but little to the light of the present times; but after the period alluded to, it begins to be more distinct, and to offer so many points of connection with modern times, that it may be both profitable and curious to follow its course. 'Greek towns,' says Seneca†, 'have raised themselves in the bosom of the most barbarous countries, the language of the Macedonian flourishes on the banks of the Indus and in the extensive provinces of Persia, Scythia and its immense plains covered with hordes of savages behold *Achæan* cities rule along the coasts of the Pontus Euxinus. Neither the severity of the climate where eternal frosts reign, nor the ferocious manners of foreign nations, can place any check on these distant emigrations. Asia was filled with Athenian colonies. Miletus alone produced sixty-five. All the coast of Italy which is washed by the Tuscan sea, bore the name of *Magna Græcia*, and this people found their way even into Gaul.'

* Raoul Rochette, *Histoire de l'établissement des Colonies Grecques*. v. 2. *passim*.

† *Consolat. ad Helv. c. 4.*

Greece owed more of this colonial fame and extension to her internal revolutions, than to any political view of increasing her power or enlarging her territories; and it is therefore found that all her most remarkable emigrations occurred when disorder and tumult reigned from one extremity of her to the other. At these periods of general fermentation, her population, like the lava stream, overflowing her shores, spread itself on all sides over the countries that surrounded her, overthrowing cities and their inhabitants, and occupying the ground which they covered. When Hellen and the other descendants of Deucalion had completed the deluge of desolation with which they had swept away all who opposed their conquering arms, and Greece assumed the general name of Hellas, the exiles who had escaped the sword, for the most part passed over to Asia Minor, and built towns which in a short time from their favourable situation for trade, and the richness of the soil, acquired wealth and reputation. The knowledge of these was conveyed across the *Ægean* to the metropolis, and excited a spirit of foreign adventure and conquest which were unknown before. To this period belonged the Argonautic expedition (1350 B. C.), which in despite of the dangers of the Symplegades and tempests of the inhospitable Pontus reached Colchis in search of the golden fleece, most probably for the purpose of turning the profits of the woollen trade, by which Colchis was at that time enriched and renowned, to the shores of their native country; the voyages of Theseus and Perses, the latter of whom gave a name to Persia* and was considered the first of the Persian kings; the conquests of Hercules, &c. And from the same period also may be dated the close connection in language, religion, manners, and consanguinity, which appears to have existed between the heroes engaged in the Trojan war,—ὥς μὲν δὴ καὶ το Τρωϊκὸν γένος Ἑλληνικὸν ἀρχῆθεν ἦν,—both those of Asiatic and those of European birth; of which the interviews between Glaucus and Diomedes†, and between Sarpedon and Triptolemus, may be illustrations showing the nature of the relation which existed between the metropolis and her colonies in that age. There were ties of hospitality and consanguinity which continued to unite them, until the refinements of Themistocles and Pericles substituted the physical bands of taxation and an Athenian government, for the moral obligations of affection and benevolence. Paris, by violating the law of hospitality, brought upon his country the miseries

* Herod. l. vi. c. 83. l. vii. c. 61.

† *Iliad*, B. vi.

of a ten years war, and communicated to the Greeks the knowledge of the superiority of the soil of Asia Minor, with the advantages which its possession might bring to Greece. The ten years which the confederate army spent in Asia, were not simply wasted in unproductive battles before the walls of Ilium; the allies of Troy were the first objects of the attention and vengeance of the Grecian chiefs, and it was the punishment of these colonies for their defection from the metropolis, that delayed the taking of Troy to the tenth year. Ajax reduced the towns along the shores of the Hellespont*. Achilles subjugated a part of the isles of the Ægean sea†, and extended his conquests even as far as the shores of Pontus‡; Menelaus employed eight years in reducing such states in Phœnicia, Syria, Cyprus, and Egypt, as brought succour to his enemies§; and in this manner the Greeks who returned home from the Trojan war brought back with them a knowledge not only of their superiority in war, but also of countries with which the reports of a few adventurers had made them before that time but obscurely acquainted. When the Greek princes returned to their native shores, they perceived that the passions which agitate the human breast had not slumbered nor slept in their absence. A new race of men had grown up in Greece, some of whom finding the thrones of the allied kings vacant, attempted to occupy them; others, the enemies of the house of Pelops, who recollected their usurpations and their pride, did not suffer this opportunity for humbling them to escape, and the misfortunes of Agamemnon and his children prove how fully they accomplished their object. Attica was not less disturbed than the Peloponnesus; and the partisans of Mnestheus and the children of Theseus engaged in hostilities equally sanguinary against each other.

‘During the space of ten years,’ says Plato||, ‘which the Greeks remained separated from their country, many domestic dissensions arose, the fury of which displayed itself particularly on their return. The young men, who in the absence of the old warriors had usurped almost everywhere the authority, did not wish to be dispossessed of it; and the greater part of those who had escaped the sword of the enemy, perished either by the weapon of the assassin, or by the hardships of a distant exile.’ The Heraclidæ thought the Peloponnesus was at this

* Dictys Cretens. l. ii. c. 18.

† Strabo. l. i. p. 45. Iliad, ix. 328.

‡ Mela, l. ii. c. 1.

§ Strabo. l. i. p. 40.

|| De Legibus. l. iii. p. 682

time fitted for the re-establishment of their power ; and uniting with the Dorians, they proceeded from the neighbourhood of Parnassus to Naupactus. The catastrophe which they had experienced in their first attempt to recover their dominion, taught them the dangers of the passage of the Isthmus of Corinth, and they determined to make a descent on the coast by sea. They built a fleet at Naupactus ; and taking Oxilus for their guide, whom an involuntary murder had made a wanderer, and who was acquainted with the coast on which they were to land, they commenced their invasion by taking Elis, and appointing Oxilus, who possessed an hereditary claim on the sovereignty of it, its king, as a reward for the services which he had rendered. The Peloponnesus was at the period of this invasion in the possession of the descendants of Hellen, of whom the Æolians constituted the most powerful tribe ; but yielding to the irresistible progress of the Dorians, they either united with them, or invaded the territories of more feeble antagonists. The Achæans, who were also expelled by the Dorians, in their turn deprived the Ionians of their lands. The barren and rocky soil of Attica offered but few temptations to military adventurers, and she therefore enjoyed a peace and repose unknown to the rest of Greece, and became the refuge of those who were the victims of ambition and cruelty. She received within her bosom the unfortunate Ionians, and also many Æolian exiles, and her population in consequence of these successive additions increased so much, that emigration was necessarily resorted to as the most natural and just means of finding support. This was the remote cause which led to the Ionian emigration ; the most celebrated, and in its results the most important, which issued from Greece. After Codrus had yielded up his life a voluntary sacrifice to his country to save it from the ravages of the Dorians, domestic discords succeeded the fears of foreign invasion, which were suppressed only by the Pythians declaring that the pretensions of Medon had received the sanction of the gods. Neleus and the other sons of Codrus being obliged to submit to this decision, determined to leave their native shores and seek an establishment in Asia, the advantages of which were already known to them. All those whom affection for these princes or a love of enterprise inspired, embraced this project with all the ardour of novelty ; and Thebans, Minyans, and Abantes, swelled the ranks of the emigrants. Their voyage led them through the Cyclades, many of which were forced to submit and receive their colonies*. The

* Vell. Paterc. i. c. 4.

planting of colonies has ever been attended with the same circumstances; and it may be doubted whether the advantages which have accrued to the parent states, or to the human race generally by extending civilization, have compensated for the horrors and cruelty which stained their foundation. When the Ionians arrived on the coast of Asia Minor, the Carians, Mygdonians, and Leleges were in possession of these lands, and took up arms in their defence. The superior tactics of the Greeks prevailed against the barbarians, who were obliged to flee to the mountains and other fastnesses of the country for refuge. The remembrance of their defeat and weakness passed away, and they again attempted the recovery of their dominions and the expulsion of their new masters; but their conquerors had struck their roots deep into the earth, and found it rich and invigorating; and, to secure themselves against these effects of the discontent of the barbarous natives, they punished their rebellion by massacring every individual of the male sex, and sparing the lives only of the matrons and their daughters*, whom they found necessary for the purpose of raising up successors to their property and titles.

After the Ionians had by this act of summary vengeance removed all apprehensions of future annoyance on the part of the natives, they proceeded to raise towns and cities, which growing in wealth and population, gave birth to others, until they finally covered all the surface of Asia Minor, extended over the whole of what is now Southern Russia, and penetrated as far as Bactria†. Miletus stood at the head of these both by its commercial importance and its naval strength. By means of its colonies, which extended all round the Euxine and Palus Mæotis, it carried on a profitable trade with the northern countries in grain, and its land trade extended into the very heart of Asia‡. And these refinements in the colonial policy of the Asiatic Greeks were introduced at a period before Greece herself had advanced a step beyond what the necessity of finding support for her overgrown population, or indulging a love of change, had produced. She had been too busily engaged in struggles to shake off the evils of internal feuds and bad government, to take notice of the progress of her colonies in power and riches; and it was from these colonies perhaps, that she first learned the lesson of founding her government on principles of constitutional liberty, and also of the federative unions which sprang up nearly at the same time both among

* Herod. l. ix. c. 96. l. i. c. 147. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 633. B.

† See Heeren. Manual Anc. Hist. Greek Col.

‡ Ibid.

the European and Asiatic Greeks. When the followers of Neleus had established themselves in Asia Minor, gratitude towards their leader, as well as the dangers which still surrounded their infant towns, induced them to place themselves under his sceptre, and adopt that military form of government, the evils of which had driven them from their homes. 'The constitution of states is the work of adversity,' says M. St. Croix* ; 'a sad experience of evils, has alone been able to induce men to renounce their natural independence and submit themselves to the despotism of laws.' The Ionians discovered that by abandoning their country they had not abandoned its distempers, and that they had carried the infection with them to their Trans-Ægean settlements. After the death of Neleus, his two brothers contended for the throne. Prometheus murdered Damasichthus, and fled in consequence to Naxos, where he died. This was not calculated to restore the lost affections of the Ionians for a monarchical form of government; and accordingly the first transition towards constitutional liberty appears at this time among the Greek colonies of Asia.

In the progress of civilization and improvement there are seldom discovered any gigantic strides ; the steps may be sometimes quicker and sometimes slower, but they are generally regular and confined within certain limits proportionable to the powers of human reason ; the history of every art and science with which men are acquainted, illustrates this. Astronomy did not pass at once from the obscurity which darkened it in the days of Ptolemy, into the broad daylight which at present surrounds it ; and the efforts which the sciences of statistics and geology are at present making to emerge from similar embarrassments, and it is to be hoped with the same certainty of ultimate success, brings the illustration more forcibly in view. Legislation has pursued the same course, and the codes of Lycurgus, Solon, and the Decemviri, were the result of the increasing experience and exigencies of man, and of successive attempts to meet them. The Ionians deposed their kings who had commenced their reign under such ill-boding auspices ; but they had neither the boldness nor the knowledge necessary to effect radical change in their constitution. The kings were succeeded by superior magistrates called *Æsymnetæ*. The people found that this oligarchy was more oppressive † than their monarchs, and that they had only multiplied their masters by the change which they had made ; and many of the cities, though they

* De l'État et du sort des anciens Colonies, Sect. 2.

† Arist. Polit. l. iii. c. 14.

retained the names of these nobles *, refused to acknowledge their authority, and deprived them of the power which they received, not for the purpose of oppressing, but of protecting them. The Ionians not only secured themselves against the dangers of internal enemies, but found it necessary to enter into a federative union for their common defence against the barbarians that surrounded them; particularly since their cities were independent of each other, and were united by no other tie than that of a common origin, which they considered too feeble to prevent division from creeping in among them, and delivering them over an easy prey to their enemies. They therefore built a temple in honour of Heliconian Neptune at the common expense near the promontory of Mycale, and appointed that the general assemblies which represented the twelve cities of Ionia, and were therefore called Panionian, should be held within it; where all matters relating to the interests of the public should be discussed, and measures passed for the common benefit †. These assemblies were annual; and they renewed at them the pledges of consanguinity and mutual friendship. Such cities as had transgressed the laws or the usages of the temple, were deprived of their franchise, and of the privilege of sending representatives, or having any participation in the celebration of the public games. The wealth and aristocracy of Miletus increased its pride, its insolence and corruption became insupportable to the other free cities; they declared war against it, and excluded it from the association ‡. For the same causes the city of Halicarnassus was excluded from the Dorian confederation §, and deprived of its franchise. Besides this General Congress, each city with the territory that belonged to it, had its own peculiar and local form of government ||. How many points of connection does the history of the establishment of these Greek colonies, and of the forms of government which they adopted, present with the origin and progress of our Transatlantic settlements. These traits of resemblance are increased on continuing to read the pages of their history. The Æolic and Dorian migrations also contributed to cover Asia with their colonies, the former being anterior, the latter subsequent to the invasion of Neleus; these were less dis-

* Like the Athenian Archons, they were selected from among the descendants of Codrus.

† Dion. Halic. Antiq. l. iv. p. 229.

‡ Vitruv. Arch. l. iv. c. 1.

§ Herod. l. i. c. 144.

|| Herod. l. i. c. 170.

tinguished than the Ionian : the history of their foundation and laws is the same. The praise which Montesquieu bestows on the Lycian Republic of those times should not here be omitted. 'If I were to offer,' says he, 'a model of a good federative republic, I would take the republic of Lycia*.' Lycia was colonized by Cretans, and its laws were framed after the constitution of that island. Its towns had each the right of suffrage in the General Council of the nation ; but the great had three voices, the less two, and the least considerable one. 'It was in this Diet that the Lyciarch, or Chief of the Confederation of Lycia, and the other magistrates, were elected ; it was here also they deliberated on peace, war, and alliances, and all civil matters which could not be decided by the Courts of Justice were brought here for final judgment. Each town contributed its share to the public expenses, and derived its elective franchise from the suffrages of this assembly. It was owing to the strength and temper of this constitution, that the liberty of Lycia survived that of the Greek colonies, and was not trampled down even by the march of the Roman legions†.

As the stones of the sea become smooth and polished by the agitation of the waters that surround them, so the Greeks may be said to have derived much of their splendour from the continual commotions in which they lived. Each species of government was tried by them, and each was found to possess its imperfections and vices. Monarchy was succeeded by an oligarchy, and this yielded its place to an aristocracy, which in its turn was expelled by democracy. The people of Greece bowed their necks to all these in succession, and the burden of each was found to be intolerable. The hereditary pride and titles of an oligarchy when invested with power and civil authority, were felt to be still more oppressive than the military sword of the monarch ; and the disunion of the aristocracy produced calamities not less pernicious to the state, than the conspiracy of the oligarchy to raise for themselves a tyrannical and irresponsible dynasty. These constant fluctuations in the states of Greece, gave birth to and supported an uninterrupted succession of great and conspicuous individuals, who by their talents and labours, called forth like electric sparks by the action of external causes, finally liberated their states from the mass of anarchy in which they were plunged.

While her colonies were actively engaged in remodelling their governments, Athens was proceeding to that republican form of government from which sprang all her triumphs in war

* *Esprit des Loix*, l. ix. c. 3.

† Strabo, l. xiv. p. 437.

and all her virtues in peace. Theseus may be considered as the founder of the state. He gathered the districts of Attica together which were before independent of one another, and constituted Athens the seat of government. This union was not sufficient to check the inroads of the Dorians, until Codrus by the sacrifice of his life rescued Attica from her enemies and put a period to her monarchy. Hereditary Archons succeeded, who were elected from the royal family; and as these magistrates were irresponsible, their power was found too great for the peace or safety of the state, and the period of their office was diminished to ten years, and subsequently still further reduced to one. All these changes took place between the years 1068 and 682 B.C., the period during which the colonies in Asia were struggling to emancipate themselves from the chains of despotism, when Pittacus of Miteleue and Thales of Miletus were exercising their wisdom in framing the constitution of the Æolian and Ionian republics, and when Sparta and Athens were growing into eminence under the laws of Lycurgus and Solon. The latter by infusing a salutary quantity of democracy into the old aristocracy, produced such a temperature in the government of Athens as rendered it wholesome to live under; and when the proportion of these parts was changed, it again relapsed into the state from which it had emerged, under the tyranny of Pylarchus. But the Greeks confined not their attention merely to the constitution of particular states upon principles of liberty; they extended their views beyond their individual territories, and wished to embrace the countries that surrounded them within the bonds of a common alliance for the purpose of protecting the general interests of Greece and guarding it against foreign invasion. The Panathenæan and Panhæcæan meetings appear to have led the way to the great Amphictyonic council, and subsequently to the Olympic games. The causes which led to the formation of these general assemblies, and the manner of them, was the same as those which led to similar unions among the Asiatic colonies. The Greeks panted for peace and a termination of the distractions which rent their country in pieces; and sought it in these unions, in which they met together under the protection and in the presence of their common gods, and received and gave mutual pledges of friendship and love. M. St. Croix has shown great ingenuity in endeavouring to establish that these meetings were entirely religious, and instituted merely to protect the gods and their altars from sacrilege and profanation; but any one who runs his eye back through the pages of ancient history,

must see that the religion and politics of those times were so blended together, that it is impossible to separate or draw a line of distinction between them. The Indians derived their laws from their priests; the Persian code was framed by the Magi; Egypt continued to derive all its institutions both religious and political, from the ministers of its religion, until Psammetichus put a period to the dominion of the hierarchy; the laws of Lycurgus issued from the Delphic tripod; Numa's constitution was communicated by the lips of the goddess Egeria; and this union of church and state has existed for so many thousand years, that many are disposed to consider it as of divine origin, and that the separation would be putting asunder what God had joined. The superstitious fear of invisible power which has ever been associated with uncivilized minds, was found by the early reformers of the human race, and the framers of political constitutions, the only instruments by which they could effect their ends. It was on such principles the Amphictyonic and other general assemblies of the Greeks were formed; religion was the ostensible, but political combination was the real band which connected them together. The Ionians when they assembled on the promontory of Mycale, not only pledged themselves to preserve the honour of their gods and the rights of their temples, but also to acts of mutual friendship and assistance against foreign enemies. And the deputies of the Amphictyonic council, after purifying themselves from their vows to the Delphic god, bound themselves by oath never to overthrow any of the allied cities, nor to turn aside the running streams, either in time of peace or in time of war; and if any nation dared to attempt this, they engaged themselves to wage war against it and to destroy its towns*; and the only political difference between these and modern federative unions, consists in the extended liberality of the latter in admitting persons of different religious persuasions to participate in them, whereas in ancient times the privilege was confined to the worshippers of the same god and protectors of the same temple. The necessity for such an instrument must always bear an inverse ratio to the progress of civilization and knowledge.

While Greece was thus occupied in her domestic concerns, her colonies were ripening rapidly in their new soil, and in civil, commercial, and naval improvements far outstripped their parent state. The only tie which at this period existed between them was of a moral nature. They were her ornament

* *Æschin. de Fals. Leg. ed. Tayl. l. ii. p. 279, 280.*

and support until avarice and ambition urged her to lay violent hands on them; after which they became the torture and pest of her declining years.

The Greek colonies were independent, *sui juris*, up to the time of the Persian invasion; unless a religious dependence and subjection to the gods of the parent state may be considered to detract from their freedom. This religious subjection existed from the earliest times between the metropolis and her colonies, and was the only bond which united them together, until predominant power introduced luxury and a taste for riches, when it gave way to the more substantial forms of imposts and taxes; and then followed the catastrophe. The metropolitans were honoured with the chief places at the public meetings, they were first served with a portion of the victims after the sacrifice was performed*, and treated with other marks of distinction, while the terms mother, daughter, and sister, were used to express the tenderness of affection by which they were related to each other. Unnatural conduct on the part of the mother or the daughters, was visited with the anger of the gods and the persecutions of men, and the offenders were expelled from all religious communion and from social intercourse with the other members of the nation. This is the only relation which Themistocles recognizes in his appeal to the Ionians when the arms of Xerxes menaced Greece. 'People of Ionia,' said he, 'you offend against natural equity in fighting against your ancestors, to reduce Greece to slavery. Range yourselves on our side, recollect that we are the authors of your birth, and that we have merited the hatred of the barbarians on your account†.' These natural relations of religion and affection were the only ones which existed between the metropolis and her colonies down to the time of the Persian invasion; and under these we find both their power and their name increase to an astonishing magnitude. When the colonists found themselves thrown by the domestic tumults of their native country on foreign lands, all their powers were called into active exertion to maintain themselves against the natives and provide the means of subsistence for themselves. This accustomed them to habits of industry, and the consequences were wealth and reputation. In the time of the Persian war, when most of the Greek states were finally established on a republican basis, the Greek colonies of Sicily were able to defeat the Carthaginian army amounting to

* Thucyd. i. i. 34, 39.

† Herod. i. viii. c. 22.

300,000 men*. Sybaris, a colony of Achæans in Magna Græcia, was able to bring into the field an army of 300,000 men; which was vanquished by the Crotoniatæ†, another Achæan colony planted on the return of the Greeks from the Trojan war. Miletus was able to fit out fleets of 100 sail, its commerce extended all round the coasts of the Pontus Euxinus, and even into the centre of Asia. Chios, Samos, and Mitylene, were equally powerful, before Greece had risen into eminence, or possessed any other reputation than that of having given birth to such an illustrious offspring. But although the exchequer of Athens or Sparta derived no increase from their colonies, their glory was augmented and diffused over all the civilized world by them, and the colonies repaid the country of their birth in gifts of literature, arts, and sciences. Homer, Alceus, Sappho, adorned her with the inspiration of their muse; Archytas, Pythagoras, and Anaximenes improved her with their philosophy, and Pittacus and Thales strengthened her liberties by their legislative wisdom. Whatever obligation her colonies may have owed to Greece, she at least owes to them a great portion of her immortal glory and unperishing fame among posterity. The cause of this monopoly and appropriation of the mental produce of her colonies by Greece, is manifestly to be attributed to her vanity which taught her to look on all others as barbarians; and her sons, when they snapped asunder every other tie which bound them to her, never thought of alienating this portion of their inheritance.

But a period was approaching when the policy of Greece with respect to her colonies, was to undergo a total revolution. The Persian empire had grown up to maturity under the direction of Cyrus. That ambitious monarch perceived the importance of the Greek cities in Asia, and lost no time in reducing them under his sceptre; but they had imbibed the sweets of independence, and felt restless and uneasy under the dominion of a barbarian prince, and sought an opportunity of emancipating themselves from the ignominious yoke. They sent ambassadors to their respective metropolises to ask their assistance in aid of their efforts. The constitution of Athens was at this time formed, and confirmed by the death of Hipparchus and banishment of Hippias; and the calm produced by the cessation of internal discord, afforded her time to look into Asia, and listen to the entreaties of her colonies. Miletus, distinguished by its wealth, its pride, and its insincerity, was the first to throw itself

* Diod. l. ii. c. 20.

† Strabo l. vi.

at the feet of Cyrus, and was now the first to raise the standard of revolt. Aristagoras the Persian governor of this city, offended with his master's conduct, fanned the rising flame, which ended in the burning of Sardis. Athens for the first time interfered in the political transactions of her colonies, and openly showed herself the enemy of Persia, or, more properly speaking, declared herself the legitimate mistress of the Greeks of Asia Minor. Darius, inflamed by these acts of rebellion, and by the instigation of the exiled Hippias,—for the tyrants of ancient, like those of our own times, found protection in courts equally despotic, and by the natural sympathy of a Holy Alliance, obtained succours and armies to restore them to the thrones from which they had been expelled by the voice of their subjects,—directed the first effects of his resentment against the capital of the Ionians; and the haughty and luxurious Miletus, which with Tyre and Carthage engrossed the trade of the world, was utterly destroyed. Greece next demanded the attention of the Persian autocrat; but the battles of Marathon and Plateæ, and the naval victories of Mycale and Salamis, humbled his pride and raised his adversaries to their highest pinnacle of glory. The corruption and intrigues of Pausanias tarnished the arms of Sparta; while the integrity and brilliant talents of Aristides and Themistocles contributed to increase the growing ascendancy of her rival. Athens was raised to a giddy elevation by these events. The wars with Persia made her generals acquainted with the wealth and strength of her Asiatic colonies, and with the islands of the Ægean sea. They perceived the great resources which commerce produced, and the power which a navy communicates. Rhodes, Chios, Lesbos, once inconsiderable islands, had grown great and flourishing. Miletus, Smyrna, and the other Greek towns along the coast of Asia Minor, had become sensual and effeminate from the riches which their ships and trade brought into their harbours. Persia had lost all influence in these quarters, by the cruelty of her governors, and the heaviness of her taxes. All things conspired to favour the ambitious projects of Athens.

Political economy now became the study of Athenian statesmen, and they rapidly passed through the several gradations of caution, moderation, and oppression. The just Aristides was the first minister appointed to estimate the amount of the tributes which the colonies and the allies of Athens should contribute to support her armies and navies. He calculated them at 460 talents* yearly; the principle was ac-

* Plutarch. Arist

known by the compliance of the confederates; and extended itself under the administration of Pericles, when the tributes amounted to 600 talents. The impetuous policy of Alcibiades forced the Athenians to a new valuation, and their exchequer received 1200, double the former amount. For public distributions, shows, processions, sacrifices, and all the consequences of ungarded prosperity, began at this time to prevail at Athens, and the public treasury was required to support this extravagance, and maintain the false glare with which such men as Alcibiades covered the weakness of their government.

The colonies were, however, permitted to retain their own laws for some time; but their quiet submission to the dictates of Athens deprived them of this mask of freedom, and they were finally subjected to Athenian governors* and military commanders. The most galling burden which the tyranny of Athens imposed on them, was the necessity she laid them under of trying their causes at Athens; by which her revenues were very much increased, and the inhabitants of the colonies ruined by expensive journeys and dilatory litigation. Export and import duties were also levied to restrain the trade of the colonies, and to extend her own†; and she monopolized the trade of the Euxine by establishing custom-houses at Byzantium and Chalcedon, and obliging all foreign vessels that navigated the strait, to pay transit duties‡. She also appropriated to her own use the mines of the allies, and Sceptesyle and Crenides contributed all their gold to corrupt and accelerate the fall of Athens. This ruinous system of foreign policy Athens extended over almost all the islands of the Ægean Sea, along the coast of Asia Minor, and even to the eastern shore of the Euxine. The Thracian peninsula, the whole southern coast of Thrace, the coast of Macedonia, with its projecting capes and promontories, all felt the heavy burden of Athenian ascendancy§, and with anxious solicitude awaited the day of reckoning.

It came at last. During the Persian wars, many causes of mutual distrust and jealousy grew up between Athens and Sparta; they maintained between each other that sort of equipoise which requires but the slightest impulse to disturb it. The dispute between the Coreyreans and Corinthians respecting the relations between a colony and its metropolis, produced it; all the states and allies of Greece became involved in the

* Thucyd. l. i. c. 115.

† Thucyd. l. vii. c. 28.

‡ Xenophon. Hellen. l. i. c. 14.

§ Boech's Public Economy of Athens, B. iii.

quarrel, and Athens and Sparta quickly placed themselves at the head of the contending parties. All the resources of the one and the other, were exerted in the prosecution of this war. Sparta pushed the severity of her military government to extremities, while Athens devoted all her energies to her revenues and navy. The general fund which was deposited in the temple of Delos, and contributed by all the states and allies of Greece for the defence of their religion and liberties, Pericles did not hesitate to transfer to Athens, and appropriate to temporal purposes when the exigencies of the state required it*. He even counselled that the golden ornaments should be removed from the statues of the gods, and employed in the service of the country; and Tachus, by the advice of Chabrias, acquainted the Egyptian priests, that in consequence of the impoverished state of the nation it was necessary that some of their offices should be abolished†. State lands, and the property of sacred corporations, were employed for similar purposes. The history of this period also contains the first instances of a property-tax‡, of ship-money, and the foundation of a national debt§. This rapid progression in the financial system could not but cause the great burthen to fall upon the colonies. 'We command,' said the Athenian envoys to the Syracusans, 'our allies in the manner that is most advantageous to our own interests; we compel the Chiot and Methymneans to furnish us with ships; it is on this condition we grant them their freedom; we rigidly exact from others a tribute, and it is only to a few, though these are islanders and easy to subdue, that we permit entire liberty because they occupy important positions on the borders of the Peloponnesus.' In order to enforce the payment and collection of these taxes, a host of questors and inspectors and custom-house officers were sent from Athens, and by their petty and vexatious tyranny quickened the spirit of revolt which had begun to appear in the colonies. Pericles perceived this silent and dangerous movement, and with his accustomed promptitude attempted to check it. He conceived a new plan of binding the colonies to Athens, by infusing into them such a number of new colonists from the metropolis as might restore their affection, or serve as a garrison to keep down their disaffection, and fasten their chains more firmly. With these views he sent out 1000 men to the Chersonesus, 500 to Naxos, 250 to Andros, 1000 to Thrace; to each place

* Thueyd. i. ii. c. 13.

† Arist. Olcon. ii. 2.

‡ Boech's Public Economy of Athens, B. iv. s. 1.

§ Idem, sec. 12, 18.

a number proportioned to its importance and grievances. He afterwards took the command of a large fleet, and sailed round the Euxine for the purpose of examining the state of the Greek colonies on the coast, and restoring the sinking authority of the republic by a display of its power. In the course of this expedition he expelled the tyrant Timesilas from the government of Sinope, with all his partisans, and restored the power of the people; he left there 600 new colonists, who divided among them the confiscated property of the exiles, by which he hoped to secure their fidelity. He afterwards made a descent on the Island of Eubœa, and drove the inhabitants entirely from the land, which he also occupied by an Athenian colony *.

The principle of Athenian policy at this period was 'might gives right.' Their ambassadors, in the negotiations which preceded the Peloponnesian war, undertook to say, 'the strongest have always been masters; we are not the authors of this war, it is founded in nature†.' And by this was their ambition and injustice hurried forward. The maritime power of Ægina had been for a long time an object of their jealousy, and they seized the moment of their power to subdue it, and chase the unfortunate islanders from their homes. They planted a new colony and a garrison in the island, as it possessed good harbours for the accommodation of their ships, and its position afforded them great opportunities of annoying the Peloponnesians. Potidæa also received an Athenian colony, after sustaining a siege of several years rather than submit to Athenian domination. Amphipolis commanded the navigation of the river Strymon, and abundantly supplied the materials of ship-building; it opened a communication with Thrace, and with the gold and silver mines that were in its neighbourhood; it was too important to be neglected, and it received 10,000 Athenian colonists who divided among themselves the possessions of those who dared to defend their country. Pericles saw the storm which threatened the supremacy of Athens, and endeavoured by these vigorous but unjust measures to weaken its fury. His foreign policy was founded on the maxim of 'Divide et impera.' Such colonies as held out advantages by the importance of their position or the richness of their soil, either quietly received the needy Athenians, or were compelled to do so, and their land distributed among the strangers; for the Athenian politicians of this time perceived that there was not a cheaper or more effectual method of maintaining their supre-

* Plutarch. Pericles.

† Thucyd. l. i. c. 84.

macy, than the establishment of colonies, which would be compelled to exert themselves for their own interest to retain possession of the conquered countries. But by this a lasting hatred was engendered between the old and the new possessors, the consequences of which Athens felt severely, but did not foresee. Pericles was able to retard the catastrophe; the gods themselves were not able to prevent it.

Samos was the first of the colonies that showed symptoms of opposition to the oppression of Athens; when she refused to admit her arbitration in a misunderstanding which occurred between her and her neighbours the Milesians, and applied to the Persians for protection. Pericles was despatched with a fleet to subdue the spirit of defection; which he effected, and changed the form of their government from an aristocracy to a democracy, and imposed fines to reimburse the expenses of the expedition. Pericles was recalled to quell a second revolt of the Samians. The Lesbians next withdrew themselves from the yoke of Athens, and joined Sparta. The ambassadors to the Spartans declared, that the Athenians, once the most noble and generous nation, the patrons of liberty and friends of mankind, had adopted a tyrannical and ruinous system of administration, and sought for pretences to enslave their allies and colonies instead of defending the liberties of Greece against the common enemy; that they had already executed their plan in part, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to complete their despotism*.

The Athenians were provoked beyond measure by this rebellion; and in the first transports of their resentment, passed a brutal and bloody decree that all the males of Lesbos of the age of puberty should be put to death, and the women and children sold for slaves, and sent the same day a ship with commissioners to see the decree executed. The severity of the decree was mitigated on reflection; and the punishment was limited to a thousand of the chief abettors of the rebellion, who were to be sent to Athens for execution. New colonists from Athens occupied the places and estates of the conquered.

These were the first outbreaks of a spirit which had been long fermenting in the Greek colonies. Athens might have received a wholesome and timely lesson from them, but her pride hurried her on until she blindly rushed down the precipice to which she had been hastening. It was this policy which induced her to undertake the reduction of the Sicilian colonies. That fatal expedition shook her power to the foundation: The colonies hailed the opportunity with eagerness; the islands of the

* Thucyd. i. iii. c. 9.

Ægean sea, and the towns and cities along the coast of Asia Minor, entered into an alliance with her enemies, the limbs were severed from her body, and she easily became the prey of those who sought her humiliation. The madness of desperation pursued her; and before the naval battle of Ægospotamos, her commanders deliberated about cutting off the right hands of all they should make prisoners.

Athens fell. But stupid, aristocratic Sparta derived no instruction from her fall. She succeeded to the supremacy of Greece and her colonies, and hastened to remodel their governments after the form of her own. The republics were overthrown, and an aristocracy raised on their ruins. Athens was forced to submit to the tyranny of the thirty Oligarchs whom Lysander imposed on them. The colonies in Europe and Asia received each a military commander and garrison to execute the laws, and a Legislative Council of ten to enact them*; these were chosen from the most violent and daring, and were entirely devoted to the interests of Sparta, from which they always found support and protection†.

The Boeotians were the first to exclaim against the unbridled licentiousness and insatiable avarice of the Spartan Governors. They reanimated the courage of the Athenians. 'The Lacedæmonians,' they said, 'consider their slaves worthy of being our masters, and from the moment that fortune favoured them, they began to tyrannize over their allies. Those who have separated themselves from you, Athenians, have been disappointed in their hope. Instead of freedom, Sparta has imposed on them a double yoke, that of being governed equally by the Harmostæ and the Decemvirs whom Lysander has established.' The Athenians listened to these solicitations, the colonies and allies roused themselves to break their chains, and the despotism of Sparta was ended.

The body of Athens was raised by these events, but her spirit was gone for ever. She derived a sort of electrical animation from the victories of Conon, Chabrias, and Timotheus; her colonies again gathered round her, expecting that experience might have taught her the necessity of a milder government. They were deceived, they entered into an alliance with each other, the social war ensued, which established their independence, and prepared Athens for her annihilation on the plain of Chæronea.

Sparta endeavoured to compensate for its errors by the disgraceful treaty of Antalcidas, by the articles of which the

* Xenophon, l. i. p. 38.

† Plutarch. Lysand.

Greek cities in Europe were declared free and independent, while those in Asia, with the islands of Cyprus and Clazomene, were delivered up to the Persian King. The other islands with the exception of Imbros, Lemnos, and Sciros, were to remain tributary to herself. By this appearance of liberal policy towards the Greek cities, she hoped to recover her lost authority. The Greeks saw through her perfidy, and she atoned for her errors and her crimes at the battle of Leuctra.

The orator Isocrates enumerates the losses which the improvident ambition of Athens had brought upon her. He says that 200 galleys were sent out to Egypt and entirely lost with the equipages, 150 smaller vessels which were sent to Cyprus, and 200 which were sent to the Hellespont; 10,000 men perished in the Euxine, and 40,000 before Syracuse with 240 galleys. The same ambition lost Sparta and the colonies. He admonishes the Athenians that it is not by violence and injustice, but by procuring the happiness of their subjects, by protecting their allies and gaining the affections of their neighbours, that they can hope again to become great and powerful*. Their efforts, however, to recover their position were ineffectual, the seeds of distrust were sown too deeply in the colonies to be eradicated, and Athens reaped the full harvest of them, when one after another they threw themselves into the arms of the crafty Macedonian, and finally absolved themselves from all allegiance to a state which had abused its exaltation and power.

Rome was taught the rudiments of her colonial policy by necessity. Born in the midst of enemies, she was obliged, from her infancy, to fight for her existence; and as her conquests increased, the newly acquired territories were secured by emigrants, which the inexhaustible asylum of Romulus abundantly supplied, until all Italy finally became by the progress of her arms a great depot of Roman soldiers. Lord Brougham speaking of these Roman colonies, says, 'The establishments which have been called colonies, and compared to those of modern times, or of the Greeks, were military stations—garrisons placed in conquered countries—advanced posts of a great army of which the Commander in Chief held his head-quarters at Rome and occasionally made a progress through the different cantonments.' These colonies, planted for the purpose of extending and establishing the Roman power, did not all enjoy the same privileges. The most favoured, denominated *Roman*, possessed all the rights of Roman citizens; their government was modelled after that of the metropolis; they

* De Bell. Soc. p. 341.

† Colonial Policy of the European Powers. B.i. sect. I. p. 15:

had permission to enact such laws as local circumstances might require, but the superintending jurisdiction always lay in Rome; and non-residence deprived them of the right of voting in the comitia of the mother country, or of being elected to any of her public offices: The other class were called *Latin colonies*. These held the rank merely of citizens of Latium, whom the Romans had treated with affection and respect in consequence of being descended from them, and to whom they granted particular privileges as marks of this relation. The chief distinction between them was, that the Latin colonists lost entirely the freedom of the city, while the Roman colonists reserved this right, and might resume it whenever they pleased; and the cause of making it, appears to have existed either in the condition of the citizens who emigrated, or in consequence of the colony having by some fault, at a period subsequent to its foundation, forfeited its rank. The citizens who constituted the great mass of these colonists were selected from the sixth class, persons who possessed neither property nor municipal rights at Rome, and who could not therefore be safely intrusted with the exercise of powers with which they were unacquainted, or which if they understood, their poverty might tempt them to abuse in the new settlements to which they had been transferred. These colonies, of whatever order they were, were always considered a part of the Roman state, and rebellion or defection among them was punished with the same severity as if they were residents in Rome. When the Volscians were reduced by the Roman arms, the inhabitants of their capital were ejected by the conquerors; and the city was colonized from Rome. The colonists showed symptoms of dissatisfaction, and at length joined the Latins in their general revolt. The Romans punished them by banishing the whole colony into Tuscany beyond the Tiber, and setting a fine of 1,000 *asses* on any member of the colony who should be found on the south bank of the river. Whether Rome always pursued a liberal system towards her colonies may be doubted, for they are found in the hour of her calamity — that period which the oppressed always look forward to — rushing into opposition, and refusing to comply with her demands. In the second Punic war, when Hannibal was threatening 'to plant his standard in the middle of the Suburra,' the colonies and allies thought the time had arrived when Rome could not refuse to acknowledge their independence, and they presented to her a catalogue of their grievances. They complained of her management of the war, that they had been oppressed with taxes and levies, and that nothing followed

from them but discomfiture and disgrace; their treasures were exhausted, and their population fearfully diminished, and in order to prevent utter ruin, it was necessary to stop the supplies. The Roman consuls in answer said, that their conduct amounted to open rebellion; that they should remember that they were Romans, and have regard to the duties resulting from that relation. The colonies persisted in their demands; the Romans saw the madness of attempting to enforce their authority under the existing circumstances, and prudently temporizing, they dismissed the colonial deputies who had come to Rome on this occasion, and took no further notice of their conduct. No supplies were demanded of them for six years; but after 'the hour of joyful victory had smiled, and darkness had been dispelled from Latium,' the senate vindicated the supremacy of Rome, and punished the defection of the colonies*.

As long as the dominion of Rome was confined within the shores of Italy, and her public offices were attended with more honourable employment than profit, the colonies showed no uneasiness at being deprived of the rights of Roman citizens. But when the Roman eagles had penetrated foreign countries, and rich and luxurious provinces were added to the empire, when the spoils of war, the territory of the vanquished, places of honour and emolument were to be disposed of, the participation in the rights of Roman citizens became an object worth contending for, and both allies and colonies exerted all their strength for its acquisition. The latter alleged the share they had borne in the dangers and burdens of the state, that they had contributed a large portion of the troops that fought her battles and of the taxes which supported her expenses, and that it was but just and reasonable that they should have some influence in the government which directed these operations, and some portion of the profits and honours which it had to confer. The Romans understood the advantages which they possessed, and either by violence or artifice for many years defeated the attempts of the colonies. The force and the resentment of the latter increased, and they flew to arms. The consequence of the Social War, in which Rome lost 300,000 men, was the Julian law, by which the colonies were emancipated, and received the freedom of Rome. The city never recovered the effects of that bloody war; the non-resident freemen, who after that period thronged her streets, introduced into her elections corruption, perjury, and every species of crime; all those who sought to raise a despotic

power, and overthrow the republic, found there the willing and ready instruments by which they might work their ends. Cæsar, by his bribes, had plunged himself in debt to the amount of 200,000*l.* of our money. Another candidate inspired by similar views and employing the same means to promote them, spent the value of 155,000*l.* on an election*. Military colonies were introduced by Sylla to supply the want of money; the cool and avaricious tyrant Augustus improved and extended this system to reward the services of his troops, and the unfortunate Mantuans were not the only victims of it, who in the bitterness of their destitution and anguish cried,

‘ Nos patriæ fines et dulcia linquimus arva.’

The system was extended under the succeeding emperors, until it spread over all the provinces. The power of Rome could not subdue the spirit of resentment and resistance which this created, and which contributed still more than the sword of the barbarian to the subversion of the Empire of the West. Such has ever been the end of continued oppression.

ART. VIII.—*Three Lectures on Commerce and Absenteeism, delivered in Michaelmas Term, 1834, before the University of Dublin.* By Mountfort Longfield, LL. D. Archbishop Whateley’s Professor of Political Economy.—Fellowes.

PROFESSOR Longfield in the prelude to the lecture on Absenteeism says,

‘ I know nothing that has more tended to revolt the minds of men, and to cause them to turn with disgust from Political Economy as a science composed of quibbles and paradoxes and mischievous absurdities, than the belief that one of its doctrines is this: “ That absenteeism is not prejudicial to the interests of a country; that Ireland, for instance, would suffer no detriment, if all her proprietors should reside in foreign lands, and would derive no advantage from their return home to pass their lives and spend their incomes in their own country.” Men are unwilling to study a science which they believe will lead to results which their understandings and their hearts alike condemn.’

One half of the world is generally occupied in condemning what is agreeable to the understandings and feelings of the other half; but that does not prevent the sensible persons in both fractions, from inquiring into the truth of the matter in dispute. It is, to say the least of it, rather unphilosophical of the Dublin Professor to truckle to the *pococuranti* by tickling

* Appian, de Bell. Civil. l. ii. c. 432.

their "understandings and feelings" in relation to a subject upon which the majority of his brethren hold opinions in opposition to his own. If Caiphas the High Priest had written a book against the Christian religion, he would have appealed to the "understandings and feelings" of his readers.

The lecturer offers to prove, that

'Absenteeism interferes with the prosperity of the country, checks the growth of its wealth, and detracts from the happiness of its inhabitants.'

In order not to encumber himself with useless auxiliaries, he very coolly surrenders what have hitherto been the *cheraux de bataille* of the opponents of absenteeism. He acknowledges—

1. 'That any argument against absenteeism, founded upon the supposition that it is injurious on account of the necessity of exporting money to remit their income to the absentees, is fallacious.'

2. 'That the assertion, that 'absenteeism is injurious, by depriving the country of that wealth, which in some form must be exported to pay the absentees their rents'—carries but little weight.'

3. 'That the rent remitted to absentees is not in the least analogous to a tribute.'

This is something like the old story of Zopyrus cutting off his nose and ears, and sacrificing some thousands of his troops, to gain the city with what remained. After such a parade of self-confidence, it is natural to expect something if not strong, at least new. Let the anti-absenteeists listen and consider whether it was worth while to give up the nose and ears of the argument, for such consequences as the following.—

'To remove some of the confusion that attends these inquiries, let me observe that when the supply of any commodity is increased by any casual circumstances, it is not necessary, nor a usual consequence, that all this increase remains undisposed of. Some reduction of price generally takes place, which brings the article within the reach of a new class of customers. The same thing precisely happens, if any event occurs which withdraws from the market a certain number of consumers, a reduction of price raises up new demanders in their place; and by this adaptation to circumstances, the entire supply may still find consumers. The same amount of goods may be sold, but at a lower price. Now something of this sort takes place when men indulge too much in their fancy for foreign commodities. The same amount of domestic industry is employed as before, but does not receive so high a return. The home market is naturally the best, since the producer sells his goods without undergoing the expenses of freight, duty, insurance, brokerage, &c., to which exported goods are subject. If the home market is destroyed or diminished, more goods are forced into the foreign markets by a reduction of price. This reduction will be proportional to the amount

of those expenses which I have mentioned as attending exportation, and also to the ratio of the home consumption to the entire consumption in the natural state of things, to the diminution that has taken place in the home market, and to the effect which a slight derangement of the proportion between the supply and the demand has upon the price of the commodities in question. All these circumstances concur to make absenteeism particularly injurious to an agricultural country.'—p. 81.

Now what does all this amount to, but the 'old original' argument against Free Trade which has been knocked down and set up again for the pleasure of knocking it down, by every political economist from Dudley North to Professor Longfield. The enemies say, if you buy a pair of gloves from a Frenchman, you discourage the English glove-maker; and do the political economists deny it? But do they not add, that if the purchaser gets his gloves at the same price, there is a counterpoise to the English glover's disappointment, inasmuch as goods must be manufactured by somebody to pay for the gloves; and if he gets them for a *less* price (which is substantially the case in question), then the loss by the English glove-maker of this difference of price, is compensated twice over, once by the gain to the consumer of the same amount, and once over again by the trade or trades on whom the unplundered consumer expends the said difference? Who denies the cessation of an unjust gain, when we leave our own countrymen, and commence dealing with the foreigner? But who has established the propriety, of allowing one man to make a gain, at the expense of a loss to the same amount twice over to other people, by the way of increasing the riches of the community? And if a man indulges in a taste for foreign commodities, what difference can it make—as far as those commodities and the equivalents given for them are concerned—whether he consumes them at home or abroad? and why attempt to mystify it by the awful word absenteeism?

'The effects of absenteeism may be also considered in this manner. If a resident proprietor employs a tailor to make his clothes, or a cabinet-maker to make his furniture, and pays him in money, they must spend it in the purchase of commodities to be consumed for their own support or pleasure, and the country at the end of the year may not be directly the richer for it. On the other hand if the same amount of goods as were purchased by those tradesmen, were exported to pay the foreign tradesmen employed by the absentee, the consumption of the domestic tradesman will be diminished to the same extent, and the country will not be the poorer for it. Thus the riches of the country may remain the same, whether its commodities are exported to pay foreign tradesmen or are consumed at home; but the tradesmen, the people themselves about whom alone any concern is felt, have certainly been the poorer in

the mean time. They have spent less, they have had less of those enjoyments, which wealth is useful in procuring.'—p. 82.

There seems to be some strange hallucination in the above passage, relating to the acquirement of riches; however as the present object is to confine the question to absenteeism, no remarks will be made upon it, but what bear upon that subject. The assertion as it stands amounts simply to this, that if the 'resident proprietor' pays gold to tailors or cabinet-makers, they receive a benefit equal to the amount of money laid out upon them,—but if he pays gold to a manufacturer for goods by the exportation of which he obtains articles which he consumes, nobody receives any benefit from them. The manufacturer and his men, are not 'people about whom any concern is felt;' they have received the resident proprietor's gold, but it matters not to the country whether *they* are better or worse for those enjoyments which wealth is useful in procuring.' Sympathy, it appears, is only to be exercised upon tailors and cabinet-makers.

The next vulnerable point in this absentee theory, is that 'it diverts capital from manufactures for home consumption, to manufactures intended for exportation; that is, from a trade in which the returns are quickly made, to one in which they are received after a longer period.' It would be difficult to find a sentence in any system of political economy, which betrays such ignorance of practical commerce. If the writer merely alluded to the distance which the goods travelled before arriving at the place of consumption, he has yet to learn that by the perfection of our means of transport, we are enabled in many cases, to convey goods to foreign countries in a less time than to various parts of our own country; though in reality the distance has scarcely any thing to do with the matter, for by means of bills of exchange, the manufacturer is paid the instant of the completion of his order. But there is a more radical answer than all these; which is, that a trade making returns, either more or less quick, must always be balanced by some other circumstances; for if not, there would be a transfer from one trade to another. If the returns of any trade are particularly slow, depend on it they are particularly large when they arrive; or else the trade would be abandoned for others that would answer better.

The remainder of the arguments, are directed against the moral effects of absenteeism, and the consequent indirect influence upon economical results. And here there is no hesitation in declaring that a case may be made for the opponents. It appears probable that although an ignorant meddling landlord may injure his estate and vex his tenants, a man of good

education and practical knowledge may be the occasion of great good to both, and that the chances are in favour of the latter. There is no denying that when certain foul blotches in the political system are healed, which render it at present impossible for English proprietors to live in Ireland, much may be done directly in the way of civilization, and indirectly in the way of wealth. The lecturer's remarks upon the effect to be produced upon agriculture by the efforts of enlightened proprietors, are sensible and well-informed.

It is safe, in the present state of the question to assert, as a matter of belief, that the economical effects of absenteeism are directly nothing, and that the moral and indirect effects are not susceptible of calculation, and cannot, as far as Ireland is concerned, be prevented, until the hand of legislation has cleared the way.

ART. IX.—1. *African Sketches*. By Thomas Pringle.—London. 8vo. 1834.

2. *A Letter to the Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen, K.C.B., one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, on the late Irruption of the Caffres into the British Settlement of Albany*. By William Shaw, late Wesleyan Missionary in Albany and Caffraria.—London. 8vo. 1835.

3. *Travels and Researches in Caffraria*. By Stephen Kay, Member of the South African Institution.—London. 12mo. 1833.

A SMALL, uncivilized people, struggling for improvement in spite of the vices of their own barbarism, and impeded in their onward march by the crimes and oppressions of a civilized neighbour, make an object sufficient to rouse the best feelings of good men in their behalf. But when the happiness of many millions of human beings is directly concerned in the decision of the same question, their claims assume a still graver character.

These remarks are not made upon the spur of simple speculation. They relate to a race in Africa, which has the unusual good fortune to possess one of the most healthy and fertile tracts in the whole world; and the foregoing circumstances of personal character and relative position, concur to render them interesting. Rude in manners, small in numbers, opposed by civilized and powerful Europeans, their fate is likely extensively to influence millions of their more barbarous neighbours in the interior.

This is the present condition of the Caffres of the Cape of Good Hope, whose native name is Amakose. They inhabit a

well watered and well wooded country, covering two degrees of latitude, beginning at the eastern frontier of the Cape colony, and stretching from the Indian Ocean to a range of mountains about sixty miles to the west. Their whole population is between 350,000 and 400,000, divided into six tribes. Each tribe is in a great measure independent of the rest; but Hinza, the chief of one of the tribes remote from the colonial frontier, is acknowledged by the others as their general suzerain. The precise character of his legitimate supremacy, and the extent of his indirect influence, have not been ascertained. The government of the tribes is monarchical and hereditary, but subject to the controul of usages, and the check of councillors*.

During sixty years past the Caffres nearest to the colony have been well known; and the government of the Cape has made several treaties with them. Before the middle of the eighteenth century, those most remote were frequently visited by the slave-dealers, and by other mariners wrecked, or trading, upon the south-eastern coast.

These barbarians, formidable only through vices incident to uncultivated nature, are connected by language and manners with the whole African population south of the tropic; while their proximity to the Cape colony, with their earnest desire to adopt our best usages, renders them admirable instruments for spreading an increasing civilization among their neighbours. Their relative position indeed is such, that if we treated them wisely and well, it may be asserted without exaggeration, that a steady progress would be made towards civilizing their neighbours by their means and example. On the other hand, if we continue to treat them ill, the effect must be to alienate from us considerable bodies of men whose friendship might be cheaply gained, but whose hostility must cost us more hard coin, than the fee simple of even their beautiful country will be worth when we have seized it.

For our own profit therefore, and for the sake of African civilization at large, as well as in justice to the Caffres, it has become in the last degree important, that our relations with them should be of a nature to harmonize with the improving spirit of the times.

The examination of a few reports will show how far a new course of policy on our part is indispensable, in order to place those relations upon a becoming footing; and it will

* Hinza is since gone the way of savage flesh. He was shot by an English detachment, from which he was attempting to escape. See *Morning Chronicle* and *Times* of August 7, 1835.

be seen what the specific measures are, which experience has pointed out for ensuring that end.

On the 9th of March last, Mr. Bagshaw introduced an important discussion concerning this people in the House of Commons. The following report of the debate is taken from *The Watchman* of the 11th of March, a weekly newspaper devoted to disseminating intelligence among the Wesleyan Methodists, whose missionaries have been the most successful of all that have been yet sent to the Caffres.

Mr. Bagshaw in moving for copies of the despatches received from the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope relative to an invasion of the colony by the Caffres, said :—

‘ In the month of December a simultaneous attack had been made on the colony by the natives or the Caffres—an attack differing from any previous attack, both in the mode and in the season of making it, and also in its disastrous effects. A great many lives had been lost, and a vast amount of property had been destroyed. The causes of this irruption had been the want of a Lieutenant-Governor at Graham’s Town, to control the colonists in the first instance; and the want of a proper local force to back his authority with the Caffres in the second. He had had with him, during the last day or two, almost all the persons connected with the traders to the Cape, and with those excellent men the missionaries. It was their sentiments rather than his own, that he was then speaking. Give the colonists at Graham’s Town a local governor; give them 500 men more of the local (Hottentot) corps; *enlist the Caffre Chiefs to protect the frontiers from invasion and disturbance*, and all will yet be well; everybody will be satisfied. They will then endeavour to remove past grievances, and to give no cause for future aggressions.’

‘ Mr. F. Buxton concurred with the honourable Member who had just sat down, in all the expressions of horror which had been called from him by the late sanguinary proceedings in the neighbourhood of Graham’s Town. He hoped, however, that our treatment of the natives of that colony would undergo strict revision; so sure he was, that it had been such as would make every honest man blush. He was certain, that the colony would never enjoy permanent prosperity if substantial justice were not done between the natives and the colonists. He thought that a Lieutenant-Governor, and a civil magistrate, ought to be appointed to reside in that part of the colony.’

‘ Sir G. Clerk was not aware that there was any objection to the despatches from the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope upon this matter being produced. But the facts were new to him, and he was not prepared to give an opinion upon them.’

‘ Mr. Spring Rice said, that if his hon. friend the Member for Weymouth would renew the motion which he had made last session for the production of papers relative to the treatment of the natives of our colonies, he should have no objection, and he thought the present Government would have no objection to produce them. His hon.

friend would oblige him if he added to his former motion, one for the production of a circular which he, Mr. Rice, had addressed to the Governors of the colonies on the subject. He had no doubt, that the present Government, as well as that which preceded it, were influenced by the most anxious desire to enforce the duties of humanity.'

Hereupon Mr. Bagshaw withdrew his motion; and Mr. Buxton gave notice of his intention to renew that which he made on the subject last year. It has already produced important papers relative to the Canadas, to Guyana, and to Australia. But the documents expressly required for the Cape of Good Hope, had been omitted in the returns; as well as certain instructions to the Board of Trade in the 17th century, which are of great value upon the difficult question of civilizing the aborigines in the colonies.

It cannot be doubted, that new laws will be made, and a new line of policy adopted upon this subject. The thing to be most apprehended is, that old errors will not be vigilantly enough watched. The satisfaction of gaining some points, will be likely to lead to serious oversights. For example, the practice of setting one African tribe against another and profiting by their dissensions, has now for thirty years been the origin of incalculable evil at the Cape of Good Hope. Yet at this moment the colonists are calling for its repetition, as if it were the indubitable source of unmixed good.

'It appears,' says the *Graham's-town Journal* of the 2nd of January 1835, 'that the Chiefs Puto, Cobas, and Kama have not yet declared against the colony; but on the contrary they have expressed a strong desire to continue on terms of amity with it. It is affirmed, confidently, that were some little aid afforded to these Chiefs from the colony, they would not hesitate to fall immediately upon the enemy's rear, and thus completely check their further progress.'

These few words possess a virulence, not easily to be overestimated; and enormous as has heretofore been the loss of life and treasure attendant upon the adoption of this system, a calm consideration of what it really is, and of its probable results if again pursued, will show that all the past is trifling compared with the future evils it is likely to generate.

How old and how mischievous the principle is which the Cape politicians rely upon, is proved by the history of Ireland, that scene of all kinds of misgovernment. Her last and best historian has stamped it with just reprobation in the following passage. 'The cases are parallel with one important distinction. In Ireland, the passions of particular chieftains have offered occasions to the cupidity of the strangers ever ready to profit by domestic dissensions. In Caffraria, it is the white govern-

ment that has, and with difficulty too, excited feuds among a ruder people, for the miserable object of turning their weakness to account.

'The view opened by Tacitus into the interior of Ireland's politics in his time,—the divided factious state of her people, and the line of policy which in consequence the shrewd Agricola, as ruler of Britain, was preparing to pursue towards them,—is all of melancholy importance, as showing at how early a period Irishmen had become memorable for disunion among themselves, and how early those who were interested in weakening them, had learned to profit by their dissensions. One of their petty kings, says Tacitus, who had been forced to fly by some domestic faction, was received by the Roman general, and under a show of friendship detained for ulterior purposes*. The plan successfully pursued by Cæsar towards Gaul†, of playing off her various factions against each other, and making her own sons the ready instruments of her subjugation, would have been the policy doubtless of Agricola towards Ireland, had those ulterior purposes been put in execution. The object of the Irishman was, to induce the Romans to invade his native country; and by his representations, it appears, Agricola was persuaded into the belief, that with a single legion and a small body of auxiliaries he could conquer, and retain possession of Ireland‡. It would hardly be possible, perhaps in the whole compass of history, to find a picture more pregnant with the future, more prospectively characteristic, than this of a recreant Irish prince in the camp of the Romans, proffering his traitorous services to the stranger, and depreciating his country as an excuse for betraying her. It is, indeed, mournful to reflect, that at the end of nearly eighteen centuries, the features of this national portrait should remain so very little altered, and that with a change only of scene from the tent of Agricola to the closet of the English minister or viceroy, the spectacle of an Irishman playing the game of his country's enemies has been, even in modern history, an occurrence by no means rare.' — *History of Ireland by Thomas Moore.* p. 121.

And a like experience to this is now sought to be prepared for the thousand tribes of southern Africa, instead of the career of honour and beneficence which might so easily take its place. But the bad attempt will not succeed. Ireland is a standing caution in all such cases, and the example will not be thrown away. The age which has abolished negro slavery and emancipated the Catholics, will not tolerate the wretched repetition of practices, the impolicy of which exceeds even their baseness. In the end the Caffres, and the tribes at their backs, will beat

* 'Agricola expulsus seditione domesticâ unum ex regulis gentis exceperat; ac specie amicitia in occasionem retinebat.' Agricola. c. 24.

† *De Bello Gall.* lib. vi. c. 13.

‡ 'Sæpe ex eo audivi, legione unâ et modicis auxiliis debellari obtineri, quo Hiberniam posse.'

us ; because after slaughtering some thousands, we shall teach them to use fire-arms, already beginning to be common in that country.

A better prospect than this lies before us ; the truth of what is doing in South Africa will open it fully to our view. Some of the present evils were represented forcibly by Mr. Bagshaw ; but that gentleman was far from stating the whole case. It may be easily completed from the testimony of unexceptionable witnesses, of whom three will suffice, namely two Wesleyan missionaries, Mr. Kay and Mr. Shaw, with Mr. Pringle the late Secretary of the Anti-slavery Society. These three witnesses passed many years on the spot ; and in 1833, 1834, and 1835, published books upon the subject in question. The Wesleyan missionaries are known to have a steady leaning towards the Colonial and Home administrations which have sanctioned a *system fatal to peaceful progress in Africa* ; and the testimony of the most experienced of these missionaries, published before and since the late events, removes all doubts with regard to the character of that system.

In 1833 the Reverend Mr. Kay published an account of his residence of many years in South Africa as a Wesleyan missionary ; from which account is extracted the following clear testimony upon the unjust appropriation of the land of the natives, and other causes of the late invasion. Speaking of a particular tract of about forty miles square, called the neutral territory, once enjoyed undisturbed by the Caffres, Mr. Kay says :—

‘ No compensation or equivalent was ever given for this land. The Chief Gaika again and again denied his having ever assumed the power of alienating it ; and certain it is, that the other Chiefs, who had quite as much right in it as Gaika could have, were never made parties to any treaty upon the subject. Consequently, their expulsion was anything but just. . . . We have assumed a power over the neutral territory to which we never had any right. In the very acquisition of it, we have availed ourselves of a treaty which always rested on grounds the most doubtful, but which has nevertheless been made to serve the projects of every new Governor, whilst the interest of its legitimate owners has been the last that it has been allowed to serve. . . . These are grievances which call loudly for redress ; and if we wish to extend our friendly relations and promote good faith amongst the tribes, the sooner the territorial question is decided the better. Let compensation be made to the injured and aggrieved clans, by at least allowing them a portion of the unappropriated ground best suited to their views and wishes. By such means colonial measures may be rendered salutarily influential ; and the restored confidence and consequent attachment of our neighbours would most assuredly do

more towards preserving general tranquillity, than a hundred military stations ever did.'

'Next to the settlement of this question, it is of vital importance to the peace of the frontier, and to the civilization of our neighbours, that such measures be adopted as shall in future protect, and prevent all further encroachment on them. Much good feeling has of late been manifested towards the tribes in many different ways; but we have not as yet by any means extended to them that protection which they reasonably demand at our hands, and which our increased intercourse renders absolutely necessary. Hence numbers are at this very moment suffering most grievously from their rights being shamefully trampled under foot, and their clannish feuds materially promoted, by lawless colonists, English as well as Dutch, who when once beyond colonial precincts seem to laugh both at law and legislators, scrupling not to commit acts of aggression and cruelty, quite equal to those of former years. The injured Caffre wholly unaccustomed to colonial courts of justice, and often fearing to come within our limits, because he has again and again been forbidden to come there, is the subject of wrongs without any adequate means of redress.'—*Kay*, p. 495—498.

Such is the testimony of one Wesleyan missionary to the character of our system in South Africa; and he accompanies his remarks with a detail of horrors committed by the colonists, of a nature to make the heart ache. The book was published before the cup of suffering was full, and when our victims, driven mad by oppression, had not yet broken out into the hopeless invasion of last December to revenge their wrongs.

That such vengeance must come, was foretold by others; and in particular by the witness next produced, Mr. Pringle, who in 1834 published a valuable and interesting book, entitled *African Sketches*, from which the following passage is extracted. It sums up the Caffre case, after a long statement of its details.

'From what has been stated in the foregoing pages, it appears to be no very violent conclusion, that the present course at the Cape of Good Hope must be amended, if we would avoid great evils to ourselves and to the native tribes our neighbours. Whether that amendment shall consist in a new stimulus being given to the local government to be more energetic, and more judicious in the employment of its present means; and the old instructions of 1670, p. 22 above, and the Dutch law of 1636, in the title page, continue, in a great measure, nugatory—or whether something like the views advocated in this volume be thought fit to be adopted,—no reasonable person can doubt the hazards to which we are now exposed. In the beginning of the year 1828, it would have been called insanity to have cautioned the Government against acts so barbarous as were perpetrated in the campaign of August in that year. Yet with those events occurring,

and with the recent fact before us of the seizing the neutral ground, it may justly be asserted that a very slight motive would carry our commandos again two or three hundred miles from the frontier; and possibly, so far as the destructive swamps of Delagoa Bay.'

'In the face of a Commission of Inquiry, whose first object in South Africa was to see that justice should be done to the natives, we have seized great part of the neutral ground; and pushed our limits to the Cradock and Keiskamma. It is not, therefore, improbable that in another five years the Orange River from the Atlantic to its sources, and the perpetually flowing T'Ky, from these sources to the Eastern Ocean, will be found convenient boundaries against the various tribes, who will be more and more troublesome, if their and our own true interests be not more successfully consulted.'—*Pringle*. p. 241.

The third witness is the Rev. William Shaw, a Wesleyan missionary, who resided thirteen years in South Africa, and who is now a Wesleyan minister in England. Mr. Shaw has published his statement of the Caffre case, since the late invasion occurred; and nothing can prove more strongly than his testimony, that the colonial frontier administration is a system radically bad. He vindicates the colonists, by asserting that a large body of them have long desired a change in that system. Other writers on the Cape, such as Sparrman, Burchell, Philip, and Pringle, have heretofore maintained that all the colonists are very far from approving it; and it is only to be regretted, that those who prefer a better course of policy have not openly addressed their views to Parliament. The fact, however, of the assent of considerable numbers of them to such policy, is sufficiently established to render the delay of its adoption by the Government inexcusable.

'That our *border policy*—if such a designation can be given to the most changeful and contradictory course of proceeding ever adopted by any civilized Government—has been full of errors, and has sometimes placed those who have had to execute its arrangements in the painful situation of appearing the champions of injustice and cruelty, are truths that cannot be denied: but I do not sympathize with those who charge the evils now deplored either upon the military officers, on whom the duty of enforcing the border policy devolved; or upon the settlers, who have for years suffered the mischiefs resulting from it, and who have long and loudly called for the substitution of a more just and efficient system.'—*Shaw*. p. 5.

No very considerable difference of opinion exists between the plan of Mr. Shaw for remedying the evils which he denounces, and that proposed by Mr. Pringle; and Mr. Shaw's testimony is direct and strong, in favour of the probability of great good being effected by a decided change.

The ‘aggressors,’ as all the witnesses agree, have been robbed of their land, and harassed by an ill-digested border police, which is indiscriminately destructive of life and property. Yet it is coolly talked of taking revenge upon a people who can bear such oppressions no longer, and who at last exercise their right to what Lord Bacon correctly calls ‘wild justice.’ It is to be hoped, however, that revenge on our part will form but a small part of the issue of these events; and that those who have hitherto so wretchedly misruled South Africa will be called to a severe account. They have not erred unwarned. The Commissioners of Inquiry long ago placed this whole question in its true light; and in the year 1830, a volume entitled ‘*Humane Policy*,’ full of details respecting the Cape of Good Hope, was published to promote the principles which experience proves to be indispensable to a safe and cheap government of the Colony, and to the advancement of civilization in Southern Africa.

But experience and zeal were equally vain. The Colonial Office in Downing-street was deaf to the warnings of evil, and blind to the prospects of good, anticipated by every impartial man who has visited South Africa for these thirty years past. New influences however, begin to be felt in that Office; and the promised publication of the documents which prove the delinquency, may lead to a correction of past errors, even if the patrons of the system to be abandoned, escape the punishment they deserve for the obstinacy with which they have persevered in their mistakes.

ART. X.—1. *Report of William Crawford, Esq. on the Penitentiaries of the United States, addressed to his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.* Parl. Paper, Session 1834.

2. *First Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the present state of the several Gaols and Houses of Correction in England and Wales.* Parl. Paper, Session 1835.

3. *Gaol Returns under 4 Geo. IV. c. 64, and 5 Geo. IV. c. 12.* Parl. Paper, Session 1835.

OF all the practical proofs of the backwardness of the state of criminal jurisprudence in this country, the condition of our gaols, and the character of the regulations which prevail in the management of them, may be cited as the most conclusive. It has been the fashion of a not inconsiderable class of politicians to separate theory and practice, and yet by the most hazardous hypothesis, to expect the best results from the worst practice.

Whatever is, is best, has been the outcry ; provided always that they had been the authors of it. They have acted upon the voluntary principle, of doing whatever they would with their own and other people's goods. Of this nature have been the doings in the matter of prison discipline. By statutes of the fourth and fifth years of the last reign, some effort was made to reduce the various practices of the different counties of England to uniformity, and for that purpose it was directed that annual returns should be made to the Secretary of State for the Home Department. From two causes these returns have been of little use. In the first place, though made after a uniform fashion, they are not reduced into any concentrated form by which a comparison might be instituted between the different returns, so that the diversities, both in means and result, might be made apparent, and the attention of the executive forced to a consideration of the existence of such diversities. In the next place, it does not appear that there was any superintending functionary directly responsible for the mischiefs that might subsist under the present system ; for to hold the Secretary of State so responsible is simply an absurdity, as he cannot by possibility direct his attention to all the minutiae involved in so extensive a subject, and at the same time pay adequate attention to the other numerous duties of his department. An Act was passed in the course of the last session, which will cure these defects in some degree, by bringing the state of the prisons more immediately within the cognizance of the Secretary of State by the agency of Inspectors. This scheme has been in force for a long time in Ireland ; but from the want of some competent jurisdiction to enforce the adoption of the recommendations of the inspectors upon the local functionaries, the improvement of the gaols in that part of the country has not advanced as rapidly as it might. Having arrived, however, at this stage of improvement, some hope may be entertained that the state of our prisons will no longer be so disgraceful as they have been, both as a part of police, and as an agent in the punishment and reformation of offenders. The reports of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the municipal corporations in England, has served to show that those bodies have been as worthless in this direction as in others. The Lords' report, the second of the books cited at the head of this article, gives in a connected shape what the Corporation Commissioners have reported upon this point. It is to be wished that so much of the extracts as refer to the different counties, with those parts of the gaol returns which concern them, may find their way into the local newspapers ; for if the people are henceforth indeed to govern them-

selves, it is fitting that they should possess the knowledge of these details. Nor has Scotland been in a better condition than England. The gaols in that part of the country are in the most deplorable condition. Even the first object of a gaol, the safe keeping of the body of the prisoner, has been neglected, and the prisoners have either been transferred to some stouter building in a neighbouring place, or the magistrates have been mulcted for the escape of their prisoner. The municipal commissioners of Scotland in their report enter at some length upon this point, and recommend four or five good prisons for the whole of Scotland, and that the local gaols should be merely lock-up places for the safe detention of prisoners before trial. This recommendation would be as good for England as for Scotland; and the only objection will be found in the jealousy of the local magistrates, who have been accustomed to meddle in this part of their business, and would be sorry to lose the patronage and the occupation. The abolition of imprisonment for debt will remove a large class of *détenus* who are the most troublesome, as they claim to be exempt from the ordinary discipline of the gaols; though there seems to be no reason why a debtor, if he is to be imprisoned, should not be made to work out the charge of his keeping at least, and, if possible, the payment of his debts also. However, all difficulty of this kind will be removed when imprisonment is confined to the cases of fraudulent debtors only.

- Of the Scotch prisons there are some which deserve to be exempted from the general censure; such is that of Glasgow, of which the Commissioners speak in these terms:—‘The most satisfactory testimony in favour of the establishment and good management of gaols on a large scale is to be found in the city of Glasgow.’ The Bridewell of Glasgow was erected in 1823 and 1824 at the expense of 25,000*l.*, and there are annually confined in it upwards of 300 prisoners, who are properly classified and kept to hard labour. In 1834 there were 1967 committals; and though the daily average number of prisoners in confinement was not less than 320, yet the whole cost of the establishment for that year was only 590*l.* 10*s.*, being at the rate of 1*l.* 17*s.* per annum for each prisoner. There cannot be a more satisfactory proof of the great public advantage which would follow, both in point of economy and discipline, from the abolition of small gaols, and from having places of improvement on such a scale as would ensure a superintendence of the most efficient and respectable kind. With a view to the amendment of the system in England, Mr. Crawford was in the course of last year despatched by Lord Melbourne then,

Home Secretary, to the United States, to inspect the prisons and penitentiaries there. Accordingly he went, and the result was the very able report above cited. From Mr. Crawford's statements it appears, that the Americans however they may be entitled to credit for the superior condition of their penitentiaries, do not excel the English in their prisons; and that of the former, several are not free from very grave objections, which he enumerates. Some of these objections apply to the want of efficient control over the officers, who are not always fit for their task,—to the inaptitude of the buildings,—and to the principles which obtain in the management. Nevertheless, these objections are such as may be removed in the course of more extensive experiments; for it is deserving of especial remark, that an almost universal desire prevails in that republican country, to render the means for the enforcement of the law, efficient for their purpose. One natural result from the attention to prison discipline, has been a more accurate as well as a more extensive enumeration and classification of crime; and the same result would follow the employment of the same means in this country, and lead more effectually than even by a Commission, to a complete codification of the criminal law. When after having secured the more immediate purpose of punishment, the prevention of crime, the public mind is awakened to the fact that all crimes are the result of perversions of intellect, and like other species of insanity deserve to be treated with more of compassion than vengeance,—and that consequently, whether as regards the individual or the society, it is matter of high concern in what state the criminal shall be sent forth to the world again after he has suffered his allotted punishment,—it will not be found possible to overlook the state of the criminal code in these considerations, and indeed it is involved in them. Unfortunately our lawyers are less acquainted with the execution than with the adjudication of the law; and in consequence they are apt to separate the law from its moral effects. As lawyers engaged in the practice of the criminal courts, they may find this necessary, and not improper; but as legislators embodying in one code the criminal law, these considerations ought to be ever present with them.

Space will not suffer a detailed examination of Mr. Crawford's Report, which is very comprehensive and compact, not admitting of extract; but his conclusions, for which he enters into a full statement of reasons, contain a complete summary of the points that ought to be kept in view in this branch of Reform. They are shortly as follows:—

1. To diminish as much as possible the number of persons com-

mitted for safe custody only, and with this view to extend the practice of taking bail as widely as is consistent with the public interests.

2. That there should be a more frequent delivery of the county gaols than twice in the year.

3. That provision be made in every gaol and house of correction, for the solitary confinement of certain classes.

4. That every prisoner should have a separate sleeping-cell.

5. When the preferable system of solitary confinement is not adopted, silence should be rigidly maintained by day as well as by night.

6. That in the confinement of prisoners in association, the convict when employed should be prohibited at all times from holding any intercourse with another prisoner.

7. That for the maintenance of solitary confinement for lengthened periods, as well as of silence, it is necessary that prisoners subjected to either plan of prison discipline should be habitually employed.

8. That provision be made for establishing a more efficient system than at present prevails of communicating religious instruction.

9. That the mere classification of prisoners fails to prevent corrupt intercourse.

10. That the rigour of imprisonment should be equal, certain, and unremitted.

11. That there should be a uniformity in the discipline of prisons throughout the kingdom.

12. That the sentence of the law should not be abridged in consequence of good conduct during imprisonment.

13. That certain gaols under corporate jurisdictions be abolished.

14. That increased attention be paid to the character and ability of the subordinate officers of prisons.

15. That an arrangement should be made for enabling the convict on his discharge to earn an honest subsistence.

On all these points reasons are stated; and Mr. Crawford strongly urges that efficiency must be secured by a combination of all the points. The machinery is very nice and complicated, and must receive many modifications according to the subject. Thus the tried and untried must be separated, and the treatment of each class must correspond. Suggestions are also given for the most important part of the subject, for *there rests the seed of the ever-growing increase of crime,—viz. the juvenile prisoners, who are classed under four heads,—1st. Boys committed for trial. 2nd. Boys sentenced to terms of imprisonment. 3rd. Boys committed for Vagrancy. And 4th. Boys sentenced to be transported.*

Many of the prisons in England are very ill constructed for the purpose, but it is shown that at an expense of 300,000*l.* separate sleeping-cells might be procured in the prisons of England for all the prisoners now confined. Probably this,

sum would be greatly reduced, if the gaol delivery were to take place more frequently, and in consequence the number of prisoners confined at any one time were reduced also.

There are probably many questionable points, especially such as relate to the condition of the most unfortunate classes; and of this sort, the treatment of the poor creatures who are driven by poverty to crime, deserves the most anxious consideration. If indeed worthier motives did not supervene, there is yet the palpable one of the costly worthlessness of the present system, whereby the comparatively innocent is destined, by contact with hardened vice, to be doomed to lasting crime. In the Report, there are several excellent plans of prisons, on the Panopticon system of Bentham,—and what might be of especial use to our Criminal Legislators, very full tables, though not altogether all arranged, of the crimes in the different States of America.

The chief difficulty in our Criminal Code has been the election of punishments, and the allotting them to different offences; a difficulty that might be assumed from the known imperfection of our notions upon crime itself. By the evidence taken by the Select Committee, it appears that whipping, which would seem to be the simplest punishment, is not the least unequal; that it is by no means defined, whether as to the number of lashes, or the sort of instrument by which it is to be performed, and practically is one thing in one county and another in another. The tread-wheel is also very unequal. A stout man and a thin man will have a very different quantity of work to perform, supposing they should be sentenced to the same punishment for the same offence; the weight of the stout man is a great help to his labour. Indeed there is scarcely a punishment that shall not bear with great oppression in some cases, and with comparative lightness in others. Thus solitary confinement will be to a man who has passed a silent, solitary life, a less hardship, because his habits have inured him to it. An instance is given of a shepherd, in proof of the lightness of punishment in such a case; while in others, a tenth part of the same punishment would produce madness. The age, the health, the sex of prisoners, are all conditions that serve to make punishments unequal,—not merely to a harmless extent, but so that there shall be torture in one case, and even pleasantness, in comparison, in others.

Next to the building of good prisons, in the task of Gaol Reform, is the selection of good officers; not uncouth, rough, and ignorant beings, who have no other idea of their function than to keep the prisoners safe, and use coercion if they are refractory, but intelligent, mild, yet firm men, who have acquired habits of

self-restraint by mixing in the world, who have filled responsible situations elsewhere, and whose intelligence and gentlemanly bearing may have a useful moral influence on the prisoners. The latter are too much disposed to regard their keeper, when of an inferior class, as one of themselves.

But it is not merely necessary that there should be fit prisons and fit governors of prisons; the judges should study this part of jurisprudence, and be prepared to order fit punishments. The latitude of punishment is now supposed to apply only to the degree of aggravation of the crime, but the same latitude should be employed also to enable them to adjudge the fit punishment in the case, not only according to the guilt of the party but according to his ability to bear the punishment. To doom a stout, hearty, bold, and refractory man or woman to the same punishment as the feeble consumptive being, is a practical absurdity. It is not enough to give the surgeon the power of adjusting the scale; he can have regard to only one or two considerations, and his conduct is in a great measure, and must be, unchecked by any efficient responsibility. Experience would soon teach the proper rules, and it would be the business of the Legislature and of the public to take care that they were properly applied.

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ART. XI.—1. *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh*. Edited by his Son, Robert James Mackintosh, Esq. Fellow of New College, Oxford.—2 vols. 8vo. London; Moxon. 1835.

2. *A Fragment on Mackintosh*. Being Strictures on some Passages in the Dissertation by Sir James Mackintosh, prefixed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.—8vo. pp. 431. London; Baldwin. 1835.

IT is related as a saying of Hobbes,—probably in reference to an observation said to have been made respecting him ‘that he ought to have read more and thought less,’—‘that if he had read as much as some men, he should have been as ignorant as they.’ The life of Sir James Mackintosh, rightly read, is an apt and instructive commentary on this text.

The work named at the head of this article chiefly consists of extracts from the Letters and Journals of Sir James himself; and therefore is to a certain extent an autobiography.

Sir James Mackintosh was born at Aldourie, on the banks of Loch Ness, within seven miles of Inverness, on the 24th of October 1765. His father, Captain John Mackintosh, was the representative of a family which had for above two centuries possessed a small estate called Kellachie, which Sir James

inherited from him. In his early years he lived with his mother, grandmother, and aunts.—

‘The only infant,’ he says, ‘in a family of several women, they rivalled each other in kindness and indulgence towards me, and I think I can at this day discover in my character many of the effects of this early education.’—*Memoirs &c.* i. 3.

In 1775, Sir James was sent to school at the small town of Fortrose. His first schoolmaster here dying, was succeeded by the usher.—

‘A man,’ says Sir James, ‘of the name of Stalker, of great humanity and good nature, but far too indulgent to me to be useful. He employed me in teaching what very little I knew to the younger boys. I went and came, read and lounged, as I pleased. I could very imperfectly construe a small part of Virgil, Horace, and Sallust. There my progress at school ended. Whatever I have done beyond has been since added by my own irregular reading. But no subsequent circumstance could make up for that invaluable habit of vigorous and methodical industry which the indulgence and irregularity of my school life prevented me from acquiring, and of which I have painfully felt the want in every part of my life.’—*Memoirs &c.* i. 7.

Sir James had certainly no cause to be grateful to his schoolmaster at Fortrose. The amount of evil which such a man may perpetrate, is unfortunately not in the reverse, but the direct proportion of his ferbleness and incapacity.

In 1780 Mr. Mackintosh went to college at Aberdeen, and there he does not appear to have been much more fortunate in his instructors than at the school at Fortrose.

‘The second winter,’ he says, ‘according to the scheme of education at King’s College, I fell under the tuition of Dr. Dunbar, author of “Essays on the History of Mankind” &c.; and under his care I remained till I left college. He taught mathematics, natural and moral philosophy, in succession. His mathematical and physical knowledge was scanty, which may, perhaps, have contributed to the scantiness of mine. In moral and political speculations, he rather declaimed than communicated (as he ought) elementary instruction. He was, indeed, totally wanting in the precision and calmness necessary for this last office.’—*Memoirs &c.* i. 12.

Here he met with Robert Hall, and at p. 14 there is an extract from ‘Gregory’s Memoirs of Robert Hall,’ which contains an account of their joint studies, in which ‘they read much of Xenophon and Herodotus, and more of Plato.’ What the ‘much’ and the ‘more’ of the author of those Memoirs may have been, may be inferred from the knowledge Sir James in his latter days displayed of the writings of the ancient philosophers. Mr. Mackintosh’s chief occupation at the university of Aberdeen appears to have been discussing with Hall, and others,

certain questions in metaphysics which were far beyond their reach at the time, and which do not, as far as the evidence on the subject warrants a conclusion, appear to have ever come within that of Sir James. This is a significant commentary on the system of education pursued at the Scotch Universities. Boys between the age of 12 or 14, and 20, after having learned a smattering,—a very small one,—of Latin, and gone over the Greek alphabet, proceed to attend lectures on the whole circle of the human sciences, in which they are frequently declared by the *Senatus Academicus* to be ‘masters’ at the age of sixteen, when they are absolutely ignorant of the very first elements of each and all of them. There are no examinations, or none worth the name, so that the boys obtain no *accurate* knowledge whatever, although they may turn over the leaves of half or the whole of the volumes in the University library. But in the place of that accurate knowledge, they learn the names of a vast number of authors (trashy ones enough among them to form a Dunciad), and if, like Sir James Mackintosh and other distinguished personages his contemporaries, they are blessed with ‘a playful fancy, and an easy flow of elocution,’ they will be able to add an epithet to each author’s name, it is no matter how misapplied or common-place, so it be in the fashion and euphonious. Accordingly they are panegyrical if the name be a name of repute and fashion, and *vice versa*. For example, with Sir James and his followers, Bacon is always ‘the great philosopher,’ ‘the master of wisdom,’ and the like. Leibnitz too, is the ‘great philosopher,’ and on Butler praise is heaped to overflowing. Hobbes, on the other hand, is ‘no where’ with Sir James; for the malignity of the priesthood, whose anarchical pretensions he had so potently opposed, had rendered his an unfashionable name. His very style, though he cannot deny that he has some merit, is not quite the thing with Sir James. And this, although to borrow the language of the ‘Fragment’ it is

‘The very perfection of the philosophical style, the utmost degree of simplicity, compactness, and perspicuity, combined, the purest transcript of thought which words seem capable of being rendered,’ is stigmatised by Sir James as “cold,” a word of great reproach with Sir James. And the spirit of simplicity and sincerity, with which a great mind delivers its thoughts to others in the very shape in which it holds them, without the affectation of a thousand apologies for the impudence of differing a hair’s-breadth from those who had never thought upon the subject, is charged upon Hobbes, as the arrogance of one who despises mankind. It is clear and conclusive evidence of the contrary.—*Fragment*, p. 32.

The spouters would seem to have an instinctive dislike to Hobbes. And it is certainly probable that whether he despised mankind or not, he would have regarded with scorn and aversion the diarrhœa of words which *they* call a transcript of thought.

But some are still worse treated than Hobbes. Mandeville is 'the buffoon and sophister of the ale-house,'—and Helvetius 'an ingenious but flimsy writer, the low and loose moralist of the vain, the selfish, and the sensual.' Whatever may be thought of the justice of these characters by some, there are others who would apply part of Sir James's character of Helvetius to himself, by saying that he is a flimsy writer, without being an ingenious one.

In October 1784 Mr. Mackintosh set out for Edinburgh to begin his medical studies, having fixed on medicine as his profession. He soon became fully engaged in the pursuit of the crude and shallow speculation and empty spouting which at Edinburgh usurped the place of diligent and rational study. His opinion of the state of study at Edinburgh at that time, is expressed in the following passage —

'I am not ignorant of what Edinburgh then was. I may truly say, that it is not easy to conceive a university where industry was more general, where reading was more fashionable, where indolence and ignorance were more disreputable. Every mind was in a state of fermentation. The direction of mental activity will not indeed be universally approved. It certainly was very much, though not exclusively, pointed towards metaphysical inquiries. Accurate and applicable knowledge were deserted for speculations not susceptible of certainty, nor of any immediate reference to the purposes of life. Strength was exhausted in vain leaps, to catch what is too high for our reach. Youth, the season of humble diligence, was often wasted in vast and fruitless projects. Speculators could not remain submissive learners. Those who will learn, must for a time trust their teachers, and believe in their superiority. But they who too early think for themselves, must sometimes think themselves wiser than their master, from whom they can no longer gain anything valuable. Docility is thus often extinguished, when education is scarcely begun. It is vain to deny the reality of these inconveniences, and of other most serious dangers to the individual and to the community, from a speculative tendency (above all) too early impressed on the minds of youth.'—*Memoirs &c.* i. 29.

It is believed that the writings of the Scotch doctors in metaphysics, (Brown is excepted and Hume is not reckoned among them), with their influence upon the Scotch higher seminaries of education, have tended more than any other cause, or perhaps than all other causes put together, to bring metaphysical science into that eminent disrepute in which it has now for many years been held, and which it still preserves,

in England. Instead of being what it was in the hands of Plato and Aristotle, and Hobbes and Locke, and even of Turgot, emphatically the *prima philosophia*, the basis of moral and political science, in *their* hands metaphysical inquiry became a poor barren abstraction, a tissue of inaccurate and at the same time uninteresting generalities.

In 1788, Dr. Mackintosh having obtained his diploma, says the editor, repaired to London, there like other young men to seek his fortunes. And in that vast and dread arena, on which so many superior spirits have tried long in vain,—some, as Chatterton, sinking like the expiring gladiator on the dust; others, as Johnson, after enduring long years of that ‘hope deferred which maketh the heart sick,’ only winning the prize when little of life remained to enjoy it,—Mackintosh must be pronounced to have been an early crowned and on the whole a most fortunate competitor. He no doubt had his share, and his somewhat improvident habits made it larger than it needed to have been, of those ills which are the offspring of the *res angusta domi*, and which, if they in many cases act as a spur to vigorous exertion, in some instances cramp the mental energies, in others destroy them.

Very shortly after his arrival in London, Dr. Mackintosh arrived at the age of twenty-four; and after some unsuccessful attempts to succeed in his profession, he resolved to exchange it for that of the bar. He was probably confirmed in this resolution by the extraordinary success of his ‘*Vindiciæ Gullicæ*,’ published in April 1791. It is not the design here to enter into a detailed criticism of this work, which certainly displayed a considerable surface of reading, particularly for a man of six and twenty; and in some respects reading that lay out of the beaten track of English study at that time, particularly of such authors as Turgot and the French Economists, Burke’s presumptuous ignorance of whom was happily exposed. The pamphlet contained a good deal too of what commonly passes for fine writing. The success was great, and brought the author at once out of obscurity into comparative fame. He became known to Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, and generally to the Whig aristocracy of the day. In short, he was, as he expressed it himself, for a few months ‘the lion of the place.’

This early success may, it is thought, be considered as an unfavourable rather than favourable event in Sir James Mackintosh’s career. Great success with its consequences, at so early an age, is apt to become an obstacle to the intellectual progress of him who attains it. For, putting a man at once into the possession of most or at least many of the objects of

human desire, with the intoxicating incense of flattery administered in addition, it places him nearly in the same position as regards the ordinary stimulants to seek knowledge and wisdom, in which hereditary legislators are placed. With Mr. Mackintosh's previous training, it is not likely that he would, even without that early success, ever have done very much as a philosopher, a jurist, or a statesman; but under the actual circumstances of the case he probably did less than he would have done under others.

In 1795 Mr. Mackintosh was called to the bar by the Society of Lincoln's Inn, and joined the home circuit.

In 1796 he became known personally to Burke, having somewhat changed his opinions on certain political matters, since writing his *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*. 'Since that time,' he says in a letter to Burke, 'a melancholy experience has undeceived me on many subjects in which I was then the dupe of my own enthusiasm.'

In 1797 his first wife died. His letter to Dr. Parr on the occasion of her death is among the best of his writings; and will probably be read long after his elaborate 'Dissertation' shall be with the poetry of Blackmore and the philosophy of Bolingbroke.

The third Chapter of the '*Memoirs of Sir James Mackintosh*' commences thus.—

'The science of public or international law,—a study so congenial to the generalising and philosophical turn of Mr. Mackintosh's thoughts—was a department of jurisprudence, which had long peculiarly attracted his attention. His mind, in all its investigations, loved to rise to general principles. Circumscribed as it ordinarily was by the studies and profession of an individual system of municipal law, with all its necessary technicalities, it the more eagerly sought to relieve itself by making excursions on every side, especially for the purpose of examining those principles which lie at the foundation of all duty, and are equally applicable to all its forms. Though the study of natural law and its deductions forms a part of the continental system of education, and even of that of Scotland still, in such inquiries, no assistance could be received from that course of study which is pointed out to the student of English law. This seemed to him to be a defect, and he believed that he should be conferring a benefit on the liberal profession to which he belonged, could he enable such as devoted themselves to it to extend their views of jurisprudence, and its objects (especially of its origin and foundation, and its application to the interests and differences of independent states) to a wider range than is generally taken by the mere English student. These considerations led him to form the plan of his "*Lectures on the Law of Nature and Nations.*"—*Memoirs* &c. i. 99.

After such a flourish the reader will be curious to know how

'he design was consummated, or if that is knowledge not to be had, at least what were the capabilities of the projector. Sufficient evidence is contained in the book under discussion. In reference to a project, then under consideration of the Emperor Alexander, of digesting the Ukases into a code, Sir James made the following observations.—

' I will not affect to conceal the pleasure, which I have received from the proposal that I should concur, in the smallest degree, in so noble a work. I feel the most ardent zeal to exert my humble talents for so great a purpose. I have studied the science of legislation enough to be penetrated with the deepest sense of its difficulties, without which no man ever learnt to conquer them; and the plan itself proves that his Imperial Majesty and his counsellors are superior to the superstitious dread of improvement, and the experience of the present age is sufficient to guard them against the fanatical pursuit of novelty. These two great obstacles to legislation being removed, there will still remain many difficulties inherent in the nature of the subject itself, but not insuperable by that union of ardent benevolence and cautious prudence, which forms the character of the lawgiver.'—*Memoirs &c.*, i. p. 167.

The Emperor Alexander wished to have a digest of the Ukases of his empire. Was the autocrat likely to commit to Sir James or any other jurist or non-jurist, foreign or domestic, the power of making new ukases, which legislation would have been? Sir James never, throughout his life, showed that he had a clear idea of the import of the words jurisprudence and legislation respectively. He confounded two things which are perfectly distinct. The business of jurisprudence is with old laws—with laws that already exist—not with making new ones, which is the business of legislation. Jurisprudence takes laws as they are, and with them, of course, the rights of which they are intended as at once the symbol and the safeguard; and its object is, by vivid and philosophical exposition, and logical classification, to put those laws into the form most convenient and effective for the accomplishment of their end, to wit, the protection of rights and the punishment of wrongs; in one word, the happiness of the community to which they belong.

It is strange that Sir James should have confounded this operation with that of making new laws—with the business of legislation—'prospective command.' A confusion of this nature was sufficient to vitiate all that Sir James said or wrote on the subject of jurisprudence.

In the passage quoted above from the '*Memoirs*,' mention is made (and is frequently made by the admirers of Sir James) 'of the generalising and philosophical tone of Mr. Mackintosh's thoughts.' Did Sir James ever really know

what generalising meant? Had he a precise and clear conception of that which Plato seems to have regarded as the sum of all philosophy; which he described, as being the faculty of seeing 'the one in the many, and the many in the one.' If he had, he could scarcely have failed to have had clearer ideas on the subject of jurisprudence. For what is the science of jurisprudence but classification, applied to the subject of law? It is with this, as with all the other sciences by which man has improved his condition upon earth. It is only by making classes—by classifying, in other words by generalizing, that man obtains any dominion over the powers of nature. In the very rudest states of society, it might be supposed that classification would be performed in a certain rough way. For indeed, without it in some way or other, man could not rise at all above the wild beasts by which he was surrounded. The way in which nations in first emerging from pure barbarism have attempted to repress the excesses of individual liberty, and to protect person and property, is a striking instance of the hurtful consequences of the absence of classification. It is the business of the science of jurisprudence to atone for this; and that department of the science which specially consists in the application of philosophical principles of classification to the subject of law, has received the name of Codification.

It is of importance to note this confusion for another reason, viz. that Sir James, in his Dissertation in the Encyclopædia Britannica makes it the ground of an attack upon Mr. Bentham. Jurisprudence having been the great field of Mr. Bentham's labours, it will easily appear, how little merited were some of Sir James's strictures on Mr. Bentham. The object of jurisprudence is the definition and protection of existing rights. This was the object of Mr. Bentham;—not, as Sir James seemed to imagine, either 'the sudden establishment of new codes,' or of new ukases.

'Sir James had a jumble in his head of an alteration of rights, along with a definition of rights. There are much more serious objections to an alteration of rights, than are contained in Sir James's words "impracticable," and "ineffectual for their purpose." But these are no concern of those who do not propose by their codes to make any alteration of rights.'—*Fragment*, p. 148.

Sir James made somewhat of a change in his political opinions—that is, in those he held when he wrote the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*; no doubt a perfectly conscientious change, though Charles Fox does not like it. A man who is afraid of ghosts may be quite conscientious in his fear; and his fear is not on that account the less groundless or less weak. Would it

have been a sufficient ground for a man of firm character and enlightened understanding—a ‘justum et tenacem propositi virum’—to go diametrically round in his opinions on certain questions of vital importance to the welfare of mankind, because a few miscreants, the outcasts of society, were enabled by an extraordinary combination of circumstances to commit in Paris the September massacres? nay more, because the majority of a people brutalized by centuries of the most grinding oppression,—ignorant, and therefore reckless—hungry, and therefore ferocious,—in the first wild transports of suddenly acquired freedom and power, should utter a good deal of nonsense, and commit a good many follies, and not a few crimes?

Sir James has made the most perfect exhibition of himself, in the article on Mr. Bentham. The author of the ‘Fragment’ has quoted some of the passages in his Commentary, which is as follows.—

‘Bentham and his brood were men, Sir James informs us, who “clung to opinions because they were obnoxious.” By clinging to an opinion, must be understood, I suppose, adhering to it strongly. But the men who can adhere strongly to an opinion, for any thing, but the truth of it, are not only not philosophers, but not honest men; and, instead of approbation and honour, deserve nothing but the contempt and hatred of the world. The evidence, again, is the point of importance. If such a charge is advanced without evidence, the man who is the author of it is not good for much.’

‘An obnoxious opinion means an offensive opinion; that is, offensive to somebody. But that proves nothing except the opinion. So long as there are classes of men, who have interests adverse to the rest of the community, the most important opinions will be the most offensive to those, too frequently the most powerful, classes of the community. There is great virtue in putting forth opinions of that sort, and also, as Sir James expresses it, in clinging to them. But Sir James acts not the part of a friend to that kind of virtue, when he endeavours to throw upon it the obloquy of proceeding from a hateful motive, that of giving offence to other men. What ground had Sir James for imputing to Mr. Bentham, or any of those whom he meant to class along with him, this criminal course of conduct? Nay the case is still worse. For against what power of evidence, that these men were distinguished in a peculiar manner by care to shew the foundation of their opinions, and to value opinions for nothing but the truth and importance of them, had he the impudence to assert that they adhered to them, because they were mischievous?’

‘Sir James’s malignity is still more glaringly displayed, in the next passage, where he says, Mr. Bentham, and those whom he classes with him, “incurred the vice of wounding the most respectable feelings of mankind.” The feelings, which men most respect in others, are the feelings by which they are most strongly tied to the discharge of their

duties. To put forth opinions which wound those feelings, must be to put forth opinions which outrage the principles of morality. Was Sir James so lost to all sense, not of morality, but of shame, as to impute this to Mr. Bentham, and those who hold opinions analogous to his? If not, what did he mean? And what shade of guilt was it his honourable purpose to insinuate? If there is any man alive who is bold enough to defend Sir James, let him show a single opinion of Mr. Bentham, which tends to wound any feeling, that deserves to be respected, in any human being? Mr. Bentham's opinions grew from one root; viz., that the good of mankind is the obligatory principle. He employed his whole life in applying that principle to the great branches of human interests; to laws, to the construction of governments, to ecclesiastical establishments, to education, and to morality. In all these great departments he found, that the interests of the many had been habitually sacrificed to the interests of the few. In other words, vice, instead of virtue, had been the dominant power in the management of human affairs. To tear the veil from this mystery of iniquity, and to show the many how they had been treated, as was done with no sparing hand by Mr. Bentham, was sure to wound the feelings, whether respectable or not we have yet to inquire, of those knots of the few, who grasped in their hands the several branches of the national interests, political, legal, and ecclesiastical; and who viewed with rage the man who demonstrated the importance of protecting against them the interests of the greater number. These feelings Mr. Bentham wounded, and none other. He, and they who thought with him, regarded such feelings as interested attachments to things injurious to mankind, and, agreeably to their principles, decided that the good of mankind was the preferable object. Sir James was one of those who take part with the knots, and desire to discredit those who stand up for mankind.—*Fragment*, p. 128.

Mr. Mackintosh, though his knowledge of English law could not have been very great, had nevertheless, chiefly in consequence of his literary reputation, considerable success as a pleader. As a proof of this, his son mentions (*Note*, p. 187. vol. i.) that the returns from that source, during the last year of his practice at the bar, somewhat exceeded 1200*l*.

In 1804 Sir James went to India, having accepted the office of Recorder of Bombay.

The following impromptu by Mrs. Opie, made on being asked whether she had written verses on the absence of Sir James in India, is good. It appears to point to a part of the philosophy of poetry which has not received much attention.

'No; think not in verse
I his absence deplore.
Who a sorrow can sing,
Till that sorrow is o'er?

And when shall his loss
 With such sorrow be class'd?
 Oh! when shall his absence
 Be pain that is past?

' London, March 29, 1805.'

Sir James had projected great designs, literary and philosophical, in the leisure of his Indian judgeship. He appears to have read a great deal after his manner; that is, to have turned over the leaves of a great many books in all departments of knowledge,—light literature, history, philosophy in general, and German philosophy in particular, (a very necessary division). On the last he has the following observations in a letter to Richard Sharp, Esq., dated 24th February 1805.

' I observe that you touch me with the spur once or twice about my book on morals: I felt it gull me, for I have not yet begun, and I shall not make any promises to you till I can say that it is well begun; but I will tell you what has either really or apparently to myself retarded me: it was the restless desire of thoroughly mastering the *accursed* German philosophy. This I am constantly working at, but I am not satisfied that I have quite accomplished it. I must at least fancy that my book is to be addressed to Europe: but with what colour can I indulge such a fancy, if I do not vindicate my fundamental principles (experience and utility), against that mode of philosophising (for the difference lies deeper than particular doctrines), which prevails among the most numerous and active part of the philosophical world? It is in vain to despise them. Their opinions will, on account of their number and novelty, occupy more pages in the History of Philosophy, than those of us humbledisciples of Locke and Hartley. Besides, their abilities are not really contemptible. It seems to me, that I am bound not only to combat these new adversaries, but to explain the principles and grounds of their hostility, which is itself a most curious confutation in detail. I only mean such a view of an extensive country as one takes from an elevated spot. With all this preparation, I think I shall begin my book next June, when the rains put an end to exercise for three months. I hope, by the end of the monsoon, to get through my general principles of morals. In reading, with very great pleasure and admiration,—a review of Bentham, (*Edinburgh Review*, vol. iv. p. 1.) I could not help secretly flattering myself, that I stood on ground so high, as to see where and why they were both right and wrong: and yet, in my gloomy moments, I sometimes fear that I shall never communicate this notion to the world.'—*Memoirs* &c. i. 233.

What has hitherto been here exhibited of Sir James will probably not be considered favourable. The next two traits are more so, in as much as they exhibit Sir James's kindness of disposition employed, not in ranting about moral sensibility,

or blaming others for the want of it, but in really performing humane and benevolent acts.

One of the finest traits in Sir James's character was the constancy with which he kept up his friendship for his college intimate Robert Hall, after he had far outstripped him in the career of mere worldly prosperity. The letter which he wrote to Hall from India, on the occasion of the temporary aberration of intellect which had befallen the latter, will remain a very honourable testimony, that Sir James did not merely talk about moral sensibility in the abstract.

Another case of a similar description will be best explained in the following extract from one of his letters to his friend Mr. Richard Sharp, dated Bombay 1st June, 1805.—

‘I see a volume of poems published by Henry Kirke White, of Nottingham, which are called by one of the Reviews “extraordinary productions of genius.” They are published, it seems, to enable the author, a lad of seventeen, to pursue and complete his studies. I particularly request that you will read the volume, and that, if you find it deserves but some part of the praise bestowed upon it, you will inquire into the circumstances of the author, and give him for me such assistance as you think he may need, and as I ought to give. If you think the young poet deserves it, you can procure the contributions of others. You can scarcely, indeed, have a poorer contributor than I am, as you know very well; but nobody will give his mite more cheerfully.’ *Memoirs* &c. i. 250.

Sir James's kindness, too, to Mr. Rich, a young gentleman introduced to him by his friend Robert Hall, and who afterwards became his son-in-law, is only an example out of many such in the life of Sir James.

In a letter of the 7th July 1808, to Professor Smyth of Cambridge, Sir James gives the following division of modern history.—

‘Modern history is divided into certain periods, each of which has a philosophical unity, from similarity of character, and from the uniformity of the causes at work, and the effects produced. It has also a sort of poetical unity, because it may be considered as the accomplishment of one great design, in which there is generally one hero distinguished above the other personages. These periods appear to be as follow :—

‘I. From the taking of Constantinople to the reformation; connected with the two great discoveries above-mentioned [compass and gunpowder]. It is the age of great invention and progress;—gunpowder, the compass, printing, the opening of the whole surface of our planet by Columbus and De Gama; the discovery of discoveries, the parent of all future discoveries, and the guardian of all past—the discovery that every man might think for himself—the emancipation of the human understanding, under the appearance of a controversy about justification by faith, by Martin Luther.’—*Memoirs* &c. i. 415.

This is good, and amounts to the same thing that was announced about twenty years after by Guizot in his lectures on history, that the fundamental character of the Reformation was not a mere struggle for the redress of ecclesiastical grievances, but a grand insurrection of human intelligence against spiritual domination.

Sir James thus proceeds.—

‘ II. From the reformation to the peace of Westphalia—the age of religious wars. The object is the legal establishment of liberty of conscience, and the security of nations against the yoke of Austria. The hero is Gustavus Adolphus.’

‘ III. From the peace of Westphalia to the peace of Utrecht. The character of the age is, that the understanding begins to turn its activity from theology to philosophy, in which great discoveries are made. Taste and literature are cultivated. The object is to guard Europe against the power of France. The hero is King William.’

‘ IV. From the treaty of Utrecht to the French Revolution; age of balanced power, national security, diffused knowledge, liberal principles, and mild manners; golden age of the civilised world. Taste, literature, and, comparatively speaking, even philosophy, are widely spread. This diffused civilisation tends to spread over the globe. Hence the colonial and commercial system; hence the appearance of Russia on the European theatre; and in a scientific age, a small power in the boldest and most thinking part of Germany, by mere science, becomes, for a time, a great military state. Philosophy is naturally applied to new subjects,—to history, to government, to commerce, to the subsistence and wealth of nations; the crisis of the colonial and commercial system, is seen in the two apparently opposite results of the independence of America and the conquest of India. At last, as prosperous commerce produces over-trading, to be corrected only by the ruin of individuals, so the advancement and diffusion of knowledge produced a fatal confidence in the extent of our political skill, and in the advances of the multitude in civilisation; hence the dreadful experiment of the French Revolution.’—*Memoirs &c.* i. 415.

Sir James leaves the English Revolution (meaning not that of 1688 merely, but that which commenced in 1640) quite out of his map, though eminently important in the history of civilization, as being the first shock between free examination and pure monarchy.

It might be inferred from what has been in this article laid open of the foundations of Sir James Mackintosh's philosophy, that he was not the man ‘that was to come,’ the philosophical historian of England. But independently of this, a very slight comparison of what Sir James has done in this way, with M. Guizot's *History of Civilization in France and in Europe*, will convince any one who makes it, of the inferiority of Sir James, —as much perhaps below Guizot in the philosophy of history,

as below Bentham in that of jurisprudence. His merit in the minor departments is equally questionable. His historical portraits scattered through these volumes are neither remarkable for graphic power of delineation, nor for psychological analysis. Neither the picturesque pencil of Livy, nor the iron searching *stylus* of Tacitus, is therein discernible. They are like all else that has come from the school,—declamation and nothing more.

Sir James was a great novel-reader;—if the novels be good, a delightful occupation, as everybody knows. Sir James says of novel-writing:—

‘There may be persons now alive who may recollect the publication of “Tom Jones,” at least, if not of “Clarissa.” In that time probably twelve novels have appeared, of the first rank—a prodigious number, of such a kind, in any department of literature; and the whole class of novels must have had more influence on the public, than all other sorts of books combined. Nothing popular can be frivolous; whatever influences multitudes, must be of proportionable importance. Bacon and Turgot would have contemplated with inquisitive admiration this literary revolution.’

‘If fiction exalts virtue by presenting ideal perfection, and strengthens sympathy by multiplying the occasions for its exercise, this must be best done when the fiction most resembles that real life which is the sphere of the duties and feelings of the great majority of men. At first sight, then, it seems that the moralist could not have imagined a revolution in literature more favourable to him, than that which has exalted and multiplied novels.’—*Memoirs* &c. ii. 129.

Sir James then enters into the discussion of an objection of Dugald Stewart’s; after combating which, he proceeds:—

‘In differing from Mr. Stewart, I am delighted in concurring with one for whom he and I feel the most profound reverence, and who (I agree with him) had more comprehensive views of the progress of society than any man since Bacon. “Il regardoit les romans comme des livres de morale, et même, disoit-il, comme les seuls où il eut vu de la morale.” (Vie de Turgot par Condorcet, p. 62).

‘Novels inspire romantic indiscretions. Whatever violates the rules of duty, in which are included those of prudence, is, no doubt, *below* perfect morality; but how much is the romantic lover *above* the sensual and the mercenary! The period of the prevalence of novels has been characterised by another very remarkable phenomenon; it is the only period in history in which female genius could be mentioned as materially contributing to the literary glory of a nation.’

‘As they are now the most numerous class of literary productions, there must be more bad novels than bad books of any other kind. The number of wretched publications under the name, the modern origin of this species of composition, and the familiar appearance of its subjects, give, in the eye of many, an air of frivolity to the name of novel;

and many a foolish pedant who wastes his life in illustrating an obscure and obscene comedy of Aristophanes, would be ashamed to read an English novel of high genius and pure morals. I do not meddle with the important questions of prudence in the education of a female; what novels she ought to read, and when. As to ninety-nine of every hundred novels, I know from experience that it is a sad waste of time—"the stuff of which life is made."

'It should be observed, that, for the purpose of this argument, history and fiction are on a footing; both present distress not occurring in our own experience. The effect does not at all depend on the particular or historical truth, but on that more general or philosophical truth of which Aristotle speaks, and which consists in a conformity to human nature. The effect of the death of *Clarissa*, or of *Mary Stuart*, on the heart, by no means depends on the fact that the one really died, but on the vivacity of the exhibition by the two great painters, *Hume* and *Richardson*.'—*Memoirs* &c. ii. 129.

On the 25th of April 1812, Sir James arrived in England after an absence of rather more than eight years, with which considerably more than half of these volumes is occupied by no means to the augmentation of their interest. For there is little to excite interest in the listless monotony of Indian existence; and that want is but poorly supplied by the literary criticism and philosophical discussion which chiefly occupy the extracts given from Sir James's letters and journals. But the scene now becomes somewhat more animated. A few days after his arrival an incident occurred, which is thus related in his journal.—

"May 12th.—I was at Richmond last week three days, for quiet and the recovery of strength. I there received a note from *Perceval* desiring an interview, which took place at twelve o'clock on Friday, the 8th, at Downing-street. He began in a very civil and rather kind manner, with saying, that, besides his wish to see me, he had another object in the appointment, which was to offer me a seat in Parliament, either vacated or about to be so, which——had placed at his disposal. He said that he did not wish to take me by surprise, and would allow me any time that I desired. He added all the usual compliments and insinuations of future advancement. I promised an answer in four or five days—not that I hesitated, for it had long been my fixed determination not to go into public life on any terms inconsistent with the principles of liberty, which are now higher in my mind than they were twenty years ago; but I wished to have an opportunity of sending a written answer, to prevent misconstructions.'

'I was preparing to send it on Tuesday evening, when, about seven o'clock, *Josiah Wedgwood* came into the parlour of our house, in New Norfolk-street, with information that, about five, *Perceval* had been shot through the heart by one *Bellingham*, a bankrupt ship-broker in Liverpool, who had formerly been confined for lunacy in Russia.'—*Memoirs* &c. ii. 246.

By a curious coincidence, on the day mentioned above, an old friend of Sir James's called upon him with the object of obtaining some explicit assurance that his political sentiments were still those which, in the language of the editor, 'were the common bond of the friends of rational liberty,' in other words, were Whig; and upon the perusal of a letter, just about to be transmitted by Sir James, declining Mr. Perceval's proposal, he hailed Sir James as the future member for the county of Nairn, in the Parliament about to be elected.

With reference to the above subject, Mr. Scarlett, now Lord Abinger, in a letter (without date) to the editor of his Life, says :—

'I cannot, however, omit the mention of the first occasion when he might, without scruple or disparagement to his own honour, have accepted office; I mean the period when Mr. Canning was desired by his late Majesty to form a government (April 1827). It is no part of the present subject to enter into a history of the negotiation that took place between Mr. Canning and some of the Whig party at that time. But I can state, upon my own knowledge, the surprise and the concern Mr. Canning expressed, that the name of Sir James Mackintosh was not amongst the list of those who were proposed to form a coalition with him; he had certainly thought him, not in merit only, but in estimation, one of the foremost of his party, and he was aware of the sacrifices he had made to it. Shortly afterwards His Majesty was pleased to admit him of his Privy Council. Upon the last change of administration (Nov. 1830), when a new ministry was formed by a coalition of individuals of all the different parties in the State, but under the influence of Lord Grey, a subordinate place in the Board of Control was the reward of his long life of merit and exclusion. The difficulty of distributing office among so many expectants, must be the consolation to his friends, for this apparently inadequate station for one so eminent, and who had lost so much by his adherence to party. To those who are not in the secret, it must be matter at least of surprise, that neither parliamentary experience, nor a well-earned reputation, nor long-tryed devotion, nor the habits of business, were so much in request as to find their way into any but a comparatively insignificant place at a board, at the head of which Sir James Mackintosh, rather than abandon his party, had, in other times, declined to preside. Such is the caprice of fortune, or the wantonness of power, in the distribution of favours! There is a certain degree of merit which is more convenient for reward than the highest. Caligula made his horse a consul, to show the absoluteness of his authority. Perhaps it is something of the same feeling which occasionally actuates princes and ministers in the honours they bestow. Those who can have no other claim to success than the pure, independent will of their patrons, are more striking examples of power, and are bound to them by a gratitude unqualified by any pretensions. Assuredly, those who knew the history of Sir James Mackintosh, and were conscious of his extraordinary acquirements, were as much surprised as Mr. Canning had been, to find

that he was not placed in that cabinet, which he was so well fitted to inform by his wisdom, and to moderate by his counsels.—*Memoirs &c.* ii. 290.

There are two assertions in the preceding extract which it is of importance to notice. One is; Sir James's 'habits of business;' and the other that it was the office of President of the Board of Control which he had declined.

With respect to the first, there is repeated evidence even in these volumes, that Sir James Mackintosh was irregular to an extreme degree in attending to business;—nay that even in the case of his own estate in Scotland, his agents could obtain no answer whatever from him to their letters, and consequently threw up their charge. But the testimony of the Reverend Sydney Smith, the intimate friend of Sir James, printed towards the end of Vol. 2nd, is conclusive. In the letter to the editor, Sir James's son, he says:—

'Curran, the Master of the Rolls, said to Mr. Grattan, "You would be the greatest man of your age, Grattan, if you would buy a few yards of red tape, and tie up your bills and papers." This was the fault or the misfortune of your excellent father; he never knew the use of red tape, and was utterly unfit for the common business of life.'—*Memoirs &c.* ii. 300.

With respect to the second, that Sir James had declined to preside over the Board of Control, there is not a word about it in the account given in these volumes of the negotiation of the Tories with Sir James; and it has been contradicted, since the publication of the 'Memoirs,' by one of the principal organs of that party. However, making the supposition that it is a correct assertion, there does certainly appear to have been somewhat hard measure dealt out to Sir James, by his very good friends the Whig Aristocracy. For although according to the estimate formed of Sir James in this Article, he may appear to have been amply rewarded, be it remembered that this was not the estimate professed to be formed of him by the Whigs, with whom he was, to borrow the language made use of by Lord Abinger in the letter from which an extract has been given above, 'a consummate master of metaphysics and moral philosophy, a profound historian, and an accomplished orator.' If a very subordinate office was all the reward they thought fit to bestow, after a life of service (such as it was), upon the Coryphaeus of their tribe, it proves in what estimation these erudite persons held the high intellectual qualities enumerated above by Mr. Scarlett, and shows that it was a better recommendation to high employment under a Whig administration to be a 'relation of Lord Grey's or a tool of Lord Brougham's,' than to be 'a consummate master of

metaphysics and moral philosophy, a profound historian, and an accomplished orator.' However the Rev. Sydney Smith seems to think (see his honest and luminous letter to the editor, vol. ii. p. 437.) that it was not so much the possession of these qualities, as the want of certain other qualities that assist the advancement of some men, that hindered his promotion. He says that if Sir James

'had been arrogant and grasping; if he had been faithless and false; if he had been always eager to strangle infant genius in its cradle; always ready to betray and to blacken those with whom he sat at meat; he would have passed many men, who, in the course of his long life, have passed him.'—*Memoirs* &c. ii. 503.

The following are the observations of the editor, Mr. Mackintosh, on the same subject.—

'The office assigned to Sir James, in the distribution of the duties of the members of the new administration, was that of a Commissioner for the Affairs of India—the very same which, eighteen years previously, he had refused. This fact, coupled with a recollection of all that had intervened, of a consistent course of brilliant service, does not, in one point of view, hold out an encouraging example of the relation usually observed between personal merit and political rank. Nor are the grounds for the exercise of its non observance here, such as the present writer at least can be expected to view with complacency. Impaired health and inexperience in office must be admitted to be circumstances in a high degree disqualifying for very active official duties; but such reasons would have come with more grace from persons, in whose service the first had not so much suffered, nor the last, through a sense of devoted fidelity, [been] deliberately incurred. Otherwise, if he had listened to Mr. Perceval's overtures when they were made, he might very probably have been, by this time, armed with what appears in Lord Grey's opinion to have been, after the choicest mediocrity of his own party was culled, an irresistible claim upon a seat in the Whig cabinet, by having been a member of every government, from that which succeeded Mr. Perceval's to his Lordship's own. Any comparison of Sir James's pretensions with that of all but three or four of the body who formed the Cabinet on this occasion, would now of course be merely painful. Nor was the disappointment he felt, on not finding himself included in it, considerable enough to provoke it;—it partook more of the nature of the slight moral shock which ingenuous natures receive on the discovery of confidence misplaced in individuals. At the close of a long life spent amongst them, he must have known that at such moments, those of 'The Order' who are also supporters of the liberties of the people, are too much occupied in revenging their unnatural position on the coffers of the crown to attend to the claims of unobtrusive merit; and that, as to what is below, he was not of the parasitical vegetation, which is the only thing that "rises to the full growth of its ambition under the shadowing branches of the Whig aristocracy, and that superseding influence of birth and

connections, which had contributed to keep even such men as Burke and Sheridan out of the cabinet."—*Memoirs &c.* ii. 477.

These remarks are of value, as exhibiting the impression made by the conduct of the Whig aristocracy on those of their own party who do not strictly belong to 'The Order.' They show, in connection with many other such signs, to the Whig party, (which means a few Whig peers and their connections), that they can no longer calculate on having the lion's share of the work done by those to whom the jackall's share of the spoil is thrown; and that what talent they might once boast of holding at their disposal, is fast gravitating to the one or the other side of them.

In truth Sir James, from his style of speaking, was by no means a very efficient member of his party in parliament; and if he had been ever so efficient, that would not have compensated, in the eyes of his leaders, for the want of 'birth and connections;' the only case in which their High Mightinesses the Whig magnates would permit 'a slovenly, unhandsome corse' to come

'Between the wind and their nobility,'

being that of their Chancellor, in which instance the force of old 'use and wont' was so strong, that they could not escape the annoyance of having the unsavoury incumbrance deposited amongst them.

Sir James Mackintosh was first member for the county of Nairn, afterwards for the borough of Knaresborough. In 1818, he was appointed to the Professorship of Law and General Politics in the College instituted for the education of the civil servants of the East-India Company at Haileybury. When the Whigs came into office in 1830, he was, as before remarked, appointed a Commissioner for the affairs of India. He died on the 30th of May, 1832.

The editor seems to have revived the old custom, of printing a collection of '*testimonia clarorum virorum.*' There are letters from Sir James Scarlett, Mr. Jeffrey, the Rev. Sydney Smith, Dr. Chalmers, and others. That of Sydney Smith, is a curiosity in biography.

ART. XII.—*An Act to apply a Sum of Money out of the Consolidated Fund, and the Surplus of Grants, to the Service of the Year 1835 ; and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament. 10 Sept. 1835.*

FOR many a year, there has not been so much discussion or breaking up of constitutional questions, as during the late Session. Among them the question of the Appropriation Act, that last barrier as it was supposed against the enemy, whether Minister, Peer, or Monarch, is not the least conspicuous. But it is remarkable that the representatives of the people, with scarcely an exception, seem to have had an extremely vague, indeed for all practical purposes, no knowledge of the matter. The warfare of the Session was carried on, with an impression on the part of many, that come what might, the Appropriation Act would serve them in the last extremity ; but when that arrived, to the surprise of all, it was no longer a weapon at their command. It was very aptly said by one nobleman, in the course of a debate, that institutions must in future be tried by their practical results, and not by the fictitious advantages that had been ascribed to them by the so-called theory of the Constitution ; and the truth holds with the Appropriation Act, as with every other constitutional power. It is worth while therefore, and in order that in time to come the people may not be relying upon a defence which shall fail them at their need, to consider what the nature of the Appropriation Act is.

In itself, and so far as the Act is an Act of Appropriation, it is no matter of grant, but rather of restriction. The denial of it, therefore, instead of operating as a check upon the government, would be more like the reverse ; it would be the removal of an accustomed check. It was of old time—in the time of the Stuarts—the practice of the Legislature to grant the Supplies without any specific appropriation ; and the Executive of that day of course applied them to such purposes as it preferred—and left those branches of the service which did not enjoy its favour to be taken care of as they might. In the reign of Charles the Second, the House of Commons sometimes went so far as to appropriate large sums to particular branches of the service ; but the practice of parliaments was not uniform in this particular. At the Revolution however, a new æra commenced ; and the parliament has ever since specifically appropriated the particular supplies to their particular purpose, stating them with a remarkable regard to minuteness. This appropriation, it is true, has not always been adhered to. A good

deal of dependence has sometimes been placed by bold or irresponsible ministers upon obsequious and corrupt parliaments; and sometimes the exigency of the public service has required a deviation. The principal, indeed the sole virtue, then, of the Appropriation Act, depends on the efficiency of it as a check upon the Executive in the application of the public revenue. For this purpose it recounts all the votes of the House of Commons in terms, and at the conclusion of the statement contains a clause forbidding the application of the funds to any other purposes than such as have been enumerated.

But the Appropriation Act has usually another character besides. It is also a grant of the balance of the supply which has not been granted in previous Money Acts of the same Session. This balance is sometimes one amount and sometimes another; it may be two, it may be five millions, or indeed any other sum large or small. The virtue of the Appropriation Act here, resides in the amount of the supply still left at the command of the House of Commons; for it is a mistake to suppose, as has been sometimes done, that the moment the money has been voted by the House of Commons, it has passed out of its control. This is not the whole truth. No Money Act, any more than any other Act, is complete until it has received the assent of the Crown, after having passed through both Houses of Parliament. The mistake has probably arisen from the terms of the Money Acts. In the course of the Session, various Money Acts are passed, granting to the use of the Executive the balance in the hands of the Exchequer, the monies remaining to be received on account of the revenue of the last year, and also the power of raising sundry sums (amounting to millions) by means of Exchequer Bills, on the credit of the revenue of the current and following year. In these Acts, there is commonly the provision, that the Treasury may issue and apply from time to time all such sums of money as shall be raised by Exchequer Bills or otherwise in pursuance of the said Acts, to such services as shall then have been voted by the Commons. So that to the extent of such sums, the vote of the House of Commons becomes an authority to the Treasury to apply the money. But this of course does not apply to that part of the Supply—the balance—which is not granted till the Appropriation Act has been passed. To the extent of this balance the House of Commons retains the boasted power over the Supplies; and it is a point deserving of consideration, whether, at least to the extent of all the foregone grants which have not been applied by the Treasury at the passing of the Appropriation Act, it may not exercise a control, by so specifying the

appropriation, that the services which for the purpose of control it is desirable the Commons should maintain their power over, should be excluded from the appropriation. There is no doubt that the Commons have this power. But it may by foresight be carried still further, and the clause in former Acts, which is now absolute and irreversible, might be qualified as follows. It might be provided, that the Treasury may apply the monies so granted, to any services voted by the House of Commons, except so far as the same may be restrained by any Act of Parliament to be passed in the course of that Session. This is necessary, as it is a Law of Parliament, that no Act can be altered in the same Session, without a provision to that effect contained in the Act to be altered. By these expedients, the House might retain its power over the Supplies, and yet proceed to vote them *pari passu* with other business; which is a matter of some importance. The Members of the House of Commons, would be little disposed to stay in town, with wearied faculties, at the close of a long Session, to vote the public money; and the care of this important matter would be left to those who might have other than public interests to serve. Besides, until how much the Executive will require for its purposes is ascertained, the Chancellor of the Exchequer cannot offer his Budget. It is therefore necessary, on all these considerations, that the House of Commons should have the power of proceeding to vote the Supplies, retaining control over them till the end of the Session. And this it has been shown it may accomplish, First, by qualifying the permission granted to the Treasury; and Secondly, by leaving a large balance to be granted by the Appropriation Act.

It is a matter deserving of notice, that this class of Acts, the Money Acts, are not printed and distributed among Members, as other Bills are, pending their progress through the House; and to this cause may be referred the extraordinary ignorance on so highly important a subject, which has already been alluded to. If an Amendment were to be moved on this point, it would probably lead the House to a consideration of the extremely inartificial style and structure of the Appropriation Act. The virtue of the first part—the grant of the balance of the Supply—has been shown. The second part is of like value—namely, the specific appropriation of the votes; but the third and last part, which describes and regulates the half-pay and other payments, is peculiarly out of place. It is matter of regulation, and ought to find its way into another Act devoted to its use. The Appropriation part too might be exhibited in a different manner. It is at present very obscure.

It should be printed as it is in the Votes. This is indispensable for the purpose of making the important subject of this division of the Act shine out if possible, so that its character may be at once apparent, and the details at the same time instantly accessible.

ART. XIII.—1. *Works of Peter Porcupine.* 12 vols. 8vo. 1801.

2. *Cobbett's Weekly Register.* 88 vols. 8vo. 1801—1835.

MR. COBBETT was undoubtedly one of the remarkable men of the age. He possessed extraordinary mental as well as physical energy, and if genius mainly consists, as Sir Walter Scott said it did, in the power of sustained intellectual exertion, he displayed no small portion of that endowment. With regular education he would have made an overpowering lawyer, for he was a man of precedent rather than of principle, and aided by a more auspicious introduction into life would have been a redoubtable Attorney General, outdoing Law or Gibbs in devotion to our Lord the King. He had other qualifications for the bar. He could disport himself on both sides, and be alike redolent of eloquence and abuse whether for plaintiff or defendant. With him every public discussion was a case,—a brief,—on which he had been retained, and on which with all his heart, and all his mind, and all his strength, he poured forth whatever suited his immediate purpose. His mind was altogether a lawyer's mind. He was no generalizer of facts;—he had read Swift, studied grammar and composition, and become an expert literary gladiator, but he was incapable of much intellectual combination. Set before him his man, and if need be he would destroy him, without regard to the relation in which he stood to other men, or even to himself. Give him a single truth to illustrate, and he would do it with matchless force; but he would never seek its bearings on other truths. He fought individually, not collectively; his object was to smite the foe before him, not to disseminate political knowledge, or nicely distribute moral or political justice.

The great men who aspire to the suffrages of the public are of divers kinds. There are the morally great—those who by their private virtues offer exalted standards of excellence; and considering that the happiness of the vast majority must always be made up of the small rather than the great things of life, fine examples of this description are entitled to the first place in estimation. Your public men make a louder report, they are placed on a more dazzling eminence, but they as frequently bequeath evil as good to their fellow-creatures.

Warriors and statesmen who engross the historic page, have generally been only destroyers and oppressors. Their aims have not been their country's, nor truth's, but the indulgence of a truculent and plundering ambition. They have not been the petty swindlers, but the great deceivers of mankind, who by force and fraud sought to prey upon their race; and the incense offered to their memories has been the most mischievous of idolatries. Exceptions exist in those, who without selfish ends, and in defiance even of the misconstruction of contemporaries, have steadily laid the foundation of great social improvements.

Besides these, is another class who figure on the public stage, that claim a more specific description. These are the clever men, the men of tact, who careless of the tendency of their actions seek only popular distinction. All they seek is notoriety, *pour faire parler de soi*; moral distinction they have none, their life is in the people's breath, and provided the shout be raised, it is indifferent to them from what throats it proceeds.

Of this last denomination was William Cobbett; he was of the class of clever rather than of great men. He was not great; because his ends were not the great and the good perseveringly pursued. He was covetous of admiration, he was more greedy of praise than of profit, but he was indifferent whether it was the praise of the multitude or of the enlightened. Extraordinary talent and dexterity generally,—though occasionally no one showed a greater want of prudence,—were the prominent points of his character. He had little depth, no comprehension, science, or invention. What he most abhorred was co-partnership. Rather than share in common, he would abandon any principle, repudiate any friend or party. His ambition was to move alone; and there might be policy as well as vanity in this, for Cobbett was strong singly rather than associated. His popularity consisted in eccentricity, rather than relative superiority to other men in judgment and eloquence. Hence he preferred giving a lecture, to mingling in debate; and would rather issue his bulletins from Botley or Barn Elms, than battle at the hustings or the Crown and Anchor. It is not meant that he had no talent for active life; his abilities even here were above the average, but not remarkably so; and his indifferent success in the House of Commons attests the assertion.

It was the manner rather than the matter of his writings that constituted their attraction. He promulgated no new truths, made no great discoveries. But his lucid style, logical arrangement, graphic stories, jocularly, heartiness of abuse, and above

all, the semblance of honesty, exactness, and independence, fascinated his readers. He had also infinite variety. Mannerists soon become tiresome, and those who address themselves only to one faculty or sentiment can only command a narrow circle. Prose or verse, dialogue or narrative, tragedy or comedy, were all weapons from the literary armoury which Cobbett wielded with dexterity. Occasionally he appealed to the reason with extraordinary force; but this was a limited field to the author of the *Political Register*, for being very slightly acquainted with the science of Political Philosophy, he committed fundamental mistakes which deprived him of authority except among the less instructed. What he addressed most successfully, were the prejudices and passions of men; their pride, vanity, selfishness, and hatred.

What is meant by the spirit of the age, that is to say the form and pressure of the times, was either above the comprehension, or uncongenial to the nature of Mr. Cobbett. He lived in the world without catching its new and energetic impulses. All the changes he apprehended, revolved within the narrow circle of preceding changes. The philosophy of society and human nature, he had studied only in the misanthropic pages of the Dean of St. Patrick;—that of law and government, in those of Mr. Justice Blackstone. Equality of rights and enjoyments, in place of prescription and privilege, he did not recognize. His hopelessness of social progression is manifest from his humiliating anticipations of the *status* of the working orders. Toil and trouble were to be their inevitable lot, and the satisfaction of their physical wants their only recompense. They were born beasts of burthen, and such they would remain, and all they could hope for was an ample supply of provender,—of ‘bacon, bread, and beer.’ These no doubt are excellent; but it is certain that even subsistence cannot be guaranteed to them without an acquaintance with the principles on which it depends, and which science alone can demonstrate, though of that science Cobbett seldom lost an opportunity to express his scorn and detestation.

It is vain, however, to scan Cobbett’s social philosophy, which was more evanescent than the rainbow. He was a man of passions, not of principles. What he did, he did for his own pleasure only. His habits of order, temperance, perseverance, and untiring industry, were all rendered unproductive of great results, through excess of self-dependence, tyrannical self-will, impatience of contradiction, vanity, and egotism.

Although he cannot be ranked among the great men of the earth, yet the space he so long filled gives interest to his

personal history. Moreover his life is exempt from the insipidity of merely literary biography, and is highly instructive; exhibiting in powerful action some of the chief excellencies, as well as defects, of the human character.

It is a curious circumstance, and ought to lessen our confidence in facts of greater moment, that there exists a discrepancy of some years in the age assigned to Mr. Cobbett at the time of his decease. According to his own account, he was born March 6th, 1766; according to the account of his sons, founded on his baptismal register, he was born in 1762. The latter may be suspected to be the better authority, though the difference is more remarkable than important. When persons of great promise are prematurely cut off, it is usual to speculate on the great things they would have done if they had lived; but this is inapplicable to Mr. Cobbett, since either on the supposition that he was sixty-nine or seventy-three years of age, he had survived the period of adventure, or of any great moral or intellectual vicissitudes of character.

His father was a land-measurer and renter of land at Farnham. He therefore by birth belonged to the class of yeomen rather than of agricultural labourers, among whom he was sometimes fond of ranking himself. The education of intellectual men is always an interesting history. Cobbett appears to have practised at a dame's school in his native village; but according to his representation, she could not succeed in teaching him his letters. In the winter evenings his father taught him and his brothers to read and write, and gave them a tolerable knowledge of arithmetic. Grammar the old man did not understand; he made them, however, get the rules by heart,—which, by the way, is as much as most teachers do for their pupils;—but being ignorant of the principles, he did not improve them much by his instructions. The religion of the family was that of the Church of England; and notwithstanding the clashing evidences in Mr. Cobbett's writings, it would appear that, upon the whole, he thought favourably of the Establishment.

The youth of Cobbett was not unaccompanied with circumstances favourable to his future progress. He had the example of virtuous parents, who did their duty to their children. Though they were doomed to the labours of husbandry, these might possibly be as conducive to intellectual development, as so many years spent in the acquisition of the learned languages. Having learned to read, write, and cipher, the foundation was laid for indefinite acquirements, and the rest depended on inclination and ability.

Cobbett's early years appears to have been unstained by

excess of any kind. He neither loved madly like Burns, cultivated philosophy enthusiastically like Franklin, nor was a religious controversialist like Dr. Priestley; but he was pre-eminent for industry. His father boasted that he and his brothers, none of whom was fifteen, could do as much work as any three men in Farnham. The diversities in the subsequent history of these young men, is not reconcileable with Mr. Owen's theory of the omnipotent influence of similar circumstances and education. William was the most adventurous; in his twentieth year he narrowly escaped devotion to the perilous and toilsome life of a sailor. Dissatisfied with the country, he became clerk to an attorney, from the monotony and secluded drudgery of which employment he escaped by enlisting for a soldier. He was eight years in the army, and in that period passed through every rank from that of private up to sergeant-major. His military conduct appears to have been highly meritorious, and to have displayed uncommon ability and punctuality. He also availed himself of the leisure a soldier's life affords, to perfect his knowledge of grammar, and store his mind with useful information.

There is one event connected with Cobbett's military adventures, too remarkable to be unnoticed;—the affair of the Court-Martial. It is very little known, and has been generally passed over in the *Memoirs* and *Notices* that have appeared respecting him, though it is one of the most singular incidents in his career. As the documents respecting it are before the writer, and as it may serve to account for the apparent neglect of Cobbett in high quarters some years subsequently, it will be excusable to enter into it with some minuteness.

Cobbett's discharge from the army was granted on his own earnest solicitation. No sooner was he liberated from all apprehension of his superior officers, than he accused three of them of fraudulent practices committed while the regiment lay in America. The substance of the charges exhibited against the accused, related to frauds in the mustering, clothing, and provisions of the men; the whole of the charges amounted to seventeen. These charges having been laid before the Secretary at War, a warrant was issued to the Judge Advocate General, Sir C. Gould, to assemble a General Court-Martial.

A printed account of the proceedings on this occasion was published; it contains the correspondence between Mr. Cobbett and the Judge Advocate; between the Judge Advocate and the accused; and a memorandum of the proceedings of the court. The first letter addressed to Cobbett by the Judge Advocate, is dated Feb. 23rd, 1792: it informs him that the Court will

assemble at Portsmouth or Hilsea barracks. In answer to this letter, Cobbett objects to the court being holden either at Portsmouth or Hilsea; he says, there, the accused will have formed connexions, the witnesses will be completely in their power, and it is only in London that he can give his evidence without fear. The defendants strongly objected to the expense and inconvenience which would be incurred by the court being held at such a distance from the regiment, and, of course, the witnesses on both sides; nevertheless, at the earnest request of Cobbett, it was determined that the court should be held in London. With this arrangement Cobbett is perfectly satisfied; in his letter to Sir Charles Gould, 11th of March, he says, 'I am now on a fair footing, and have a full assurance that the cause I espouse will meet a decision founded in justice.' He then gives a list of the regimental books, papers, muster-rolls, &c. with which it will be necessary he should be furnished; and concludes with saying, 'If my accusation is without foundation, the authors of cruelty have not yet devised the tortures I ought to endure. Hell itself, as painted by the most fiery bigot, would be too mild a punishment for me.'

Every step having been taken preparatory to the trial, in a letter dated 17th February the Judge Advocate informs Cobbett that the court will assemble on Saturday the 24th instant; and he likewise informs him, that Margas, whom Cobbett had expressed an anxious wish should attend, would be present on the trial. Cobbett in his answer, dated the 19th, and which is the last letter he wrote, expresses his sorrow at the trouble he has given to Sir C. Gould, seems perfectly satisfied with every previous arrangement, gives a list of fifty-two witnesses whom he wishes to be summoned; he concludes with informing Sir Charles, that 'a private concern' obliged him to go into the country, but he should return about Friday, the day preceding the trial.

The Court assembled on Saturday. The witnesses and defendants were all in attendance at the appointed time. Nothing was wanting but the prosecutor. After waiting more than an hour in anxious expectation that he would make his appearance, a messenger was despatched to his wonted lodgings; when it was found he had suddenly left them on the Wednesday evening, two days before the trial, and had not since been heard of, nor was it known where he resided. The astonishment of the Court at this unexpected intelligence, may be better imagined than described. The Judge Advocate forbore to swear in the members, and requested their attendance on the Tuesday following, thinking it advisable that the trial should be deferred till that

time, that further inquiries might be made after the absentee, and that he might have an opportunity to make his appearance.

On Tuesday the Court assembled again. The Judge Advocate then stated, that he had caused diligent inquiry to be made after the prosecutor, who had pledged himself to make good the charges against the accused, but without success. He had likewise addressed a note to Captain Lane, who he understood sometimes called on Cobbett; and the Captain had returned for answer, that 'neither he, nor his servant, knew where Cobbett was to be found.'

Elizabeth Wools, with whom Cobbett had lodged, and who resided at No. 3, Felix Street, Westminster, was then called in. She stated that he had lodged with her twelve weeks; that he had removed from her lodging on Wednesday morning last, that since then she had neither seen nor heard of him, nor did she know where he was; that the postman had been desired to take charge of his post letters, and have them conveyed for him to some house in Houndsditch; and she further stated, that Cobbett had been visited by three persons only while lodging at her house, namely by a Mr. Green, who used to bring him pamphlets and books to read, by Captain Lane, and a person named Austin, whom she understood to be a sergeant in the 54th regiment. Being asked whether Captain Lane used to be frequently with Cobbett, she said, not frequently, and the last time Captain Lane was there, was on the Monday preceding the Wednesday on which Cobbett disappeared.

No hope could now be entertained that the prosecutor would make his appearance. The witnesses having already been in attendance three days, it was determined to put the defendants upon their trial. Accordingly the charges were exhibited, and it was publicly announced that if any person had anything to offer in their support, he would receive all due protection from the Court; but although there were forty witnesses present, summoned at the request of the prosecutor, not one tendered himself for that purpose. The defendants were of course acquitted; and the Court, after expressing its surprise at the extraordinary disappearance of the prosecutor, who at once preferred and solemnly pledged himself to prove the several charges, pronounced them to be totally unfounded, and the accused most honourably acquitted*.

* Proceedings of a General Court Martial held at the Horse-Guards, on the 24th and 27th of March, 1792, for the trial of Capt. Richard Powell, Lieutenant Christopher Seton, and Lieutenant John Hall.—London; printed for Samuel Tipper, Leadenhall-street, by William Flint, Old Bailey. pp. 87. 1809.

Measures were then taken to prosecute Cobbett for a conspiracy; but there being no evidence that he had an accomplice, the design by the advice of the Attorney and Solicitor General of the day, was abandoned. His reasons for withdrawing himself after every opportunity had been yielded, have never been satisfactorily explained. Every point was conceded—the place for assembling the Court Martial—the exclusion of officers who had been on the American station—the production of every document—the summoning of every witness—in short every thing which could enable him to substantiate his accusation. Ministers, could not in this case be swayed by any of those motives, which too often screen public delinquents from merited punishment. The accused were not high in office—they were only subalterns in the army—men of no estate—without parliamentary influence or exalted connections—totally unknown in the public offices,—in short, could be of no more consequence to government, than Mr. Cobbett.

Cobbett disappeared on the 20th of March; the trial was to take place on the 24th; but before the end of the month he arrived in France. The six months he spent in that country, he says, were the happiest he ever spent in his life. He left France in the beginning of September, and landed at New York in the October following. Shortly after his arrival in America, by means of a letter of introduction which he had obtained from the American Ambassador at the Hague, he applied to Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State, for employment under the American government. Mr. Jefferson expressed an earnest wish to serve him, and concluded his answer in the following handsome manner;—‘Public offices in our government are so few, and of so little value, as to offer no resource to talent. When you shall have been here some small time, you will be able to judge in what way you can set out with the best prospect of success, and if I can serve you in it, I shall be very ready to do it.’

Cobbett's next measure for obtaining a livelihood was teaching the French and English language. In many respects he was well qualified for a schoolmaster; and from his previous studies, it appears to have been the object of his ambition. He had by a laudable application, acquired a thorough knowledge of grammar; he was an excellent penman; and his residence in France had perfected him in the knowledge of its language. His success, however, was by no means flattering; and he was shortly under the necessity of having recourse to other means for the enhancement of his income.

In the month of July 1794, Dr. Pricstley landed at New

York. The cause of his emigration is well known. His house, library, and valuable philosophical apparatus, had been destroyed by a misguided mob. His personal safety was placed in the greatest jeopardy. He was frequently obliged to appear in disguise, and travel under a fictitious name. Scarcely any person dared to receive him into his house; and almost every pulpit was shut against him. Many of his servants left their situations, from a dread of becoming objects of popular indignation; and his eldest son, who was advantageously settled in business at Manchester, was thrown out of the firm to which he belonged, from the same cause. Many times was he burnt in effigy along with Thomas Paine; and numberless insulting and threatening letters were constantly pouring in upon him from all parts of the kingdom. From such a storm of persecution it is not surprising he should seek refuge on the other side the Atlantic. On his arrival at New York, he was justly considered a persecuted individual, and welcomed with congratulatory addresses from various societies in that city. It was these addresses which seemingly roused the envious ire of Cobbett, and drew forth his maiden essay as an author. The title which Cobbett intended to give to his pamphlet was, 'The Tartuffe detected, or Observations on Priestley's Emigration;' but unable to find a publisher who agreed with him that Dr. Priestley was the 'Tartuffe detected,' that part of the title was suppressed.

In another pamphlet Cobbett fell upon Callender, the author of the 'Political Progress of Britain,' who had just arrived in America; and Mr. Jefferson said, 'that the work contained the most astonishing concentration of abuse he had ever heard of.' Cobbett's remarks on the author, may at least amuse.—

'Let me then ask, what could induce him to come a' the wa' from Edinburgh to Philadelphia, to make an attack upon poor old England. And, if this be satisfactorily accounted for, on the principle of domestic philosophy which teaches us, that froth and scum stopped in at one place will break out at another, still I must be permitted to ask, what could induce him to imagine that the citizens of the United States were in any manner whatever interested in the affair. What was his adventure in Scotland, and his "narrow escape," to us, who live on this side the Atlantic? What do we care whether his associates Ridgway and Symons, are still in Newgate, or whether they have been translated to Surgeons' Hall? Is it anything to us, whether he prefers George to Charley, or Charley to George, any more than whether he used to eat his burgeo with his fingers, or with a horn spoon? What are his debts and his misery to us? Just as if we cared whether his posteriors were covered with a pair of breeches or kelt, or whether he was literally *sans*

culotte. In Great Britain, indeed, his barking might answer some purpose; there he was near the object of his fury, but here he is like a cur howling at the moon.'

It would be useless to analyse the early political effusions of Cobbett. They are all sufficiently abusive, written with spirit and acuteness, and no inconsiderable portion of humour. It is evident from the '*Kick for a Bite*,' published in 1795, and other pamphlets, that he was now no novice at his trade. He had evidently read much, was completely master of the rules of composition, and a critic of no ordinary dimensions. Besides, he was an adept at the more mechanical part of authorship. When he brought out the '*Bone to Gnaw*,' he inserted in the *Aurora* newspaper, under the signature of 'A Correspondent,' a feigned attempt to controvert the opinions in his own publication. For this 'puff indirect,' Cobbett justifies himself by appealing to precedent, citing for examples the names of Pope, Phillips, and Addison.

The *nom de guerre* under which Cobbett put forth his diatribes, was 'Peter Porcupine;' for though he had been some years at Philadelphia, he continued, owing probably to his abrupt withdrawal from England, to conceal his real name from the public. The bold anti-republican sentiments he published, had rendered the name of Peter Porcupine sufficiently notorious and odious in America; but William Cobbett was still a name unknown as a writer. An incorrect version of his previous history having appeared, he was induced to publish his own account of the 'Life and Adventures of Peter Porcupine.' He brings his narrative down to the year 1796, calling it a 'full and fair account of himself;' but that it is neither very full nor fair is clear, because he never once alludes to the memorable Court Martial, the most singular event in his life.

He begins his history with saying,—'To be descended from an illustrious family certainly reflects honour on any man, in spite of the *sans culotte* principle of the present day.' His grandfather, he says, was

'No philosopher. Indeed he was not. He never made a lightning-rod, nor bottled up a single quart of sunshine, in the whole course of his life. He was no almanack-maker, nor chimney-doctor, nor soap-boiler, nor ambassador, nor printer's devil; neither was he a Deist; and all his children were born in wedlock.'

In all this, Cobbett meant it to be understood, he was not in anything like Dr. Franklin, whom he abuses for being a soap-boiler, and whom he attempts to ridicule under the appellation of 'Old Lightning-Rod.' Cobbett was always an adept at nicknames. Kosciusko, the Polish hero, was

'a scoundrel, a vile insurgent chief;' Washington, 'a notorious rebel and traitor;' La Fayette, 'a citizen miscreant, whose liberation from the dungeon of Olmutz he sorely laments.' Montesquieu is a 'silly fellow' for asserting that virtue is the basis of republican government; Jefferson is 'a malicious philosopher,' and Dr. Price 'the pious old apostle of discord.' Upon Thomas Paine he discharged the full vials of his wrath, as everything base and infamous; he is 'a rebel' and the 'father of lies,' a blasphemous wretch, a ragamuffin, a fellow who had fled from thief-catchers in England, and who delighted in plunder, proscription, and massacre. But those who are desirous of so arming themselves, may themselves cull the flowers of vituperation from the writings of Mr. Cobbett.

About the same time he published a life of Paine. It is replete with abuse and mis-statements. Some passages are worth extracting, as exhibiting a singular contrast with the writer's subsequent opinions.

'He, or some one in his name, has lately written a book, entitled the *Decline and Fall of the British system of Finance*, of which it is quite enough to say, that it is of equal merit with the rest of his writings. All his predictions have hitherto remained unfulfilled, and those contained in the last effort of his malice will share the same fate. It is extremely favourable for British bank notes, that he who doubts of their validity will not believe in the Bible.'

He concludes the history of 'Mad Tom,' as he styles Paine, as follows.—

'How Tom gets a living now, or what brothel he inhabits, I know not, nor does it much signify to anybody here or anywhere else. He has done all the mischief he can do in the world, and whether his carcase is to be at last suffered to rot on the earth, or to be dried in the air, is of very little consequence. Whenever or wherever he breathes his last, he will excite neither sorrow nor compassion; no friendly hand will close his eyes, not a groan will be uttered, not a tear will be shed. Like *Judas* he will be remembered by posterity; men will learn to express all that is base, malignant, treacherous, unnatural, and blasphemous, by the single monosyllable PAINE.—*Porcupine's Works*, vol. iv. p. 113.

The writer little thought he should afterwards become the exhumator of Paine, and seek to canonize his bones in the land of his birth.

The writings of Cobbett are almost as voluminous as those of Lope de Vega, the Spanish poet and novelist, who it is said wrote eighteen hundred plays, which with his other compositions contained no less than twenty-three millions of lines, and formed only a small part of the works he had prepared for the press. The character of his writings may generally be known

from the period of their publication. From 1794 to 1803 he was a furious anti-Jacobin, the advocate of despotism, the panegyrist of Mr. Pitt, and the reviler of all persons and institutions favourable to liberty and reform. In the short interval from 1803 to 1805 he was the adherent of Mr. Fox and the Whigs; sedulously exerting himself in conjunction with Mr. Perry, to bring that party into power, and accomplish a moderate reform in the representation. From 1805 to 1817 he was a Radical, the follower and enthusiastic champion of Sir Francis Burdett. In 1818 he became a republican, a blanketeer, a universal-suffrage man, and the reviler of all his former principles and associates. This completed the cycle of political vacillations; and just before his death he appeared about to retrograde, having vouchsafed his support to Sir Robert Peel and the Tories.

In 1796 he published the *Bloody Buoy*, the object of which was to hold up to execration the principles and authors of the French Revolution. The materials of this revolutionary scarecrow, were compiled from the writings of priests and emigrant loyalists. In its accumulation of horrors it resembled Fox's *Book of Martyrs*; and perhaps the atrocities that disgraced the French Revolution, were as nearly allied with the principles in which that tremendous movement originated, as the cruelties of the Papists with the maxims of Christianity.

He commenced *Porcupine's Gazette*, a daily paper, May 4th, 1797. In his address to the public on this occasion, he directs correspondents to pay the postage of their letters, a regulation (he says) he is obliged 'to adopt to disappoint certain democratic blackguards, who, to gratify their impotent malice and put me to expense, send me loving epistles full of curses and bawdry.' This paper was a sink of abuse, and contained the most furious invectives against the advocates of liberty of whatever age or cline. With Franklin Bache, the editor of the 'Aurora,' whom Cobbett styles 'the miscreant grandson of the seditious old Franklin,' he was continually at war. The sale of *Porcupine's Gazette* was very considerable; at one time the number of subscribers amounted to between two and three thousand.

Owing to an article which appeared in the 'Gazette' relative to the King of Spain and his ambassador Don Martinez de Yrujo, a prosecution was commenced against him for a libel in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. The indictment was thrown out by the grand jury. Of these proceedings Cobbett sent a full account to John Reeves and the 'Loyal Society' at the Crown and Anchor, and directed them to be used as 'a panacea for the reformists, and the whole gang of liberty-men in England.'

This was only the commencement of his difficulties. Such an audacious assailant had never before been seen in America. His arrows were shot on all sides; and that the Americans should so long suffer a foreigner to attack their institutions and the most respected names in their country, is more surprising than that he should at last fall a victim to their indignation. His boldness had at first excited curiosity; and while he confined his attacks to the French party, he found many supporters even among the Americans themselves. But when he began to assail the Federal Government and its founders, all parties were disgusted and astonished.

The first attempt to set bounds to his license, was made by the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. In 1797, he issued his warrant to bring Cobbett before him. Of the sweeping extent of the attacks, an idea may be formed from the Judge's warrant, which charged him with publishing false and malicious libels against Chief Justice Dallas, Jefferson, Munroe, Gallatin, Dr. Franklin, Dr. Priestley, the Duke of Bedford, Fox, Sheridan, Lord Stanhope, Bonaparte, Talleyrand, Richard Parker (the mutineer), Napper Tandy, Arthur O'Connor, and a great number more not so well known in the political world. On this occasion Cobbett gave surety, himself and two others in the sum of four thousand dollars, to keep the peace and be of good behaviour. Having shortly after forfeited his recognizances, a civil process was issued for the recovery of the four thousand dollars, but the execution was suspended.

A more overwhelming blow remained, and which in its ultimate effects drove Cobbett from America, and compelled him to take refuge in the country from which eight years before he had made such a singular exit. Dr. Rush commenced an action against him for slander. Rush was a physician of Philadelphia, and in the treatment of his patients, copious bleedings, with large doses of calomel or mercurial purges, were the remedies principally employed. During the prevalence of the yellow fever in 1797, this mode of treatment was very generally adopted, principally on the recommendation of Dr. Rush. The Doctor was an ardent republican; a circumstance quite sufficient to draw both upon him and his practice the vengeance of Cobbett, who in conjunction with one Fenno, conductor of a paper on the same principles as the Porcupine Gazette, pelted the Doctor and his followers most unmercifully with squibs, epigrams, and every mode of annoyance which their ingenuity could devise. The most absurd stories were invented; Gil Blas was ransacked for comparisons, and every ridiculous tale that had been related of the profession was applied to Dr. Rush.

For some time the Doctor bore this storm with fortitude; but dreading the effect of such reiterated attacks upon his character and practice, and probably finding a falling-off in the number of his patients from being daily accused of poisoning and bleeding them to death, he at length determined to call in the aid of an attorney, to advise the best mode of silencing the tongue of his assailant. An action was then instituted against Cobbett for slander, but the trial did not take place till December 1799. It was clear however that things were hastening to a crisis, and that it was time to think of making his retreat. The Porcupine Gazette had lost its reputation, and the sale had dwindled down almost to nothing. There was scarcely an individual in Philadelphia, but would have rejoiced in the death of its editor; and every night he expected to be assaulted in his house by the enraged republicans. Then, besides the action of Doctor Rush, there was the recognizance to the amount of four thousand dollars into which he had entered to keep the peace. In short his situation at Philadelphia was no longer tenable.

The first step of Mr. Porcupine was to place his person out of the reach of violence. On the 8th of December, having first sent off his books, furniture, and other valuables, he removed privately to New York. He next attempted to allay the wrath of his enemies and avert the consequences of the prosecution, by announcing his intention to drop the publication of his Gazette; but it was too late. He gave notice of his intention to discontinue the Gazette on the 11th of December, and the trial took place on the 14th. He was found guilty, damages 5,000 dollars.

The joy of the Philadelphians at this victory over the aristocratic Goliath was extreme. When Judge Shippen closed his charge, there was a clapping of hands among the people who filled the galleries and area of the Court-house, and when the verdict was pronounced their joy knew no bounds, and broke out into loud and repeated acclamations. No attempt was made on the trial by Cobbett's counsel to substantiate any of the charges against Dr. Rush. Indeed it was admitted by his counsel, that all his attacks upon the Doctor were purely personal, and absolutely without foundation; and what tended still more to increase the unpopularity of the defendant, was that it was sworn by one of the witnesses, that Cobbett had asserted that his sole reason for attacking the bleeding system was because it originated with a republican. This circumstance, added to the great respectability of the plaintiff's character,—for he was then Treasurer of the Mint, and the intimate friend of

Jefferson and Adams, and had formerly been a member of Congress and an active partisan in the war of Independence,—will prevent any surprise at the amount of the damages.

After a verdict four days were usually allowed previous to entering up the judgment, to give time for the defendant to move the court in mitigation of damages. But Cobbett being considered a 'slippery blade,' especially after his elopement from Philadelphia, some apprehensions were felt lest he should leave the country and elude the payment of the fine. To prevent this, two days after the trial, he was arrested at New York for the 5,000 dollars. The little property he left behind at Philadelphia was seized by a sheriff's warrant, and sold by public auction to pay arrears of rent. The whole amount of the fine was paid by a subscription raised among English gentlemen in Canada, and the agents of Great Britain in the United States; which served to strengthen a suspicion that had long prevailed in America, that Cobbett had been in the pay of the English ministry.

Having narrowly escaped an American jail, he next attempted to vent his rage on all the parties connected with the prosecution. For this purpose he published a small work in numbers, called the '*Rush-Light*.' It was filled with abuse and libellous anecdotes of every one connected with the trial; of the grand jury who found the bill; of the judge, the jury, and the counsel on both sides; his own counsel he accused of being bribed. Owing to a passage in the first number, reflecting on Lieutenant Rush, a Captain Still called upon Cobbett for an explanation; but the captain had as little success as Mr. Lockhart, and many others who subsequently waited on the author of the Register on similar missions.

In the last number of the '*Rush-Light*' was a letter addressed to Dr. Priestley; who was then suffering from a severe domestic accident, he and his family having narrowly escaped being poisoned from some arsenic which by accident had got into the meal-chest. This appeared to Cobbett a favourable moment for addressing him, not for the purpose of condolence, but for reproaching him with his political conduct, and possibly to mitigate the sense of his own ills by triumphing in those of his opponent.

The '*Rush-Light*' was the last work Cobbett published in America. Before he brought out the '*Rush-Light*,' he published a short history of the Italian campaign of General Suwarow. 'Yesterday,' he says, 'I finished the history of the Italian campaign, today I am beginning that of Rush and his supporters. When I contemplate this transition; when I view myself descending from the glorious deeds of the princely

Suwarow to record the low tricks of an ignoble herd of Philadelphians, I remind myself of Swift's indiscriminating fly, which, after sipping the nectar from the rose and carnation, drops down and finishes its meal upon an excrement.' Finding no longer either encouragement or safety in America, Cobbett sailed from New York for England on the 1st of June 1800.

His writings had attracted the favourable notice of the anti-Jacobins in England, with whom he had been in correspondence; and on his arrival in London, he started, under the auspices of that party, the 'Porcupine' daily paper. But though he is understood to have received 3,000 guineas from government through the medium of Mr. Windham for the support of this journal, it had very indifferent success, chiefly from mismanagement, the proprietor begrudging the expense necessary to procure the ordinary articles of newspaper intelligence. The paper which, for these reasons, had greatly declined in sale, received its death blow when on the peace of Amiens, as the editor refused to illuminate his office, the populace broke his windows. In revenge he published no paper next day; and when he was again pleased to publish, the public would not buy. He then made the paper over to Mr. J. Gifford, under whom and Redhead Yorke it expired. He was not more successful in the bookselling business, which he also attempted in Pall Mall, under the orthodox standard of servility and intolerance, the 'Bible and Crown.'

He was never successful in journalism; the chief reason of which appears to have been, that he was more of a commentator on, than promulgator of, news, intelligence, and occurrences. Hence the 'Political Register,' which he established after the abandonment of his newspaper, was the sort of work best adapted to his political dissertations. The early volumes are replete with the doctrines of ultra-conservatism. So fastidious was Cobbett in his loyalty in those days, that he styled Charles I. a martyr, and denounced the speech of Rolla to the Peruvians, because it made kings the choice of the people. He opposed the peace, recommended a war with France for the restoration of the Bourbons, and held it to be a capital offence in Dumourier that he should have come to this country without first obtaining the pardon of his legitimate sovereign. In many of his opinions he was the organ of the eccentricities of Mr. Windham; defending the slave-trade and standing armies, bull-baiting, and prize-fighting. So exalted was Cobbett in his aristocracy, that he refused to take cognizance of the ignoble doings of the middle order, not even admitting a notice of the deaths of any of the bourgeoisie into

his Register. After lamenting the execution of Governor Wall, he concludes a letter addressed to Lord Hawkesbury, by saying, 'I cannot let slip this opportunity of reminding your Lordship of the rapid progress the people are making in insolence, violence, and ferocity.' He objected to the Addington ministry because it consisted chiefly of middle men in lieu of persons of title. So strenuous was he in upholding existing usages and institutions, that he opposed the introduction of vaccination as an innovation. 'There is not a court in Europe,' he wrote, 'to which this Register does not go. It circulates widely among the best people of this country, of America, and of the East and West Indies.' The sale of the Register was considerable at this period; on the 31st December 1803, it was 4,000 according to his own account (Register, vol. iv. p. 929). 'I have been told,' he says, 'that the King, when he visited Cuffnell's in 1804, said the moment he entered the house, "Where is my friend Cobbett's paper?" This however did not prevent Cobbett in a subsequent Register, from complaining of the great burthen the maintenance of the royal family imposed on the country.

—He was very caustic in his strictures on the Methodists, because they opposed the drilling of the Volunteers on Sundays. The liberty of the press he contended had done much harm, by promoting the growth of sectaries. He spoke contemptuously of 'the blessed art of printing,' and augured no good from exterminating the breed of bull-dogs. The impressment of seamen he defended, and thought the papists were wise in not allowing the poor the indiscriminate use of the Bible. Sunday-schools were an object of reproach, as well as the conversion of negroes into saints. 'Making scholars of those whose business it is to delve;' soup-shops for feeding those who are too idle to work, or too proud to beg; each,' says he, 'has its partisans.' These excerpts are enough to illustrate the early sentiments of the future champion of democracy.

Cobbett was a great assailant of established opinions and reputations. His contempt for Milton, Shakspeare, and Sir Walter Scott, are well known. Among the novelties of opinion he broached, was the notion that England was as populous in the reign of Elizabeth as now; though he never condescended to inform his readers, how in the former æra the people were fed when there was much less land in cultivation, nor how they were employed when comparatively there was neither commerce nor manufactures. Cobbett did not always care to render a reason for the faith that was in him; it was sufficient that he willed it, and no man was more effective in rendering absurdity plausible. Thus a straw-plait,

Indian corn, and the locust-tree, were successively advocated as the foundation of national prosperity. Growing old, he, like old men in general, took a distaste to 'garden-stuff;' and then the potatoe was subjected to his anathema 'as a degrading and accursed root. At one time he is found joining Mr. Windham in his cry of 'perish commerce.' As a farmer it was natural that he should prefer land to trade; but there was no sense in its universal interdict.

After all, the author of the 'Register' was more vacillating and inconsistent in his attachment to persons than principles. Upon some of the leading dogmas by which he was distinguished, he does not appear to have undergone material change of opinion. He was always the consistent assailant of the funding system; and as invariably the opponent of popular education.

There were few individuals in the abuse of whom Cobbett was more consistent, than Mr. Malthus; yet at one time, he bore testimony to the truth of the principles of that celebrated author. Writing to a correspondent (vol. ix. p. 65.) he refers him to the 'argument grounded upon the principle of population, as laid down, and indeed established, by Mr. Malthus. Before the rays of this luminous principle, the mists of erroneous or hypocritical humanity instantly vanish, and leave the field clear for the operations of reason.' This, however, did not prevent him from two years afterwards setting down Malthus as a 'hard-hearted misanthropic economist.'

Cobbett's coquetry with Sir Francis Burdett, formed an amusing episode in his biography. In his early Registers he is found exclaiming, 'I abhor, loath, hate, and detest Sir Francis Burdett.' In the sixth volume of the Register he retracts his former sentiments, and makes an elaborate defence of the Baronet's character. No one could better paint an angel or a devil. His loathing and abhorrence of the Baronet revived in his later years, and Cobbett boasted that by the persevering malignity of his pen, he would drive Sir Francis to suicide and ignominious burial on the highway. There is no occasion to advert to private transactions, to account for this shifting of personal predilections. Cobbett's sentiments were always in the 'transition state;' it follows that no one could agree with him longer, than while he passed them in rushing from one extreme of opinion to another. Besides this, the nature of the man was strongly opposed to friendship. Favours he despised or undervalued, but the slightest neglect he never forgave. Something of this kind has been assigned as the cause of his estrangement from Mr. Pitt, who it is said refused to dine with the 'noble of nature' at Mr. Windham's table.

The later transactions of Cobbett's life, are sufficiently known from his own eternal blazon;—his third flight to America, driven there, as he told his readers, to escape the dungeons of Sidmouth and Castlereagh, but according to another version, to escape from his creditors;—his return with Paine's bones, as relics upon which to raise the wind;—his scheme for upsetting the 'Old Lady in Threadneedle-street,' by sowing the streets with forged bank-notes;—and his various devices for obtaining a seat in Parliament by public subscription.

The enigma of Cobbett's history admits of only one solution. Admitting his great talent, and believing that on public occasions he was swayed by the same considerations as the professional advocate, will give a key to all his inconsistencies. Writers of this description have some advantages over those who are more straightlaced. They can paint from the imagination, without regard to fact or reason; the canvas is before them, and all they have to do is to draw the outlines and lay on the colours, so as to produce the most effective picture.

Let no one however be seduced by the example of the author of the *Political Register*. He is a beacon, not a guide. Men may doubtless become wiser from experience, and correct their errors; but no great principle can be abandoned without injury to the reputation. All changes of sentiment impugn either the character or the judgment; and if such transitions are frequent, they destroy all confidence and influence. Of this Mr. Cobbett was in the end a memorable instance.

Politics are not an ameliorating pursuit; they have little tendency to discipline the mind, and elicit its virtuous impulses. For the most part they are a mercenary struggle, a civil conflict, in which men engage for the advancement of their interests. It was the fate of Cobbett to be always in the hottest of the fight; he was always battling against real or alleged injustice. For him mankind were divided into two great parties—friends and foes—and it was his vocation to be constantly assailant or defendant. In this absence of neutrality, and position of unceasing strife, it is not surprising that his judgment was destroyed, and his passions exasperated into savageness, hardness, and uncontrollableness.

Moreover he laboured under the disadvantage of defective intellectual culture. To the last he was a most imperfectly educated man. Except grammar,—in which, too, he made many mistakes,—he was a stranger to science. Of moral and political philosophy—the knowledge that teaches our duties to others and to ourselves—he knew nothing. Even with economical

science—though so intimately connected with the subjects of his daily writings—he was little acquainted. Yet by mere force of writing, in the estimation of some persons, he succeeded in causing himself to be looked up to as an oracle on finance and currency. Upon these subjects, however, he had never more than one idea, and that idea was, that if the currency be diminished, the same nominal amount of taxes cannot be paid, without a proportionable increase of pressure on the tax-payer. On this principle he dilated for years; and built on it all his prognostications about the Bank not paying in specie, or if it did pay in specie, wheat would fall to four shillings a bushel, and the interest of the debt could not be paid. All these predictions failed; but this did not lessen the faith of his followers, and Cobbett found excuses for evading the redemption of his pledge of being broiled on a gridiron should he prove a false prophet. The fact is, what he said was the truth, but it was not the whole truth, as regarded prices and the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England.

It is time to advert to some favourable traits in the character of this second John Lilburne.

Cobbett was no croaker. He was a self-dependent man, who by native talent, industry, and an indomitable self-will, sought to surmount the disadvantages of birth and education. This at least was meritorious; though it does not follow that self-reliance may never be in excess.

His aims too had always something great in them. He was no trifler, who dawdled away existence in low and frivolous pursuits. Reforms of public institutions, or improvements in agriculture, were the objects to which he was devoted. This attested greatness of disposition, and placed him above the common herd of men.

Another trait in Cobbett was always delightful; which was, his cheerfulness. Who can have forgotten his endless jokes on 'the Thing,' the 'Old Lady of Threadneedle-street,' the 'Mole-digger,' 'Mother Brodie,' 'Doctor Black,' and a hundred others which made the reception of his Register agreeable as the hebdomadal meeting with a facetious friend. Not half the gall in his pen, probably flowed from the heart. His most remorseless showings-up were often nothing more than caricatures, which he drew as much for his own amusement as for the indulgence of a malignant disposition.

He was not selfish, at least in the muck-worm sense. His love of money was always subordinate to the love of notoriety, or rather to the indulgence of a devouring egotism. He always reverted to the scenes of infancy with delight. This, and his

unchangeable attachment to a country life, showed that a long communion with a corrupt world and its artificial enjoyments, had failed to alienate his affections from the simplicity of nature.

The public must part with him as with an old acquaintance with whom they have often laughed, and whose conduct they have sometimes admired, though not unfrequently disapproved. He was perfect in nothing. His very strength was no inconsiderable source of the weaknesses and errors of his course. It would be harsh to say of him, as of Cromwell, that he was a 'bold bad man;' nor was he exactly of Yorick's school,—his jests being frequently too Satanic. But if he had the infirmities, he had the sympathies of humanity. His last days were his best. There was no unavailing regret. He died as men ought to die, resignedly and tranquil.

The lesson he has left to the community, is that they should not believe in any man for violence of words; because there is always the possibility, of his uttering on both sides. True wisdom is for the most part neither in the earthquake nor in the storm, but in the 'still small voice' that comes when both have run their course.

ART. XIV.—*A Steam Voyage down the Danube. With Sketches of Hungary, Wallachia, Servia, Turkey, &c.* By Michael J. Quin, Author of 'A Visit to Spain.'—2 vols. London. 1835.


STEAM on the Danube! What a host of prospective advantages to Europe in the sound! the evils of barbarism, brutishness, poverty, filth, ignorance, insecurity, vanish before it; and in their stead, arise wealth, comfort, security, arts, letters.

To the mind but moderately familiar with the history of the human race, the name of the Danube is rich in the most important associations; as having been for a time the boundary, on one side, of the mightiest empire the world had ever witnessed; as the scene where that empire was fought for, lost, and won; as the haunt of the most numerous and powerful hordes of barbarians that have ever yet been congregated in one mass to desolate the earth; and lastly, as it is associated with the progress in Europe of the Turkish crescent.

But independently altogether of historical associations, the Danube has only to be traced upon a map of Europe, to become an object of more than common interest. You see a river that, including its windings, is supposed to run above 2000 miles,

and receive in its progress above forty navigable rivers. Take along with this, that the countries it traverses are exceedingly remarkable from the character both of their scenery and their inhabitants, and at the same time have been hitherto peculiarly difficult of access ; and every one who is sufficiently instructed to let his mind wander beyond his own valley and his own village, will be delighted to learn that the banks of this noble river are about to become accessible to the curiosity of Europe.

'I observe,' says Mr. Quin, 'that a company has been established in London for the purpose of connecting Marseilles with Constantinople by a line of steam-packets. Thus preparations are in progress throughout all that region for great changes ; and communications between Vienna by the Danube, the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, and London, may be said to be on the eve of completion, which will afford the merchant, the politician, or the summer traveller, the opportunity of visiting most of the principal cities of Europe, within the brief period of a month or six weeks—a tour upon which hitherto no person could think of entering who had not at least a full year at his disposal. Such are some of the miracles of the age of steam !'—i. 163.

Mr. Quin, although he possesses far more talent as a  writer, and far more power of graphic description, than nine out of ten of modern tourists, very properly begins his journal, or at least his book, with his arrival at Pesth, the modern capital of Hungary, where he embarked. He thus commences his narrative.—

'While I was preparing at Paris, towards the close of last summer, for a journey to Constantinople by the ordinary and very fatiguing course overland through Vienna, Semlin, and Belgrade, I was informed that steam-boats had been recently established on the Danube, which would enable me to descend that river to the Black Sea, and thence to the Bosphorus. The hope of accomplishing my object by a route so novel, so attractive in itself, and so convenient in every respect, was too tempting to be resisted. I therefore lost no time in repairing to Vienna ; and as the scenery of the Danube possesses but little interest between Presburg, where the steam navigation begins, and Pesth, the modern capital of Hungary, I preferred embarking at the latter place. I accordingly arrived there by the light of a brilliant moon, an hour or two after midnight, on the 24th of September, 1834 ; and as a variety of rumours had met me on the road, some stating that the steam-boat, or Dampshiffe, as it is called in that country, had been destroyed by its own engines, others that it had bulged on the rocks, or remained fixed fast in the sandy bed of the river from the want of water, it was with no small pleasure that I discovered the vessel of which I came in pursuit anchored quietly within the shade of the bridge of boats that still forms the communication between Pesth and Buda.'

'The inns having been all shut up for the night, I was obliged to

proceed without ceremony on board through a crowd of carriages, packages, and cases of all descriptions, which were huddled together on the bank, with a view to transportation by the steamer to different towns on the Danube. The guardians of the vessel were all wrapped in sleep so imperturbable, that I could find nobody to marshal me the way to a berth in the cabin. Having been without sleep myself for thirty-four hours, I was not at all indisposed to follow the example of these worthy centinels, the more especially when, on penetrating to the cabin, I found it almost entirely preoccupied by passengers stretched on benches, in full enjoyment of the same "sweet oblivion," amidst piles of boxes, trunks, cloaks, shawls, baskets, hat-cases, stools, and tables, congregated in "most admired confusion." By the glimmering light of a lamp which was suspended from the roof, I at length discerned a vacant corner, and having doubled up a seat-cushion, by way of pillow, and arranged another as no mean apology for a bed, I threw myself upon it, wrapped in my cloak, resolved to subside at once into profound repose.—i. 1.

Mr. Quin finds himself very agreeably situated on board, among a party of Hungarian ladies and nobles descending the river to various destinations. Some of their modes of amusing themselves with cards, Mr. Quin describes with apparent interest.

The following is an amusing picture.—

'I believe there is no river in Europe which winds so much as the Danube. It may, with more than the usual truth of poetry, be emphatically designated as a "wandering stream." It consequently abounds with what are called "reaches", portions of the bank which at a distance look like promontories, and add not a little to the difficulties of the navigators, who have to work their way against the course of the current. It is amusing to observe a boat of the country labouring round one of these obstacles. It is generally a huge unwieldy bark, constructed of oak, covered with a high roof, and laden to the very top with what here universally passes under the name of fruit—that is wine, timber, wool, wheat, hay, and produce of every degree. The vessel is dragged up the river by a force which is not at first very apparent. You behold the vessel tied to the end of a rope, which is pulled by something or somebody somewhere, and if your eye can discern the "reach" at the distance perhaps of a mile, you may discover there a dozen brawny Hungarian peasants half-naked, trudging along in rope-harness, exerting all their strength to draw the enormous mass behind them. The more opulent adventurers, however, frequently employ horses for this purpose, and then the scene is infinitely more bustling. Twenty and sometimes thirty half-wild horses are required to supply a sufficient moving power, where the force of the current offers more than ordinary resistance. Almost every pair of horses belongs to a different peasant, and he will allow

* A 'reach,' in nautical language, is not a portion of the bank which looks like a promontory, but a portion of the channel that *reaches*, or extends, for a considerable distance in a straight line.—Ed.

nobody to lash them but himself. He is most probably a nobleman, and it is part of his privilege to drive his own horses after his own fashion. When, therefore, the whole of the team arrives at a difficult reach, it becomes the signal for a general mutiny; the leaders are perhaps prancing in the air; while the horses immediately behind are endeavouring with all their might to bolt off into the adjacent country. Here a horse and his companion were standing quite still, as if they were in doubt whether they ought not, before going further, to take a pleasant draught of the element at their feet. Half a dozen of the animals in the rear have dragged each other into the river, through which they were wading up to the girth, while the sound of a dozen whips, the shouts of the drivers, the angry exclamations of the boatmen standing on the roofs of their vessels, the neighing of the alarmed horses, and the barking of dogs, combine to form a most ludicrous concert, which may be heard far down the river. Here in a broiling sun these drivers keep on their large cloaks, which are as essential to the dignity of a Hungarian peasant-noble, as the wide-brimmed hat slouching over his swarthy countenance.—i. 7.

With respect to these Hungarian nobles, Mr. Quin received the following information from an Englishman he met in the steam-boat, who had lived for some time with the Count Tedische, a Hungarian nobleman of extensive possessions, as his groom, and who was about to be elevated to the rank of the Count's bailiff or steward. It forms a forcible illustration of the effect of the system of hereditary distinctions and privileges pushed to extremes.

'In former times,' said he, and I give very nearly his own words, 'it was the custom for the emperor to give a title of nobility to every person who in battle killed his man. These titles unfortunately became hereditary; the consequence of which is, that almost every second man you meet in Hungary either is really noble or affects to be so. The great mass of this kind of aristocracy are wretchedly poor. They are too proud to work, and having no property they live by plunder. They go, Sir—you coming fresh from England will hardly believe it—these fellows go in the noonday to a field of Indian corn, the best they can find in the neighbourhood, with horses and waggons, which they have begged or seized for the purpose; they cut down as much of the corn as they please, and then carry it away openly, as if it had been the regular produce of their own industry; the poor farmer looking on all the time, perhaps, from a distance, afraid even to be seen, for it would be as much as his life is worth to offer the slightest resistance to their proceedings! For this robbery there is no redress. This is not all. These marauders choose to fall out with a man—they do so easily enough for they are dreadfully quarrelsome—they attack him, and kill him. For such a crime there is no punishment; whereas, if one of themselves happen to be killed in the fray, they obtain redress immediately. They give themselves the name of *Aidelmen*, which seems to be a passport of impunity for every species of wickedness.'—i. 26.

Accounts of this kind are neither to be rejected, nor taken to the letter. Men of a little experience know how to deal with them. There is generally at the bottom, some mixture of acknowledged and disputed rights. With the alteration of a few words into 'tithe-proctors' and 'Orangemen,' the description would be one likely enough to be given in Ireland.

The steamer having anchored for the night, Mr. Quin sallied forth into the village in search of a bed; but his enterprise being unsuccessful, he returns to the boat.—

'Finding my companions at supper I was very glad to join them. They were in the midst of Hungarian politics, two of them being deputies on their way home from the diet. I have seldom met a more engaging person than the Count P——, who appeared to have taken an active part in the business of the legislature. He was inexhaustible in anecdotes about his fellow-deputies, and the mode in which the national affairs were carried on. Eloquent, cheerful, off-hand, and thoroughly conversant with human nature, he often placed the most serious things in a ridiculous point of view, which kept the table in roars of laughter. His features beamed with benevolence, and I was not surprised afterwards to learn, that in his own country of Presburg, where he has ample possessions, he is universally beloved. He had frequently the goodness to explain to me in Latin the political parts of his conversation. He said that the diet was the mere image of what it ought to be according to the ancient constitution of the country. Many of the deputies were determined on eventually effecting a reform, but from motives of personal respect for the then reigning emperor, they would take no steps during his lifetime. Under a new sovereign, however, they would certainly insist upon the restoration of the Hungarian constitution. I had more than once occasion to remark, that politics were by no means forbidden topics in this country: they are in fact as freely spoken of as in France or England. No notice is ever taken by the authorities of this liberty of speech; I have heard even the authorities themselves discuss public questions without the slightest reserve. The freedom thus generally enjoyed must be founded not only on custom, which cannot be changed, but upon a sense of inherent strength with which it might be dangerous to tamper.'—i. 35.

The grapes with which the table was supplied were delicious, and Mr. Quin thinks that if more attention were paid in the making, the wines of Hungary would rival those of Spain. Coals are found at a short distance from the river. They are small and stony, but form a strong fire when mingled with wood. The following picture is curious, and looks as if it belonged to another age.—

'The coals and wood were carried to our boat in wheelbarrows by a number of muscular, active, hardworking girls; hundreds of men

were loitering on the bank, not one of whom could be prevailed upon to assist in the labour, through sheer laziness. We were consequently detained more than three hours by an operation which ought to have been completed within less than half the time, as the *depôt* was within twenty yards of the river. For their industry on this occasion these poor girls, who went through the work with indefatigable cheerfulness, received only portions of flax, respectively equivalent to about two or three pence of our money.'

'While these girls were engaged in their task, the first crowd of spectators gradually dispersed, and left the scene open to some more respectable groups, who came to gratify their curiosity. Several young ladies appeared in their hair, which was tastefully arranged, protected from the sun by parasols, and in other respects attired in the English style. They were attended by their maids, who also displayed their ringlets, and but for the smart white aprons by which they were distinguished, might have been mistaken for their mistresses. These attractions had the usual effect of summoning the beaux of the neighbourhood also to the general rendezvous, who were for the most part apparelled in black velvet vests, and white trousers, a short white cloak decorated at the collar with red worsted lace, and conspicuously exhibiting a red cross in front, being carelessly thrown over the left shoulder.'—i. 41.

Between Moldava and Orsova, a distance of about seven leagues, according to the plan of the directors of the enterprise they were to have been rowed by four stout Wallachians in a light boat drawing little more than six inches of water. But they were informed on arriving at Moldava, that in many places through the distance mentioned, there were not three inches water. The cargo was to be sent on by land, but there was no mode of conveyance for the passengers except a rough flat-bottomed boat belonging to a fisherman, who would not permit them to have it unless it was committed to his own guidance and rowed by his own comrades. By this conveyance they went, and the conduct of these boat-men is another instance of the lazy habits of the dwellers on the Danube.

'The morning came in all the breathing brightness of summer, though we were just on the eve of October. It had been arranged that the fisherman and his associates should be with us at five o'clock, but they failed to make their appearance until seven. They excused themselves by asking, whether anybody could have expected that they should commence their labour before they had breakfasted. Our luggage having been removed into the flat-bottomed barge, the poet, the Jew, and I assumed our places, after taking a friendly leave of the captain and the engineer, from both of whom I experienced every kind of civility which they could possibly show to a countryman.'

'The master, or patron of the boat as he is more usually called, was

a short weatherbeaten old man, who had already counted more than seventy winters. The pupil of one eye was completely dimmed, and of the other scarcely sufficient remained sound to admit more than a single ray of light. Yet through that small aperture he issued glances of authority, which enforced by an imprecation or two, sometimes made the fellows at the oars wince. His helm was a long oar, which he moved to either side of the stern as occasion required. The rest of our equipage was in a very simple, or rather in a very unworkmanlike style. The oars which were just like our fire-shovels, with short handles, were passed through a noose of thong or rope, tied to a peg in the edge of the vessel, which noose, or which peg, or which said thong or rope gave way about every quarter of an hour, another quarter being required for its restoration. We had three rowers, the excess of velocity at one side being corrected by the long oar of the stern.—i. 79.

However, the Wallachian boatmen had not yet done breakfast.—

‘Much to my surprise, when we arrived in the middle of the river, and I began to hope our men were resolved to regain the time we had already lost, they deliberately took in their oars, and opening a wallet of bread, garlic, and cold fried fish, they proceeded to breakfast. The poet asked whether they had not performed that operation already, to which they replied that they had been disturbed at their morning meal, and that they must now finish it. Our precious bark was therefore left to make its own way down the river, a mode of travelling at all events possessed of the advantages of enabling us to observe at our leisure the scenery amidst which we entered.’—i. 81.

• They then deliberately went to sleep.—

‘When the process of eating had no longer any charms, and the attractions, even of song, ceased to captivate our boatmen, they deliberately went to sleep. As the morning was thus wearing fast away, while we made little progress, the poet and I took the oars, and rowed until he could hold out no longer. The narrow rocky gorge, through which we had been stealing our course for upwards of two hours, at length gradually opened into a wider channel, hemmed in by irregular hills, thickly wooded with brambles. As the boat was still wandering down the current, our fellows all fast asleep, it landed somewhat roughly on a bed of rocks in the middle of the river. The patron awoke from his dreams in a violent rage, the fire glancing from his diminutive eyeball, as if we were all about to be lost in an inch or two of water.’

‘The boatmen, when they were roused from slumber, seemed scarcely to know where they were, or what they were to do: oars and poles were in immediate requisition, and amid shouts of imprecations, commands, interrogations, replies, rejoinders, and expressions of indignation and wonder, how such a thing could happen, they endeavoured in vain to move the vessel from its place of rest. At length the patron compelled them to get out upon the rocks and

shift the boat along, which they did without much difficulty, restoring us once more to the deeper current. The completion of this operation was the signal for another hour of recreation, which our Wallachians devoted to smoking, keeping the while under their legs the oars high out of the water. I never beheld such a picture of laziness as that which these men presented. Our patron seemed to have the faculty of guiding the boat, though wrapped in profound sleep; and his companions, when they were not eating or drinking, were either sleeping, smoking, singing, or lounging, anything save working, which they continued as much as they possibly could, to avoid.—i. 87.

At Orsova, Mr. Quin falls in with Count Szechenyi, a reforming Hungarian nobleman, from whom he meets with great kindness. This nobleman's character and conduct demonstrate how much it is possible for one virtuous and able man, placed in a powerful position, to do for a country. Employing the advantages which his wealth, his rank, and his superior education give him over the mass of his countrymen solely and most zealously for the good of his country, he appeared to possess nearly every quality to be looked for in a truly virtuous and enlightened citizen.

The Count translated for Mr. Quin one or two of his articles in the Pesth newspapers.—

‘His style of writing is piquant and goodhumoured, wholly free from pedantry, and his admonitions, which are pregnant with good sense, are conveyed in a friendly and even parental tone, which shows how deeply this excellent man has the welfare of his native land at heart. Personal ambition appeared to me to have no share in his motives of action; they seem to spring exclusively from a fervent, I might almost say, a romantic affection for his country. He loves Hungary as a youth loves the first mistress of his heart; indeed he familiarly calls his country his “wife,” and he looks upon all its inhabitants as his children. He is perfectly aware that nations never profit by historical experience, that they must purchase it by a series of trials for themselves; at the same time he labours incessantly by his writings to diffuse amongst his countrymen the ample treasures of information which he has collected during his travels and a regular course of study directed entirely towards that object.’

‘The Count, as I have said, is now in the bloom of life, yet I regret to add that his health is occasionally interrupted, I sincerely trust not yet undermined, by some inexplicable derangement of the digestive organs. When not affected particularly by this malady, which is of a periodical character, he appears to be a vigorous, strongbodied, active, indefatigable, country gentleman; fond of rural sports in the season; a capital shot, and an excellent horseman. He is of the middle stature, of a good military figure, and a most intelligent and engaging countenance. His manners are those of a perfectly well-bred gentleman: indeed if he had not spoken English with somewhat of a foreign

accent, I should have easily mistaken him for one of my own countrymen, of that class who, from talent and information, combined with high birth, possess influence in the House of Commons.'

'Speaking of the Hungarian language he observed, that in his opinion, its roots were Turkish. It was an extremely difficult language for a foreigner to learn ; but at the same time, peculiarly calculated for the expression of noble thoughts, as well as for the familiar purposes of society. By his writings, which are all in Hungarian, he has given the tone on that subject, in consequence of the eminent station which he holds from birth and property—and from being also the most popular man in the kingdom. He showed me an "Annual," with very good embellishments, and one or two other books, which were printed at Pesth, in a style of typography not excelled in any other country.'—i. 138.

Reform is already actively at work in Hungary; as will appear from the following passage.—

'Hungary will undoubtedly derive great commercial advantages from the steam navigation of the Danube ; but, although enlightened men are not indifferent to that result, yet they look upon the enterprise rather with the hope of seeing their country derive from it a European position. When the people come more in contact with foreign nations, their emulation will be naturally excited ; they will be induced to improve their roads, to build bridges, to excavate canals, to improve their towns, to give a style to their houses and public edifices, and to civilize their manners.'

'These are the views of prudent and thorough reformers, who, avoiding the ordinary clash of interests and prejudices, work upon a comprehensive plan, more for the future than the present, and addressed to the improving intelligence, not to the passions, of the people. To check every impulse that would lead to precipitate changes, which could only be brought about by the effusion of blood, and to prepare the minds of men by a slow but indefensible process for the blessings of rational freedom, are the leading principles of their policy. The Austrian government perceives this clearly, and although Prince Metternich fears the reformers, there are no men in the imperial dominions for whom he entertains a higher respect. Such men indeed are amenable to no government jealousies—each in his own sphere is a fate that overrules them.'

'While from their familiar acquaintance with the institutions of most of the countries of Europe, especially with those of England, which they admire almost to idolatry, the reformers plainly see, and lament, the numerous deficiencies by which Hungary is still detained in the back ground of civilization ; nevertheless, they are thoroughly convinced that fundamental changes must be the work of time, if they are to be useful and permanent. They are perfectly conversant with the character of their countrymen : allow for their ignorance and their prejudices ; which, however, they never lose an opportunity of rebuking, when they can do so with effect, and without giving personal offence.

They listen calmly to objections, from whatever quarter they proceed ; weigh them patiently ; admit them for what they are worth ; and profit by them, if they can, in their further proceedings. If an obstacle cannot be conquered this year, they are contented to wait until the principle makes further progress, and a more favourable opportunity may arrive for further consideration. Several influential magnates in the diet are disposed to coincide in these opinions ; they are, certainly, resolved on some important alterations ; but they will not attempt to carry them into effect until Hungary shall be better prepared for them than it is at this moment.'

' In the mean time, all practicable measures of an *auxiliary* nature are in progress. For instance, a club has been established at Pesth, upon the London system ; of which all the magnates, most of the deputies, and of those whom we would call the principal gentry, are members. They assemble frequently in groups, and freely discuss political topics at their club-house, which they call the National Casino. The very epithet, "national," is not without its spell upon these conversations. The English, German, and French reviews, magazines, and newspapers, and popular publications of every description, are found in their reading-room ; they have also lectures on the sciences and fine arts ; and are thus beginning to Europeanize their minds. Some time after this club had been established, Prince Metternich of course turned his attention to it, and felt no small alarm, when he perceived its natural tendency. He required an explanation of its purposes from the Count Szechenyi ; and upon hearing him, decided that it required control. " If you wish to control it," rejoined the Count, " the only way to accomplish your object, is to give us a good subscription, and become one of our members. You will then have a vote, and your personal influence will, no doubt, have its due effect." The prince took the hint, and joined the club, which is now in a flourishing condition.'

' Another of the *auxiliary* measures of the reformers so characteristic of their admirable sagacity and forecast, as well as of the prejudices of the Hungarian nobility, which they have to contend against, is the proposed bridge across the Danube, to connect Pesth with Buda, which I have already mentioned. The steam navigation of the Danube will also be a most powerful instrument of civilization ; for it is quite true that steam and civilization are daily becoming almost convertible terms. Wherever one of these is found, the other cannot be far distant. A newspaper also is published at Pesth, and that, too, in the Hungarian language—a prodigious innovation, and one that promises important consequences ; for there is no *law* of censorship in Hungary ; and it is not very likely that the diet will sanction any proposition of the kind. There is, besides, an academy at Pesth, somewhat on the plan of the French Institute, which publishes its transactions and papers in a quarterly journal. To that journal, as well as to the newspaper, the reformers frequently contribute articles, written generally for the purpose of correcting some national prejudice, or inculcating some wholesome principle of legislation. These articles they sign with their

names, as they are determined to carry on all their plans of improvement in the face of day, and upon the system, of keeping "within the law," which they perfectly well understand.'

'Count Szethenyi has written two very elaborate and able works, one on credit, with the view of doing away altogether the system of entails, in those cases where the life-owner of an estate chooses to borrow sums of money upon its security. In such cases, the writer contends, that if the loan be not repaid before the death of the mortgagor, the mortgagee should be at liberty to sell so much of the estate as may be sufficient to meet the debt. The evils which grow out of the present system in Hungary are enormous, as the nobles retain so much of the old feudal influence that they borrow money in the most reckless manner; and having no more than a life interest to pledge for the funds so acquired, the creditor is often defrauded of his just demand. If the whole estate were liable to it, the younger children would be interested in checking the wild extravagance which now prevails in most of the higher noble families of Hungary; and they would themselves learn betimes the value of economy, without which they never can be truly independent. The Count's second work is of a more miscellaneous character—it discusses the various reforms of which Hungary stands in need, with a view to the amelioration of its institutions, the construction of roads, bridges, and canals. He shows, from a careful survey, that the interior of the country superabounds in natural wealth, which only requires practicable communications with the frontiers, in order to convert it into gold.'

'The manner in which one of these books found its way to the light is worth mentioning. The Count, by way of precaution, although he was aware of there being no *legal* censorship in Hungary, submitted his work to the censor appointed by the Austrian government. The censor in the first instance licensed the publication; but while it was going through the press, the eleventh sheet having been already printed, an order was issued putting a stop to its further progress. By some means or other the sheets which were printed, together with the remainder of the manuscript, found their way to Leipsic, and back again to Pesth in the shape of a neatly printed volume, of which a thousand copies were sold before the government knew of its arrival! Previously to that event the Count sought in vain for an explanation of the reasons upon which the license had been withdrawn; but when the book could no longer be suppressed, apology after apology was made for the stupid blunder of some of the authorities, which alone had been the cause of the delay! Inquiry was made as to the particular officer who had issued the order, but no such officer could be found, no such order was in existence, and the mystery attending the prohibition of the work became just as difficult to be solved as that of its publication.'

'Another Hungarian magnate had written and printed at Pesth a very strong tract indeed in favour of reform. But it could only be purchased at Bucharest, whence it returned, as if upon the "viewless winds," whenever it was ordered. These transactions led to the settle-

ment of the fact, that there was no *law* authorizing a censorship in Hungary, and the first offspring of this advance in knowledge was the establishment of a newspaper. Other newspapers doubtless will follow, and as there are an English manufacturer of paper at Pesth, and a type-foundry upon the most improved system, the press will, in due time, accomplish its wonders in that region.'

'If the diet could be induced to take upon itself the whole of the expenses required for improving the navigation of the Danube, such an act would be a virtual declaration of independence. I have no doubt that this measure will be soon adopted, and that the day is not distant when the crowns of Austria and Hungary must be separated. There is at present no indisposition in Hungary to accept a king from the imperial family—but he must fix his residence at Pesth, and be contented to rule under the control of the ancient constitution of the country, which requires very few alterations in order to accommodate its provisions to the modern condition of society.'—i. 130.

Count Szechenyi joined the steam-boat party between Moldava and Orsova, intending to go down the Danube as far as Rutschuk. His object was to proceed to Bucharest, in order to obtain the sanction of the hospodar, for the improvements which were meditated in the bed and on the banks of the river within his principality. At Gladova, they found the *Argo* steamer waiting for them. What would Jason and his 'chosen heroes' have thought of the *Argo* 'steamer?' It almost realizes the prophetic chant of Virgil,

'Alter erit tum Tiphys, et altera quæ velat *Argo*
Delectos heroas.'

Mr. Quin thinks that they hit upon the exact site of Trajan's bridge across the Danube.—

'On our return to the steamer, some discussion arose as to the exact site of Trajan's bridge across the Danube, which, though recorded in history, had hitherto puzzled all the commentators; as, in fact, no trace of that once magnificent edifice had been discovered for many ages. The Count suggested that, as the river was now so low, there was a chance of our settling the question by a personal examination. Accordingly, we proceeded on foot along the Wallachian shore, until we arrived at the ruins of an ancient tower, built on an eminence, which had been evidently raised by artificial means. The tower was of Roman construction, and, as we conjectured that it might have been intended as a guard-station for the defence of the bridge, we ascended the eminence with no slight feelings of curiosity.'

'Looking down the river, which is here of no very great width, and divided by a sandbank, which, however, cannot be perceptible in the ordinary state of the Danube, we distinctly observed the water curling over a series of impediments extending in a right line from bank to bank. At both extremities of this line we perceived on the land the remains of square pillars; and, on approaching the ruin on our side,

we found it constructed of blocks of stone, faced towards the river with Roman tiles, evidently forming the buttress of the first arch of the bridge. In the river itself we counted the remains of six or seven pillars, which had manifestly served to sustain as many arches, connecting the bank on which we stood with the opposite one. No doubt therefore could remain that here was the site of Trajan's celebrated bridge, a marvellous work for the times in which he lived, considering that it had been constructed on one of the most remote confines of the Roman empire. I calculated that these interesting ruins were about three English miles from Gladova. I brought away a fragment of a tile, as a rude memorial of our discovery.—i. 150.

The following memorandum of the navigable extent of the Danube, by Count Szechenyi, makes the course of that river considerably longer than the usual accounts.—

'The Count, who was seldom idle, sat down, upon our return to our cabin, and wrote for me, in English, a memorandum of the distances of the navigable stations on the Danube, which I here copy.

	German miles.	
	Part.	Total.
From Eschingen to Regensburg	50	50
— Regensburg to Vienna	50	100
— Vienna to Pesth	40	140
— Pesth to Peterwardein	60	200
— Peterwardein to Orsova	40	240
— Orsova to Galacz	100	340
— Galacz to the Black Sea	25	365

If we add to these items the distance from the mouth of the Danube to Constantinople, by the Black Sea, which is seventy German miles 70

then the total distance from Eschingen to Constantinople will be four hundred and thirty-five German miles 435

or about one thousand nine hundred and fifty-eight miles of English admeasurement.

'As the voyage by steam, however, can only be made from Presburg to Constantinople, the distance is reduced to about fourteen hundred and forty English miles; which, when the steam-boat establishment and works on the Danube are completed, might be easily traversed in eight days and nights. At present, the journey overland from Vienna to Constantinople cannot be made in the ordinary mode of travelling within less than three weeks. The new route by the Danube will exhibit, therefore, one of the most important triumphs over time which the steam-engine has yet accomplished.—i. 151.

A little below Argugrad, the boat 'penetrated a sandbank, where it remained as firmly fixed as if it had grown up from the bottom of the river.' Seeing no prospect of getting the steamer

afloat again within a reasonable time, Mr. Quin adopted the following course.—

'Towards evening, while I was walking alone on deck, impatient of the obstruction which my voyage had encountered, an Italian ship-carpenter, whom we had taken on board at Gladova, came to announce to me that a boat was in sight, which he knew to belong to some Zantiotes, with whom he had been employed in constructing the two frigates we had seen at Semendria. The boat, he added, was certainly on its way to the Black Sea, where they would coast it down to the Bosphorus, and so on by the Hellespont and the Archipelago, to Zante.'

'I had already learned from the captain that beyond Rutschuk, the banks of the Danube were low, marshy, and wholly destitute of interest, especially for one who had passed through the splendid scenery between Moldava and the Iron Door. I was informed, moreover, that if I went as far as Silistria, I should have very little chance of finding horses there, and would run the risk of being even inhospitably treated by the Russians, who might suppose that I had some political purpose in view, in paying their garrison a visit. I therefore resolved to take a passage in the Zantiote boat to Rutschuk. The Italian informed me that the men to whom it belonged were perfectly trustworthy and civil, and that as I was an Englishman, and in some degree a fellow-subject of theirs, I might depend upon the best accommodation they could afford me.'

'It was no very welcome change to pass from the comparative luxuries of the steamer—from a good mattress, excellent dinners, champagne, and the fascinating society of the Count, to an open boat, manned by Greek carpenters, with whose conversational language I was wholly unacquainted. But my anxiety to "go on," superseded all other considerations; and there was, moreover, an adventurous character about the transition, which was not without its influence upon a mind fond of examining the phases of human character in every shade of society. The Servian Jew we had left at Vidin; the Moldavian poet had been for some days laid up with a nervous fever. But when he heard of my resolution, he crept up on deck to take leave of me.'

'As the Zantiote boat, which to me, at first, appeared like a little black speck in the distance, approached I desired the Italian to hail it, and inquired whither they were bound. His former companions immediately recognised him, and they pulled up, within quarantine distance, of the steamer. They said that they were on their way home; that they had two Turkish passengers; one for Nicopolis, the other for Rutschuk; that they would be very happy to afford me a passage, if I would accept it, as far as I pleased, and that I might depend upon their attention. The goodhumoured look of these Ionian islanders confirmed me in my determination, and I much surprised the Count, who with Mr. Tasner, was busily engaged in writing, when I went to communicate to him my plans, and to bid him farewell. Though not prepared for so sudden a separation, he

saw at once that the opportunity of so soon pursuing my voyage to Rutschuk ought not to be thrown away, as he confessed that he was not very certain of being able to go overland to Bucharest or Giurgeva. Having already made the journey to Constantinople from Scutari, he gave me some useful instructions as to the mode in which I should proceed, and directed the captain, who was acquainted with the Wallachian language, to furnish me with a letter to the agent of the Steam Navigation Company at Rutschuk.—i. p. 191.

The following scene at a Turkish village, conveys a forcible impression of the effect of Turkish habits on a new spectator.

‘At half-past six we stopped for the night, and landed, by the light of the moon, near a small village, where my Tartar friend gave us to understand we should meet with excellent accommodations. The path led us by an old fortress, near which the khan was situated, we found the owner standing outside, and he showed us a ladder by which we ascended to an open balcony covered with mats. He then took a key out of his pocket and opened a door through which we entered a large room, divided as usual by low railings into several compartments, one of which, however, was considerably elevated above the rest, and was covered with a finer mat. The embers were still alive in the fireplace, which exactly resembled the hearth already described, except that it had a reservoir beneath for the ashes. I sat down upon the edge of the elevated box. My fellow-passengers, and most of the crew who came with us, took off their shoes in the middle of the room, and then seated themselves in the usual attitude of Turks, in one of the lower compartments.’

‘Coffee was served without sugar, but my friend, more provident than myself, produced from beneath his cincture a little paper of sugar, which he gave me. Nouredin smoked the hooka, or nargillé (i. e. fire and water), the bubbling noise of which was peculiarly disagreeable to my ear. This instrument resembles a large carved glass decanter, in the neck of which two small tubes are inserted. One of these tubes communicates with an elastic pipe which reaches the mouth of the smoker; the other tube terminates at the top of the decanter in a small cup, called the *loulé*, in which the dried leaves are placed, whose essence is to be extracted. These leaves usually come from Shiraz; they are a species of tobacco much relished by Turks, but when ignited, the smoke is so rancid that they are obliged to purify and mitigate it by passing it through water. The two tubes inserted in the neck of the decanter descend halfway down the vessel, and the remaining half is *nearly* filled with water. Thus the suction through the elastic pipe and one of the small tubes draws down the smoke from the *loulé*, which, after depositing all its impurities in the water, passes into the mouth of the operator.’

‘In the course of an hour supper was brought in, which consisted of chicken stewed and served in a savoury sauce, hot bread, hot buttered cakes, and boiled rice, which I found by no means unpalatable, notwithstanding my recent conversion to the Pythagorean

system. These dishes were cooked by the female branches of the family, in the lower apartments of the house, which to us of course were inaccessible. Even in the most obscure villages of Turkey the custom of secluding the women from every place frequented by man is most rigidly observed. I began already to feel the sombre colour, which this national law imparts to the external appearance of every Turkish community I visited. Men—constantly men, and, nothing but men, were to be seen every where—so much so that I got quite tired of looking at them.—i. p. 204.

‘Before we dipped our fingers in the dish, we washed them, our host pouring out water on them from a jar with one hand, while the other supplied us with a towel. This operation tended in some degree—a very, very small degree I must confess, to reconcile me to the further process of dividing the members of our prey with my greasy friend Nouroddin, and two or three of our crew. I could also have excused the attentions of the Tartar, who really meant to be most friendly, when he selected from the middle of the stew a couple of legs for my approbation. However, cautiously avoiding the part which he touched, I found the remainder very pleasant.’

‘From circumstances which afterwards took place, I inferred that perhaps it was as well that while we sat upon the mat to supper, I could not see all the contents of our dish very plainly. The light, a solitary candle, was stuck in a sconce by the side of the elevated fireplace, and lent to us but a feeble ray. Nor can I even now think without horror upon the courage with which, adopting the manners of my companions, I immersed my bread in the sauce after the more solid materials had vanished. The bread was unleavened, and hot, having been just baked for us on the hearth in the harem below. It was prepared in large cakes, which were broken into pieces, and arranged round the dish. The buttered cakes formed the second course, but I did not touch them, as they appeared not to have been cleanly made. I supped chiefly on the boiled rice, which I ate with a wooden spoon, and finished off with grapes and coffee. When the pipes and hooka were again resorted to, some Turks came in who seemed to be acquaintances of the Tartar. They appeared glad to see him, and after conversing with him at some length, one of them who spoke a little Italian, asked me if I were an Englishman. I answered of course in the affirmative. He then asked me how long it was since I left England. I told him that after my departure from London I spent some time in Paris, which I had quitted exactly a month ago. My interrogator and his friends looked quite astonished at the expedition with which I had so far accomplished my journey. But when I added that I lost nearly the half of that month in delays of one kind or another, and that when the steam navigation of the Danube should be completed, I might hope to make the whole journey from London to Constantinople in fourteen days, they gave up any further inquiry into the matter; it was altogether beyond their comprehension.’

‘Preparations were made for our stay at the khan during the remainder of the night. A flock bed was brought up from below and

spread for me in the elevated compartment. It was covered with a wadded silk counterpane, to which a foul sheet was sewn on the inside. A large greasy-looking pillow was placed at the head. I felt an instinctive reluctance to commit myself for some hours of unconsciousness to the keeping of this concern; but as all my companions were either preparing for repose on the mats which they occupied, or were already wrapped in sleep, I took off my coat, hung up my cloak over my head, and got under the counterpane. But I was not long in my position before I was apprized of the presence of numerous intruders. The reader may imagine my uneasiness, although they did me the honour of simply marching in multitudes over my face and hands, for I happen to be one of the human race whose blood, for some unaccountable cause, they are uniformly compelled to spare. An immense cat came also to share my couch; but to her company I objected at once without the least ceremony.'

'Matters being in this situation, and new colonies swarming around me every moment, I started up and performed a series of pirouettes on my bed, until I disencumbered myself of some at least of my too curious acquaintances. Noureddin meanwhile awoke, and having succeeded in lighting the candle by blowing into a flame an almost extinguished ember, which reflected a Rembrandt brightness on his gray beard and swarthy cheek, proceeded to smoke his hooka, whose bubbling sounds were by no means music to my ear. I hid myself in my cloak, applying to my soul the flattering unction that I might thus avoid all my enemies, and laid down outside the counterpane. Happily the dogs of the village had held an aggregate meeting, wherein they agreed that the Englishman should have no sleep that night, and straightway they despatched a radical deputation to present to me their impertinent address. I say "happily," because I had scarcely remained half an hour listening to their clamour, when, peeping out from my place of concealment, I beheld the walls at my head and at my left hand literally black with many armies, bent on fresh hostilities. I was struck with horror. Even Noureddin was astonished. There was no alternative but to return to the boat, and I cannot soon forget the obliging manner in which my proposition to that effect was immediately adopted by all parties, but not before my cloak had undergone a thorough cleansing.'

'It was midnight when we found ourselves once more beneath our matted canopy. The pure atmosphere, and my couch formed of my portinanteau, carpet-bag, and pillow of walnuts, were delicious after the close and populous prison from which we had just effected our escape. I fell into a profound sleep, from which I never awoke until six o'clock in the morning. I then washed my face and hands in the Danube, and felt as joyous as the day itself, which was splendid. As the men had resumed their oars soon after our return to the boat, we had made good way during the night. The banks of the river continued flat and wholly devoid of interest. We did not meet even a single wherry on the water to interrupt the dulness of the scene. Now and then, indeed, we encountered large dark green water-snakes,

swimming against the current, by the undulating motion of their tails, holding their heads carefully out of the element. If we attempted to strike them with an oar, they dived instantly, and reappeared a few minutes after at a considerable distance. Large flocks of wild ducks also passed, high over our heads, which sometimes produced a singular effect by their wings glistening in the distant hazy air.—i. p. 204.

The following is the description of a Turkish town.—

‘When first I beheld Rutschuk at a distance with its numerous mosques and minarets shining in the sun, rising on a bold promontory from the edge of the vast expanse of waters formed by the Danube, I felt confident that it was a wealthy, populous, active, cleanly, and handsome city, which I should experience great gratification in examining. Never was my imagination more deceived. A more poverty-stricken, deserted, idle, filthy, ill-contrived town does not exist, I believe, even in Turkey. All the habitations, with the exception of the greater part of the shops, are literally turned outside in. That is to say, the streets on each side present only lines of dead walls, without even a window to relieve their desolate appearance. The “fronts” of the houses are all, as an Irishman might say, “backwards,” opening to a courtyard, which is entered by a gate.’

‘In Spain the private residences are built in the form of a square, with an open space in the middle, but still fronting to the street. The streets of Rutschuk look like the ways through a fortress, nothing but wall on each side, except where the gates here and there interrupt the dull uniformity of the stone and mortar. I now, for the first time, understood the truth of the phrase, that the Turks were only “encamped” in Europe. This is literally the fact. Almost all the towns which I afterwards visited in Bulgaria, as well as in Rumania, were constructed on the same plan, evidently with a view to self-defence, for every house was in itself a fortress.’—i. p. 221.

From Rutschuk Mr. Quin proceeded by land to Constantinople, a distance of about 350 English miles. He made the journey on horseback, attended by a Tartar guide, who was to be responsible with his head for his safety. They were to have several relays, of five horses each, on the road; every relay accompanied by a postilion. The Tartar was to defray all charges; and after seeing Mr. Quin lodged at a hotel in Pera, was to return to Rutschuk with a certificate of his charges, arrival, and of his own good conduct on the journey. The sum Mr. Quin agreed to pay for this was 2500 piastres, about 25*l.* sterling.

Mr. Quin gives an animated account of his ride across the Balkan. Once he lost sight of his guide, to the no small terror, as it appeared, of the unfortunate Tartar.—

‘The afternoon was delightfully fine, neither hot nor cold, but of that medium temperature which makes the blood tingle in its circulation through the channels of the frame. Having been so long confined

to vehicles of various descriptions, I enjoyed the free air and the boundless greensward, over which I was riding. My horse too, though a poor miserable-looking hack, refreshed by a good feed, and an hour's rest, cantered along in a spirited style. On starting I rode on before my Tartar and postilion, firmly persuaded that my horse knew the road to Shumla as well as either of them. For a while I heard them galloping behind me, but the sound ceasing to reach my ear, I looked back, and to my consternation beheld not a creature within the whole range of my horizon. I waited for a while, and then rode back two or three miles without meeting any body. I concluded that I had lost my road, and entered another beaten track, to which my horse, however, manifested several very intelligible objections. I took counsel with him, leaving the bridle on his neck, when he deliberately turned round, and followed his own course.'

'My mood of mind at that moment was by no means enviable. I had no means of ascertaining whether I was in the right way to Shumla, or whether, as I almost apprehended, from the alacrity of my horse, we were returning to Rutschuk. As I had missed my Tartar and postilion, whither had they gone? Would they ride forward to Shumla to inquire for me, or would they return to Rutschuk, satisfied with the sum already paid, in order to justify themselves by stating what was the truth, that my parting from them was my own act? They had all my luggage, and even my cloak; how was I to cross the Balkans without any protection against the reputed inclemency of these mountains? They had, moreover, some little remembrances of my journey, which I had bought for my wife and children, the loss of which I believe I should have regretted more than any thing else. I possessed, indeed, enough of gold in my pocket to defray my expenses to Constantinople, but I knew not a syllable of the language spoken by the Turks, and was equally ignorant of that in use amongst the Bulgarians. How was I to inquire my way? How was I to make any body understand what I wanted, when it would be necessary to procure fresh horses, and even the scanty meals with which I must be contented on the journey? Was it quite safe for me to travel alone, and if not, how and where was I to meet with a new guide?'

'These questions passed rapidly through my mind, but I came to the conclusion that at all events, I would go on. The country rose gradually into hills, which indicated that I should soon be in sight of the Balkans. I met some shepherds tending their goats, to whom I shouted the word "Shumla," and then pointing along the track in which I was riding, inquired by this gesticulation, if I were in the right road; to which they seemed to answer in the affirmative, by pointing the same way. This information removed a heavy burden of doubt and anxiety from my mind. The sun had already set, and twilight was fast fading away; but I allowed my horse to get on after his own fashion, trusting to a benignant Providence for protection, and consoling myself with the thought that I was engaged in an adventure which seemed pregnant with interesting incidents.'

My romantic anticipations were by no means dispersed, when, descending into a valley, I arrived at a fountain, round which several Bulgarian girls were assembled with pitchers. They seemed to wonder very much "what manner of man" I was, and I could not help admiring their beauteous large black eyes and dark hair, which fell in plats on their shoulders, ornamented with pieces of silver coin. Some wore similar ornaments in their ears, connected together by beads of coral. They were dressed in linen or flannel tunics, marked with a red cross on the left breast, to show, I presume, that they were Christians, and therefore not obliged to wear the veil. They seemed, however, extremely shy; though curiosity, which characterizes the sex in every climate, now and then tempted them to take a peep at the solitary stranger. I prevailed on one of these damsels to allow me to drink out of her pitcher; but as soon as they filled their vessels, which they did in a great hurry, they commenced a general flight.'

'I felt very much inclined to follow them, satisfied that they lived in some neighbouring hamlet, where I might spend the night, when I was alarmed by the sound of two shots, which rapidly followed each other, at some distance. Looking round towards the eminence from which I had myself just descended, I saw in the increasing dust, a horseman, galloping wildly as if he were pursued by a whole troop of banditti. Holding his pistol in his hand, he directed his course towards the fountain, when, looking at me with a frightened aspect, his lips trembling, his forehead bathed in perspiration, he threw himself down from his horse upon the ground, where he sat for a few minutes perfectly motionless. It was my Tartar! I hardly knew him, so changed was the expression of his countenance, so disordered was his turban, and his whole dress, as if he had just fled from a field of battle. My postilion appeared soon after, leading the baggage horse, but the fifth was missing. It was soon explained, that the horse which he had ridden all the day fell on the road soon after our departure from the place where we had dined; that every effort was made to get him on his legs again, but that after losing a great deal of time in the experiment they were obliged to abandon the animal; the more so, as from my imprudence in hastening on they found it necessary to come in pursuit of me. The Tartar's head was at stake, which he would probably have lost had he not fortunately overtaken me. I blamed myself for causing the man so much tribulation, though the occurrence was one of those mere chapters of accidents which now and then are to be found in the history of every man's life, be he ever so circum-spect.'—i. p. 238.

At Adrianople Mr. Quin observed the following specimen of Turkish existence.—

'However, I continued in the attitude of repose, and as I could not keep my eyes shut I amused myself in observing the still life of a tailor's shop opposite, which appeared to be the favourite lounge of all the idlers of the town. The master and three journeymen were seated in the Turkish fashion, which tailors have adopted in every age

and clime. Three visitors took their seats also on the board, smoking their long pipes, and looking on with profound gravity at the perpetual passing and repassing of the needles and threads through the cloth, which was destined in due season to become a waistcoat or a pair of trousers. Not a word escaped any of the party. A voluptuous, well-dressed, fine-looking man, with a long gold-headed cane balanced in one hand, and his immense pipe in the other, next made his appearance. He could not go by the shop without "looking in." Kindling his pipe, he also took his station on the board, and while his charge of tobacco lasted, seemed to be the happiest of mortals. When the last puff expired he quitted his seat, walked down the street, paid a visit to a tinman, smoked another pipe, came back, sat down again in the tailor's shop, where he found the whole party undisturbed, filled his pipe again, exhausted it, and seemed fairly at a loss to know what he was next to do. He looked up the street, down the street, went out, came back, stood a few minutes at the door in a state of listlessness, within a degree of petrification, and, at length, resolutely disappeared.—i. 271.

At several places on this side, on being discovered to be an Englishman, Mr. Quin was treated with the utmost respect. At Burgas, he says—

'As I was mounting my horse, several of my new friends pressed their hands on my shoulder in a warm and even affectionate manner, exclaiming in energetic terms, "England and the Sultan at Stamboul—the Russians in the sea!" There was a slight "hurra!" when we rode off; and one of the Turks accompanied me through the streets, pressing his hand upon my knee.'—i. 278.

The beauty of the human form in Turkey, which Mr. Quin repeatedly notices, may suggest the extent to which climate influences the human form. It is certain that the region which now constitutes a great part of Turkey, one of the finest in the world, has always been remarkable for the beauty of form of its inhabitants. This beauty of form the Turks seem, in some degree, to have acquired with the country they conquered. Originally the Turks, the blacksmiths of Mount Imaus who learned, as Gibbon says, 'that the same arms which they forged for their masters might become in their own hands the instruments of freedom and victory,' were a different breed; and the beauty of their Georgian and Circassian slaves, though it does in part, does not altogether account for the transformation.

Mr. Quin devotes a considerable portion of his second volume to the discussion of the question between Russia and Turkey, into which it is not necessary to enter in this Article. From Constantinople he proceeds to Greece, of which—particularly the physical peculiarities of climate and scenery—he

gives some hasty, but vivid and graphic sketches. Even Childe Harold did not convey nearly such vivid impressions (apart from poetical and historical associations) of its delightful climate, and the unrivalled effect of the combination it possesses of the scenery of the sea, and bay, and mountain. Here, however, Mr. Quin is guilty of a fault which ought to be noticed. He enters occasionally into a regular history of the customs of ancient Greece, for no other reason discernible than that he happens to be travelling in modern Greece. It is very true that an educated man, travelling in Greece, will, and must, and ought to make frequent allusion to its ancient history, as the strongest bond of sympathy that unites him and all other educated men to the country in question. The mere scenery, though it equalled or excelled that of Milton's Eden, would be a feeble awakener of interest in comparison. But when a traveller enters at such length into descriptions of ancient manners as is done here on one or two occasions, the reader is apt to fancy that he has taken up Anacharsis or Potter.

Mr. Quin had an interview with Otho, the young king of Greece, whose conversation and manner produced a very favourable impression upon him. From Greece he proceeded to Corfu, and thence to Trieste, Venice, Rome, and Naples. The following character, met with in the packet from Corfu to Trieste, is too good to be omitted.—

'We all soon discovered that we had a *character* on board, who was likely to afford us some amusement during our voyage. He was dressed in blue fustian trowsers, a shirt, a black serge cassock, a shovel hat, and a very scanty mantle of the same material as his cassock, scarcely reaching below his shoulders. He said he was a Frenchman; that he had been educated for the church at the college of Limoges; that he had received deacon's orders. He had had an inspiration, he assured us, which bade him perform a pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, and he had gone as far as Alexandria for that purpose; but having been informed at that place by his consul, that the plague would be very likely to dispose of him if he went much farther, he prudently postponed his pilgrimage, and was now on his return to France. His great hat, which had evidently seen much service, he wore only on occasions of state; his ordinary head-dress was a silk handkerchief tied tightly round his forehead, which rather augmented the caricature expression of his round jolly-looking face. He had his berth forward; but as he really was a well-educated man, and a most eccentric fellow in every way, we frequently drew him out, whenever he was not inclined, though that happened very rarely—to exhibit himself for our entertainment.'

'We sent for the deacon in the evening, and offered him some punch; but he preferred the unadulterated liquor, which soon opened all the sources of his eloquence. He informed us that he had a

mission to preach to the heathens, and favoured us with some of the harangues by which he had meditated to convert them. They were very droll; but he argued that drollery was often more convincing than a homily, and it was his peculiar mission to laugh the Arabs out of their errors.* We asked him in what language he meant to address them, as it was possible they might not understand French. To which he replied, with a mystic shrug of the shoulders, that wherever he went the French language would be instantly known to every body by *inspiration*; indeed, it was the only language now spoken in Paradise, and would soon become universal upon earth!—ii. 250.

'It was agreed amongst the sailors that they had never made so long and so disagreeable a passage before from Corfu to Trieste, though they had been for some two or three years on that station. They, one and all, imputed this misfortune to the presence of the deacon, whom they looked upon as a harbinger of evil, and as such, treated him with very little ceremony on all occasions. Numberless were the quarrels which the captain had to compose between this man and the sailors; he talked to them in his voluble French, which they did not understand, and which for that reason the more provoked them. He allowed no rudeness to go unrepelled, and even became engaged more than once in regular combat for his bed, or his pillow, or his rug, or his shoes, or something or another of which they attempted to deprive him, in order to pick a quarrel with his reverence. The slightest encouragement on our part would have been accepted by them as a sufficient warrant on theirs to throw him into the sea.'

'Whatever was the state of the weather, the deacon was sure to be employed, when not eating or sleeping, in one or two ways; either he was writing his journal, which I observed he persevered in with great industry, or he was washing his only shirt in seawater, which he then hung on the cordage of the sails to dry. It so happened that the said shirt was blanching in the wind during the late gale; and that just at the moment the parroquet* was torn into tatters, the shirt was seen like a witch riding on the element, filled in a balloon shape, and borne off to a watery grave. The sailors absolutely cheered it on its departure, and exclaimed, that as the deacon was thus blown overboard in effigy, we should have no more bad weather! The sudden lulling of the tempest satisfied them soon after that their prediction was verified, and they became more complaisant towards the original, who was, however, by no means reconciled to the loss he had sustained, and imputed it to their knavery.'—ii. 259.

On the whole, Mr. Quin's book is exceedingly valuable, as introducing the public to the knowledge of new companions in the European struggle for reform; with such accompaniments of amusement and general interest, as are the most effective instruments for giving extension to the information.

* *Perroquet*, French, a top-gallant sail. In Italian probably *parrucchetto*.—Ed.

ART. XV.—*The Poems of William Dunbar, now first collected, with Notes and a Memoir of his Life.* By David Laing.—2 vols. Edinburgh; Laing and Forbes. London; Pickering. 1834.

THE rude poetry of the early rhymers of Scotland, has lately attracted an amount of attention which would have considerably astonished Johnson or Churchill. Labour has been bestowed on the subject, which undoubtedly might have been on many occasions more profitably spent; but as these enthusiastic toils among faded parchments and tattered black-letter fragments, have exposed to the light of criticism many things which are worthy of being preserved as parts of British literature, a sketch of what is known concerning the history of Poetry in Scotland, previous to the days of Dunbar, may be interesting as preparatory to a notice of his works.

The Romance of Sir Tristrem, edited by Sir Walter Scott in 1804, and attributed by him to Thomas of Erceuldoun, is produced, not only as the earliest Scotch poem, but as the earliest original metrical tale in the English language. To prove these two positions required some ingenuity; and Sir Walter Scott, having the honour, not only of his country, but of his native district at heart, succeeded tolerably well. That a person styled alternately Thomas of Erceuldoun and Thomas the Rhymer existed, and that he was enabled to impress the power of his genius on the oral traditions of centuries, is undoubted. Long after his fame as a romancer, such as it may have been, was extinct, he lived, and in more remote districts still lives, in the awe and wonder of his countrymen, as a magician and prophet. There is scarcely an event in the Scottish annals, from the death of Alexander III. to the Douglas cause, to which his Laocoon-like prophecies have not been sorrowfully applied. And there is hardly a river, a waterfall, or remarkable rock, which is not expected to add another testimony to his integrity, by becoming the object of some fearful infraction of the laws of nature. Old ruined buildings have received from him their respective destinies, some to be restored to wondrous magnificence, and others to bear a fate of equally marvellous darkness. But these memorials of the mysterious visitant in Elf-land, are fading away too fast for the lovers of Scotch novels; and perhaps the last illustrious effect of the powers of 'True Thomas,' was the generous arrangement made by the youthful Byron, as reported by himself, that he should cross on horseback a bridge destined to fall under 'an only son and an only foal,' rather than his comrade. But the flesh-and-blood existence of Thomas is more satisfactorily proved by Sir Walter Scott,

through the medium of vulgar charters; and it is decided that he died before the termination of the thirteenth century, at an advanced age. The main support of the external evidence which gives the authorship of *Sir Tristrem* to Thomas of Erceldoun, is a passage of Robert de Brunne's Introduction to his *Annals*. Robert deprecates the practice of composing in 'strange Inglis,' and after mentioning divers forms of verse (the nature of which cannot be explained without a disputative commentary), observes very rationally, that verses are of little use unless they are understood by the persons to whom they are addressed, and that he has given his own information in a style intelligible to 'lewed' and 'simple' men. Then making comments on his precursors, he says—

'I see in song, in sedgeyng tale
Of Erceldoune and of Kendale,
None thaim sayis as thai thaim wrought,
And in ther saying it semes noght,
That may thou here in *Sir Tristrem*,
Over gestes it has the steem,
Over all that is or was,
If men it sayd as made Thomas;
Bot I here it no man so say,
That of some copple som is away.
So thare fayre saying here beforne,
Is thare travaille nere forlorne;
Thai sayd it for pryde and nobleye,
That non were suilk as they.
And alle that thai willed overwhere
Alle that ilke will now forfare.
Thai sayd it in so quaint Inglis,
That many wate not what it is,' &c.

As farther evidence, a manuscript fragment of a French Romance in the possession of the late Mr. Douce, mentions the story of *Sir Tristrem* as told by 'Thomas' and *Gotfried von Strasburgh* in a German romance on the same subject, and quotes '*Thomas of Brittainia*,' who can be no other than the aforesaid Thomas of Erceldoun. All this was clenched by the internal evidence of the initiatory lines of the romance.—

'I was at Erceldoune:
With Thomas spak Y thare;
Ther herd Y rede in rounne,
Who *Tristrem* gat and bare.'

The Auchinlech MS, from which this romance is copied, is a thick vellum volume containing upwards of forty different pieces; and unfortunately for antiquaries, the scribe had afforded temp-

tation to men of taste by illuminating the capitals, most of which are cut out. It was the fate of the important word 'Erceldoune' to be neatly cut away along with the little picture above it, and cavilling critics complained that Sir Walter had no evidence for filling it up. Fortunately however for the honour of Scotland, it had been the practice of the scribe to write the first line of each separate piece, on the last page of the one preceding by way of catchword, and in this guise the word 'Erceldoune' appears. But in her claim to the first British romance, Scotland has not escaped so well in other respects. Mr. Price the editor of the last edition of Warton's *History of English Poetry*, has proved that the Thomas of 'Brittania' so complacently identified with the Scotch seer, existed at an earlier period, and is quoted as composing in Norman French. It was further observed, that if this romance of Sir Tristrem were the one commented on by Robert de Brunne, its 'Ingliš' is not a whit more quaint than his own, nor can his observation that men cannot repeat it as Thomas made it, but 'that of some cople som is away,' be easily applied to a piece of versification peculiarly melodious and tripping even when compared with the productions of a later age than that assigned to it. In confirmation of the remark of De Brunne, Sir Walter Scott notes one or two instances of lines left out; but the omissions were probably owing to some accident which the scribe alone could explain, and have certainly by no means added to the facility of recitation, unless the lines so spared were very different from the others.

It was moreover observed, that there are no words of purely Scotch origin in Sir Tristrem. In the language there is certainly great similarity to that of 'Haveloch the Dane,' and the 'Geste of King Horne,' English romances probably contemporary; but there were peculiarities connected with the early language of Scotland, to be shortly noticed, which render such an argument doubtful. It is a more serious objection, that while both England and Ireland are alternately the theatres of action in the romance, no part of the territory of Scotland is mentioned. The events of the thirteenth century showed indeed, that the influx of Normans and Saxons from England to a certain extent amalgamated the nations, and made many of the higher barons look with too much indifference on the yoke of Edward; but the apathy must have been greater than is supposed, or else the renowned propensity of Scotchmen to celebrate their native land must be of modern growth, if a bard could sing of adventures in different parts of Britain, without contriving to bring

in Scotland for a share of the glory. It is true that the subject is peculiarly British or Cimbric, and left no room for celebrating the contemporary races either of England or Scotland. But the love of celebrating a native district exists independently of any descent from the race which may have inhabited it; moreover, the Welsh kingdom of Strathclyde extended far through the West of Scotland, bordering closely on Thomas of Erceldoun's own district. Arthur, if he ever existed, performed as gallant feats north of the Tweed as elsewhere, and this scene of his exertions would not have been forgotten by the Scotch poet. It is moreover to be observed that all the other poems in the Auchinlech MS. are strictly English, and the word 'Erceldoune' in the first line of *Sir Tristrem* contains perhaps the only reference to Scotland in the whole. Nor are the terms in which the poem commences, by any means indicative of its being the pure composition of Thomas. The narrator says he was at Erceldoun, that there he met Thomas, who told him a story which he intends to tell over again, but by no means promising to adhere to the language of the original. The story was a celebrated one among the 'sedgers' of the period, and found its way into most languages in Europe. Thomas of Erceldoun had certainly from all accounts his own version of it, and that by no means a contemptible one; but it seems very doubtful indeed, whether we are now in possession of this treasure.

Passing over one or two names after whose works a hue-and-cry is now going on with some appearance of success, the next Scotch poem in order of time, is of a more tangible and authentic description. Archdeacon Barbour composed towards the end of the 14th century the metrical tale, or rather history, of 'The Bruce.' The story of long-suffering and final triumph which this subject embraced, would have rendered such a book popular in Scotland from a far feebler hand than that of Barbour. In an imaginative point of view, this work is not so ambitious as *Sir Tristrem*, and probably many would object to its being admitted within the pale of poetry. The narrative as it alternately records distress and danger, or victory and exultation, is simple, plain, and unadorned, and in many instances has been considered, even by the judicious and scrutinizing Lord Hailes, as good historical authority. The Archdeacon perhaps rightly considered, that a clear narrative of the events of the recovery of Scotland, in the language of Scotland, would be a better gift to his countrymen, than an imaginative production to gratify more exalted tastes, or a history in a dead language to suit more learned intellects. But his narrative is not without its ornaments. A boldness of sentiment more rhetorical than strictly poetical,

is frequently expressed, and there is occasionally a burst of high independent feeling. As a characteristic specimen, Robert the Bruce is made thus to address his host before the Battle of Bannockburn.—

‘ And quhen it cummys to the fycht,
 Ilk man set hart, will, and mycht,
 To stynt our fayis mekill prid.
 On horsse thai will arrayit rid ;
 And cum on you in full gret hy,
 Mete thaim with speris hardely.
 And think than on the mekill ill,
 That thai and tharis has done ws till ;
 And ar in will yeit for to do,
 Giff thai haf mycht to cum thar to.
 And certis, me think weill that ye
 For owt abasing aucht to be
 Worthy, and of gret wasselagis.
 For we haff thre gret awantagis.
 The first is, that we haf the rycht ;
 And for the rycht ay God will fycht.
 The tother is, that thai cummyn ar,
 For lypynning of thair gret powar,
 To sek ws in our awne land ;
 And has broucht her, rycht till our hand,
 Ryches in to sa gret quantité,
 That the powrest of yow sall be
 Bath rych, and mychty thar with all,
 Giff that we wyne, as weill may fall.
 The thrid is, that we for our lyvis,
 And for our childre, and for our wywis,
 And for our fredome, and for our land,
 Ar strenyeit in to bataill for to stand.
 And thai, for thair mycht anerly,
 And for thai lat of ws heychtly,
 And for thai wald distroy ws all,
 Maiss thaim to fycht : bot yeit may fall,
 That thai sall rew thair barganyng.’

Another well known passage begins in the following high strain.—

‘ A ! fredome is a noble thing !
 Fredome mayss man to haiff liking :
 Fredome all solace to man giffis :
 He levys at ess that frely levys !
 A noble hart may haiff nane ess,
 Na ellys nocht that may him pless,
 Gyff fredome failyhe : for fre liking
 Is yharnyt our all othir thing.
 Na he, that ay hass levyt fre,
 May nocht knaw weill the propyrté

The angyr, na the wrechyt dome,
That is cowplyt in foule thyrdome.
But gyff he had essayit it,
Than all perquer he suld it'wyt ;
And suld think fredome mar to pryss,
Than all the gold in wärld that is.'

About a century elapsed from the period of the Bruce, before the other hero of Scottish history and romance was celebrated in the 'Wallace' of blind Harry. Harry was a wandering minstrel, probably the last of his profession that appealed to a respectable audience 'in bower and hall,' except the hereditary Senachies of the Celts. He appears to have fallen on evil days, for during his lifetime an Act was passed against 'them that makes themselves fooles, *bards*, and other runners about ;' ordaining them to have their ears nailed to trees, to be banished, and in the spirit of 'the excellent brevity of the old Scotch Acts,' 'gif they be funden againe, that they be hangit.' The grandeur of victory and recovered independence, which ornamented the theme of Barbour, was wanting to the minstrel, who had little to record except a tissue of foreign oppression and domestic perfidy. But in the spirit of true minstrel nationality, his eye was fixed on the one redeeming object of that remarkable man, whose footsteps he traced in a course of prowess, from the time when as a peaceful citizen his hatred was roused by oppression, till he was dragged through the streets of London at the tails of horses to the gibbet, and the quarters of his body sent to ornament his country. But in the acts of this private man, there was a higher subject for the soul of popular poetry, than in those of the other hero, who however much he suffered and achieved, struggled only for a crown. Almost every country fated to combat with powerful neighbours, has had at some period of its history a popular leader, whose character has so strongly incorporated itself with the feelings of his countrymen, that all of good and great which the mind can devise is collected in the ideal character, and it becomes impossible for the historian to reach the unadorned truth. Such is the case with Wallace, and it is to be regretted that little is authentically known of one who was certainly master of many great and noble qualities. Viewed by his countrymen in such a light, his character did not require to their eyes the aid of poetic colouring, and it has been remarked as a subject on which most poets have failed. Harry's method of ornamenting it, was the more substantial one of simple exaggeration. The hero is represented much in the giant-killing vein, as peregrinating the country with the perpetual power of killing all southerns, a gigantic and powerful man who for want of a

better instrument, can slay his enemy with the rafter of a house. If not so much of a fine gentleman as his later biographer Miss Porter has represented him, he is much more of the dashing hero. 'The poem,' observes the shrewd Bishop Nicholson, 'which goes commonly about in old Scotch rhyme, describes him like a true knight-errant, cleaving his foes generally (through brawn and bone) down to the shoulders, and never striking off less than an arm or a leg.'

Among other poets who existed in the period intervening between these two, Andrew Wyntoun, Prior of St. Serf's Isle in Lochleven, wrote a ponderous 'cronikil of Scotland' in nine books; the number of chapters in each, ranging from twenty to eighty. He is an exceedingly distinct and clear writer, generally putting the year and day of the month in verse, and quite as explicit on the matters which preceded the birth of Christ, as in those which followed. Like Keating and Geoffry of Monmouth however, his minuteness has not saved him from the attacks of scrupulous critics, who have rejected many of the glories with which he has surrounded the feats of Scottish kings, on the bare ground that the kings themselves never existed.

He has a delicate way of telling such occurrences in other parts of the world, as might be supposed to influence affairs in Scotland; as 'of mannys first creatioun, 'of the slauchter of Abelle,' 'of the arke of Noe and of the spate' [deluge], treating 'Dewcalyonys Flude,' as a separate subject. He tells 'how Ynde and other landis lyis,' 'of the women Amazonas,' and 'of the assege of Troye.' His method of narrating, in its prolix accuracy, bears perhaps more resemblance to the style of the Statutes at Large, than of any other work in elegant literature. Yet in his pictures of the happiness of a peaceful country, there is a sort of calmness and content, which if not poetry, is something nearly allied to it; and in his descriptions of action there is often a considerable degree of spirit and vigour. Thus in a conflict between the Sheriff of Angus and some Highlanders, he says of Sir David Lindsay (not the poet),—

Throw the body he strak a man
Wyth his spere down to the erde :
That man hald fast his awyn swerd
Intil his neve, and wp thrawand
He pressit hym, noucht agayne standund
That he wes pressit to the crde,
And, with a swake thane of his swerd,
Throw the sterup lether, and the buto
Thre ply or four, abune the fute,
He straik the Lyndesay to the bane ;

That man na straike gave but that ane ;
For thare he deit.' *

Before noticing that distinct class of poets to which Dunbar belongs; it may be well to give some further attention to the curious question regarding the language used by the early Scotch poets. It will be observed that this language, however antiquated, possesses few of the peculiarities of the Scotch; and indeed to an Englishman, especially if he is acquainted with early English poetry, it is much more intelligible than that of the later poets of Scotland. To one who has not carried his reading so far back as Gower or Chaucer, the ancient Scotch poetry may perhaps assume a very strange aspect; but it is to be observed *à converso*, that almost every discovery of an English poem of the fourteenth century, adds to the stock of words which are common to the Scotch of the present day and the English of that period; while a Scotchman is well known to have a great advantage in the reading of early English poetry. It would appear that till about the middle of the fourteenth century, the languages were nearly common. Warton divides the Saxon into three periods, of which the second is the Danish Saxon, and the third the Norman. Similar opportunities of impregnation with the Danish, were possessed by the English and the Scotch; and accordingly great part of the latter language is traced to this source. With the Norman however, it seems never to have been so much commingled. The specimens of poetry given by Hicks and Warton containing a satire on the luxury of the monks, and the Life of St. Margaret

* The following passage in the Lord of the Isles, will show how closely Sir Walter Scott followed the spirit of early British poetry in its better parts. In his works there occur many instances of his having coloured his descriptions from the older poets, but perhaps none in which he has committed so close an imitation as in the following.

' Yet still on Colonsay's fierce Lord,
Who pressed the chase with gory sword
He rode with spear in rest,
And through his bloody tartans bor'd,
And through his gallant breast.
Nail'd to the earth, the mountaineer
Yet writh'd him up against the spear
And swung his broadsword round.
—Stirrup, steel-boot, and cuish gave way,
Beneath that blow's tremendous sway,
The blood gush'd from the wound;
And the grim Lord of Colonsay
Hath turn'd him on the ground,
And laugh'd in death-pang, that his blade
The mortal thrust so well repaid.'

supposed to be as ancient as the twelfth century, are in language much resembling that of Barbour and Wyntoun; a little more antiquated in the spelling. The *Geste of King Horne*, which Percy dated at about a century after the Conquest; and which Mr. Price without stating his reasons conceives long anterior to it, bears a still greater resemblance. In 1828, the poem of *Haveloch the Dane*, known to Camden and regretted by Ritson as lost, was edited by Sir Frederick Madden, to gratify the luxurious exclusiveness of the Roxburgh club. This is cœval with *Sir Tristrem*, and rivals *King Horne* in the fame of being the earliest English romance. It is translated from the French; but the subject being strictly English, the original is with much reason supposed to have been composed in the court language of an Anglo-Norman minstrel, while a translation was prepared for Robert de Brunne's friends the 'lewed men.' In this poem the resemblance to the early language of Scotland is remarkable. It has been assigned as the cause of this similarity, that the numerous Saxons who resorted to Scotland previously to and at the Conquest, diffused their language through the country; and Sir Walter Scott ingeniously maintained, that after the Norman invasion, the Saxon language being in England confined to the lower classes while in Scotland it became the language of the court, might be composed with greater purity by the bards of the latter country, than of the former; but Mr. Price and others will not be convinced that English was at any time more purely spoken in Scotland than at home.

Another subject of much mystery is involved in this question. The Eastern portion of Scotland, was anciently occupied by the people called Picts. These were in the middle of the ninth century united with the Scots or Dalriads who had previously come over from Ireland and settled in the Western and more mountainous part of the country, and are generally understood to have been the ancestors of the present Highlanders. It was always believed until the days of Pinkerton, that these Scots had conquered the Picts and brought them under the dominion of their king Kenneth; but that writer maintained that the reverse was the case, because the fact depended only on the authority of Celtic chroniclers, who always told what was directly contrary to the truth. The question whether these same Picts were of Celtic or Teutonic origin, has given birth to much discussion and learned writing. The field of discussion was a pretty fair one, for there were very few facts, and those of a very pliant nature, to interrupt the opposing arguments. Bede indeed clearly states that the Picts came from Scythia, but his authority is not much relied on, and among the later Roman

writers little occurs to illuminate the subject, except a few oracular sentences, chiefly among the Panegyrists; and as these respectable authors had about as much knowledge of the different races of North Britain, as the writers of the Minerva Press may be supposed to have of the tribes of American Indians, the matter was very little cleared by their interposition. Notwithstanding such impediments in the way of a distinct history of the Picts, Mr. Pinkerton found their ancestors, in a small island of the name of Peuké at the mouth of the Danube, mentioned by Strabo and Ptolemy; thence he conducted them towards the Baltic, found them forming themselves into the kingdom of Vikia, and finally landed them in Scotland. Mr. George Chalmers, in a ponderous volume, as clearly proved that the Picts were Celts, and in corroboration showed that the names of their kings were of Celtic origin. But Dr. Jamieson in his Scotch Etymological Dictionary (a learned and useful work) showed that they might with equal hope of success be referred to a Gothic origin. The question is still open to controversy, and though Pinkerton is no longer alive to charge with 'gross and contemptible ignorance, and conceited assurance,' or Ritson to accuse of 'mendacious and dishonest assertions,' it would hardly be safe to risk an opinion on the matter. Still it may be observed, that those who philologically try to show that the Picts were Teutones, do so in reference to the state of the present language of Scotland; and the migration of the English Saxons seems as yet the best supported reason for the similarity of the old Scotch poetry to that of England. There are, however, peculiarities of the Anglo-Saxon language, which have found their way into the works of Gower and Chaucer, but not into those of the early Scotch poets. The *en* as a termination, for instance, and the *y* or corruption of the Saxon preposition *ge*, seldom if ever occur in Barbour or Wytoun. It is remarkable however that they are not frequently met with, in some of the very earliest English romances.

A divergence from the standard of similarity, which was observed as existing at a very early period between the languages of the two nations, was gradually made by each. Chaucer has generally borne the reputation of corrupting the English language with gallicisms; and his habit of terminating a sentence or idea with the first couplet of a rhyme, and carrying a new one to the second, is supposed indicative of his having taken his model from the French. He was not alone, however, in the conspiracy. In the curious poem of 'William and the Wer-Wolf,' printed in 1832 in the costliest manner of the Roxburgh club, and ascertained to be written in 1350, there are

many gallicisms, which serve to make the language very distinct from that of 'Haveloch the Dane;' and the editor Sir Frederick Madden is of opinion that these exonerate Chaucer, who was a young man at the time the romance was written, from the charge of commencing the corruption of his native tongue. The language of the poets of Scotland, at a somewhat later date, merged in the contrary direction, into what is termed broad Scotch. Of Chaucer and Barbour, who were contemporary, the latter is perhaps the more easily read; while Douglas who wrote about a century and a half later, and Lindsay and Maitland who flourished in the early part of the reign of Queen Mary, often use a dialect which may be quite unintelligible to one pretty well acquainted with old English poetry.

It remains that some notice should be taken of a class of Scotch poets much distinguished in their genius, and the nature of their efforts, from the rude chroniclers already mentioned. There might be some question indeed as to the propriety of classing the latter under the term poets at all. Each had his narrative of fact, or pleasing fable to tell, and he told it in measured lines, and in rhyme. The imagination or feelings of the author too, diversified the series of incidents with spirited description or strains of sentiment; but these seldom went beyond the limits admitted to a writer of prose, and it seems not to have occurred to the authors, that they had to confine themselves at all times within the sphere of the poet, and instead of giving their information sometimes with the gravity of the conveyancer, and at others with more animation as suited their mood, to keep up a continued appeal to the imagination or passions. The class of poets of which Dunbar stands undoubtedly at the head, took up poetry as an art *per se*; on the various methods of succeeding in which, they bestowed their whole powers, making nature their study, and employing their art in those portions of it which their observation told them were materials for the poet. Criticism was probably at that time little studied in Scotland; and thence, if the poets of the period were unable from examples of the failure or success of other authors carefully to prune the produce of their intellectual labours, they had no collection of established mannerisms which restrained them to particular systems of thought, but were sent to the garden of nature, undirected, thence to chuse such flowers as best suited their inclinations. Hence in the productions of these poets, there is an unrestrained luxuriance of ideas connected with natural objects. The singing of birds, running waters, hills,

and green trees, are their perpetual subjects of contemplation ; and though the different aspects of these are noted and commented on to an extent which refined criticism may condemn, the reader feels a reflection of the feelings enjoyed in the observation of the objects themselves, which however long they may be indulged in, are not apt to tire or clog the appetite. It happened that the first of these poets was a monarch,—King James I. His early education in England, whither he had been taken captive in 1405 at the age of thirteen, probably tended to refine his taste; and his solitary captivity at Windsor, however it in other respects affected his mind, may not have been uncondusive to the developement of poetic feeling. His ‘King’s Quair,’ in which he describes his imprisonment, and the circumstances under which he fell in love with Lady Jane Beaufort whom he afterwards married, as he saw her walking in the garden, is in every respect a beautiful poem, and full of the luxurious observation of nature above alluded to. Two very different poems, called ‘Pebelis at the Play,’ and ‘Christ’s Kirk on the Green,’ are attributed to him, on no better authority than because a MS. of a century later, mentions him as the author of the latter, and John Major, a chronicler who wrote at the commencement of the 16th century, quotes the initiatory words of a poem written by King James, which are identical with the commencement of ‘Pebelis at the Play’. Good judges, however, have justly attributed these poems to a later period ; and they are not like what would come from the hand of a King. They are in the very strongest of broad Scotch, full of the most expressive terms which that language contains, vividly descriptive of, and showing a familiar acquaintance with, the habits of the common people, and professing sometimes no great respect for authorities. On the whole it would be as easy to suppose George IV. the author of Tam O’Shanter, as the fastidious James the writer of these bold and vigorous satires. Thomas Henryson, who in many respects imitated Chaucer, and continued his *Troilus* and *Creseide*, and also wrote some original pastorals of great beauty, ought not to be passed over.

Several collectors of early poems have published those of Dunbar separately ; but they have now been for the first time arranged in one work, in which the poet has been fortunate in falling into the hands of a tasteful and diligent editor, who has spared no pains in adding to the illustrations which Hailes and Pinkerton had previously collected on the subject. Mr. Laing’s researches, however, have not enabled him to discover many facts relating to the poor poet, who was too little con-

nected with the bloodshed and intrigues of the period to find a nitch in its history. It appears that he was born in Lothian, in the middle of the 15th century, and was sent to the University of St. Andrew's in 1475. From that period to the year 1499, nothing is known of him, except that from his own account he entered the order of St. Francis, and became an itinerant Friar, a profession on which, as compared with the comforts of the Establishment, he looked with very little respect. In one of his poems, he relates that a fiend in the likeness of St. Francis appeared before him in a dream, with a Friar's habit, which he requested him to put on. He casts it away with some indignation, stating that he had had quite enough of it before, although he made his wandering life as jolly a one as he could. He gives substantial reasons for preferring the robe of a Bishop.—

' In haly legendis haif I hard allevin,
Ma sanctis of bishoppis, nor freiris, be sic sevin;
Off full few freiris that hes bene sanctis I reid;
Quhairfoir ga bring to me ane bishchoppis weid,
Gife evir thou wald my saule yeid unto hevin.'

It would be pleasing if all aspirants to the mitre, would speak with the same plainness. Dunbar became early attached to the Court, as one of the regular caterers for its miscellaneous amusements; and there, near the person of royalty, he maintained an unceasing outcry for preferment in the Church, couched in such modest language as the above. In the year 1500 he received a pension of ten pounds (about 3*l.* in English money), to be paid until he should receive a benefice of the value of 40*l.* yearly. His pension was afterwards increased to 20*l.*, and in 1510 to 80*l.*, to be paid until he should receive a benefice of 100*l.* The object of his ambition, however, he never achieved. Some have attributed his disappointment to the too open dissoluteness of his manners and conversation, which might have even shocked the Establishment of that period; but Mr. Laing is inclined to refer it to the more creditable cause, that the King wished to keep so excellent a companion near his person. His Majesty's firm resistance to the importunities with which the bard continually assailed him, must have been truly magnanimous.

' That his continuous and importunate solicitations were attended with little or no advantage, might be inferred from their number and diversified character; but this supposition is discountenanced by the knowledge which we possess of the regular payment of his annual pension. It is somewhat amusing, however, to consider with what ingenuity and address he varies his petitions. In general he seems to found his chief claim for preferment on former services which he had

rendered, his youth having been spent in the King's employment, while he intimates that his wants would be easily satisfied. But whether in the form of a satirical or pathetic appeal to the King, or simply as a congratulation on the new year, or whether under some humorous personation he brought forward his request, still the burden of Dunbar's song was a Benefice! Again, at times he breaks out in a more vehement tone, and uses the language of remonstrance on observing Benefices given to persons who had already enjoyed several others. He asks the King, whether it is more charity to give drink to him who stands in great need of it, or to fill 'a full man till he burst,' while his companion, who is as deserving as he to drink wine, is allowed to die of thirst. His virtuous indignation is still more excited on beholding the great abuses which prevailed at court, and on contrasting his own small reward with the liberal encouragement bestowed on needy adventurers and impostors, he is ~~led~~, but with no undue degree of vanity, to predict the endurance of his own works.'

'But the most singular instance of all his supplications is perhaps that, in which he represents himself under the character of a worn-out steed, or an old grey horse, which deserved to be turned out to pasture, and to have shelter provided during the winter season. Attached to this poem, is the following reply to the petition, in the form of a mandate addressed to the Treasurer by His Majesty; but whether the words were actually written by the King himself, or added in his name by Dunbar, as an ingenious mode of enforcing his request, the reader must be left to his own conjecture. In modern orthography the lines are :—

After our writings, TREASURER,
Take in this grey horse OLD DUNBAR,
Who in my aucht, with service true,
Is lyart, changed is his hue;
Gar house him now against this Yule,
And busk him like a Bishop's mule:
For, with my hand I have indost
To pay whate'er his trappings cost.'—(Memoir, 24-6.)

Dunbar has been maintained (by his own countrymen chiefly) to be in many things the rival, if not the superior of Chaucer; in pathos however, he is far inferior, nor did he venture on the field of beautifully constructed narrative, peculiar to the father of English poetry. His powers, nevertheless, were extensive and various. He was an accomplished and bitter satirist, and acquired the refined art of wounding under the mask of condolence and sympathy, not much practised in Britain till the days of Thomas Nash. In attacking rivals, or those servants of the court who extended to the petitioning poet the insolence of office, anger and bitterness sometimes make him forget his more refined weapons, and transform him into the ferocious assailant. It is curious to remark, that the butt of less refined wits in later

days, the tailors, have not escaped his notice. Warton observes, that the genius of Dunbar is of 'a moral and didactic cast, and his power of painting in a vivid and striking manner the infirmities of human nature, is exhibited in his "Dance of the sevin deidly Synnis." The Dance of Sins is a sort of mask in hell, in presence of Mahound or the devil.—

' Lat sé, quoth he, now quha begynniss ?
 With that the fowll Sevin Deidly Synnis
 Begowth to leip at anis.
 And first of all in dance wes Pryd,
 With hair wyld bak, and bonet on syd,
 Lyk to mak vaistie wanis ;
 And round abowt him, as a quheill,
 Hank all in rumpillie to the heill
 His kethat for the nanis :
 Mony prowde trumpour with him trippit,
 Throw skaldand fyre, ay as thay skippit
 Thay gyrnd with hyddouss granis.'

(I. 50.)

It is impossible not to see in these lines the spirit of Tam o' Shanter. But some of the images in this production are far too loathsome and physically disgusting for poetry; and indeed in the various productions of this sometimes very elegant poet, there are occasional remarks and allusions, which give startling hints of the sort of morality and manners encouraged at the period. Nor is the immorality of Dunbar so much the subject of mere literary ornament or colouring, as that of Chaucer. It appears to be deeply rooted in society, and when connected with some scenes in Sir David Lindsay's plays, as they were acted in presence of the Court, might excite wonder at the effrontery of those heralds, who could carry a Scottish genealogy through such a period. Perhaps the most complete and beautiful of Dunbar's poems is that of 'The Thrissill and the Rois,' written to celebrate the marriage of James IV. with Margaret of England in 1503; but as it has been frequently quoted, a stanza or two of one of his minor works may be more acceptable as a specimen of his style. 'The Merle and the Nyctingail' thus commences.—

' In May, as that Aurora did up spring,
 With cristall ene chasing the cluddis sable,
 I hard a Merle, with mirry notis, sing
 A sang of luvie, with voce rycht comfortable,
 Agane the Orient bemis amiable,
 Upone a blissful brenche of lawryr grene ;
 This wes hir sentens suet and delectable,
 " A lusty lyfe in Luvie service bene."

Undir this brench ran down a revir bricht,
 Of balmy liquour, cristallyne of hew,
 Agane the hevinly aisure skyis licht;
 Qubair did, upone the tothir syd, persew
 A Nychtingaill, with suggurit notis new,
 Quhois angell federis as the pacok schone:
 This wes hir song, and of a sentens trew,
 "All luvè is lost, bot upone God allone."

With notis glaid, and glorious armony,
 This joyfull Merle so salust scho the day,
 Quhill rong the woddis of hir melody,
 Saying, Awalk, ye Luvaris of this May;
 Lo fresche Flora hes flurest every spray,
 As nature hes hir tafucht, the noble Quene,
 The feild bene clothit in a new array:
 A lusty lyfe in Luvis service bene.

Nevir swetar noys wes hard with levand man,
 Na maid this mirry gentill Nychtingaill,
 Hir sound went with the revir as it ran
 Out throw the freshe and flureist lusty vail:
 O Merle! quoth scho, O fule! stynt of thy tail,
 For in thy song gud sentens is thair none,
 For boith is tynt, the tyme and the travaill
 Of every luvè, bot upone God allone.'—I. 216-7.

ART. XVI.—*The Evils of the House of Lords.* By J. A. Roebuck, M.P.—London; Longley. 1835.

THE Lords have done their best during the past session to ripen the public mind for the question, How shall the Lords be reformed? The subject has not been prepared by previous discussion; and, but for the quickening of 'the crisis' by the proceedings of the Lords, there are few who would not have willingly postponed the solution of the problem. There is a principle in nature that provides for the ripening of evil, as well as of good; and, after all care has been bestowed upon the alleviation of the worst when its time shall have come, it is generally best to wait that time. The Lords have ripened their own mischief. They have obtruded their deficiencies on public opinion, and the judgment of the public is upon them by their own determination.

Well-meaning persons have planned 'sundry schemes of amelioration, or of mitigation, according as they viewed the characteristic nature of the hereditary body. The creation of

new Peers might once have been competent to meet the case ; for like a trimming applied to a vessel in time, it might have prevented the rush of the cargo to one side, which has subsequently taken place. But that opportunity, the cruel tenderness of Earl Grey for ' his Order ' has thrown away. If he had exerted the constitutional power of the Crown, to balance the Tory garrison which had been collecting for fifty years in the House of Lords as a last resource, as a *poire contre la soif*, things might never have come to the present dilemma. But what is undone, is undone ; and here we are.

But how, it will be said, shall the opportunity of making any alteration, be obtained ? Will the Lords consent to reform themselves ? This is indeed the difficulty, but it is one which will be overcome, if the Lords show themselves unbearable. The people will be compelled first to give hints, then to show more uneasiness, and the Lords will always have the good sense and tact to take warning in time, however unpleasant concession may be in itself ; as they notably evinced in the case of the Reform Bill. The Lords will not yield, till they see reason sufficient to make the Lord yield ;—till *P* the power is to *W* the weight, in that proportion which makes an equilibrium and a little more ; and then they will yield, like all things else in nature, to the necessity of the rule. In the mean time the interesting question is, whether they will resolutely bring themselves to that case ; for if the boiler is to burst, it is themselves that must create the pressure, and load the valve.

That there are, or may be, means of effectual coercion is easily shown. It is known that the Commons hold the purse. And though the imbecillity which dares the Commons to stop the Supplies, by threatening to charge them with the mischief that might follow upon resistance, — like a naughty little boy that threatens his Mamma with kicking in her china closet,—may do for *juste milieu* feebleness, it would not for an hour restrain a courageous Minister backed by a House commissioned by an irritated people. The Commons have a power, which whenever they chuse to exert it, not only cannot be resisted, but cannot be opposed. The evils of half-pay officers running about without salaries,—and fundholders unable to pay their weekly bills for want of their dividends,—will never be experienced, because nobody will wait to try. It has occurred to most people, to see an animal break its chain, and then stand still, in the unconsciousness that it is loose. An imaginary bond of this nature, is all that at any time hinders a willing House of Commons from stopping the Supplies. It is astonishing how long men will go on, like John Bunyan's unfortunate

heroes, having 'the key called Promise' in their pocket, before they bethink themselves of putting it to use.

These are extreme movements; but the extremity of the occasion, if it arises, will justify a like extremity. When wisdom and moderation are found fruitless, and folly stops the way of all good, there must needs be strong measures. The Tories have given the people a teaching of ways strong enough. A wise man looks to the end of his actions, and stops at the beginning of the wrong path. The ultimate result is put up in the face of the Lords, not to frighten them, but to show them where they are going. There is no one, perhaps, desirous to drive them there; but if they are bent on their bad purposes, it is as well that they should know the chance of their coming back again in a condition worse than their first.

The existence of the House of Lords as a separate branch of the Legislature, has been supported on three grounds.

1st. By De Lolme, because the Legislature would be apt to run away with itself on every change of sentiment, and therefore it is necessary there should be a body of a contrary sentiment to keep it in the right line.

2nd. By Blackstone, that there should be a nobility of rank and title, as a stimulus to the exertion of all the individual members of the body politic; and that such body ought, for fear it should become mingled up, and lost sight of, in the mass of the vulgar, to have a separate legislative and deliberative character.

3rd. By Lord Brougham, that there should be a second chamber to correct the errors of the first.

Recent experience has shown the weakness of De Lolme's principle, or the antagonistic one. The check, the moment it is applied, becomes checkmate; and either one branch of the Legislature is nullified, or a row follows and then the refractory body acquiesces. It is a check like laying beams of timber across the road to check the descent of a carriage; a checking that is to be effected with the greatest possible quantity of collision and turmoil, and not with the least.

Blackstone's notion is a very jumping one. Because it is fitting to make a man a colonel, it is not therefore fitting that he should be a legislator. But the learned Judge has, in another part of his book, ascribed to the House of Lords the inherent possession of piety, wisdom, honour; and on the score of these excellent properties, he lauds it magniloquently. If the qualities do in verity exist, all that the learned Judge would infer may be conceded; but if the fruits ascribed are also

wanting, and the House of Lords is not the excellent thing it is maintained to be, men must seek for other reasons for the continuance of the same.

One cause of the continuance, for so long time, of the Lords in the people's favour, has been the supposed balance of our mixed constitution. There is something pretty in the idea of the triple bond of union,—that it must be always two to one, in favour of good, and against mischief; that if the King went wrong, the Lords and the Commons must be both on the same side; and so if the Lords went wrong, the King and Commons would go together; or if the Commons went wrong, the King and Lords would take to the other scale, and sway it till the balance became even. It seems never to have occurred to these theorists, that two of these parties might be in the wrong together, or what for the nation's peace would be the same thing, the people might differ and predominate by greater force of numbers, or wealth, or strength; and so the result be no balance at all. It is in vain to talk of balances, unless the quantities be even. When the King gave up his revenues for a fixed salary, he lost even the shadow of independence, and became a stipendiary of the people. When the principle of election was established, and that of nomination destroyed, the predominance of the Lords was gone, and the House of Commons absorbed that both of the Crown and the Lords. Nor should it be said that this state of things was brought about by any set of men; the feeling of the people was too strong for them. Had they not yielded, the struggle would have continued, and the end would have been as terrible as the conflict had been vigorous.

Such views as those of De Lolme and Blackstone have been latterly abandoned for the ground of the necessity of having a second chamber.

A great deal has been said in favour of a second chamber, as furnishing the opportunity and the means of mending the blunders which may arise through the haste, or the ignorance, or perversity of purpose, of the first; and then by a not unusual trick of rhetorical artifice, the assent to the desirableness of the object, has been, by slight of tongue, at once assumed to be proof of the aptness of the suggested means. That there should be security against the mischiefs complained of, no one denies; but has the House of Lords hitherto proved itself to be such security, or is it likely to do so hereafter? The single intelligible utility of a Second Chamber, is that since a First Chamber elected by the people for short periods (without which the First Chamber is itself incompetent for its professed

purposes), must from its composition be a transcript, to a great extent, of the feelings of the people for the time being,—and since the feelings of the people for the time being may not always be the right ones,—it may be useful to check the proceedings of the First Chamber, by those of another Chamber which shall represent the feelings of the people spread over a greater extent of time. Hence the great distinction between the two Chambers, on the grounds of common sense and sound reason, would be that the members of one should be elected for rather short terms, and the other for rather long; and for carrying out the principle proposed, it would be further necessary that the Second Chamber should never be dissolved, but the elections take place in succession, as the old members arrived individually at their appointed term. There might be some difficulty about setting such a system in motion; but it might apparently be accomplished with sufficient exactness, by dividing the first elections by lot into divisions of one, two, three, &c. years, and so on to the greatest number that are ultimately to compose the term; the elected for the shorter periods to go out at the expiration of the period, but all elections after the first, to be for the entire term. The jumble created by deaths and resignations, would soon cause this to be as perfect a system of continuous and incessant succession, as if the succession depended upon deaths. This, without at present debating the length of the term, would be the *beau idéal* of a Second Chamber for use. Such a Chamber might correct errors; but has the House of Lords been effective in that way? Let the statute-book speak to the efficiency of their efforts. There it is, with all its hideous heap of verbiage and confusion, and absence and contradiction of principle. It is true that the House of Lords coming afterwards has occasionally mended, as who may not, what has been done elsewhere; but it has seldom enlarged or purified the principle of any measure. Admit the uses of a Second Chamber, and then freely discuss the question whether this, or any other proposed body, is likely to accomplish them. If by any means, the two Chambers could be brought to be actuated by the same spirit, with a difference like that of old and young heads only;—the energy of the one checked merely, or moderated, but not resisted by the other;—then the second chamber might be what its friends picture it to their fancies. And this would indeed be (if it were possible) the best way to settle a problem that promises to engage more angry and earnest attention than can conduce to the peace or the safety of the state. The Peers, on the one hand, have it in their power to show that they are compatible with a progressive

government. On the other hand, it will be for the people to think of the inconveniences which may be forced upon them by the self-will of the aristocratic body.

The great difficulty in the way of a reform of the House of Lords, will be found to consist in the selection of the appropriate constituency. If there is to be a second Chamber, the first principle of its existence must be a correspondence in political feeling with the other Chamber, within the limits of the differences for the sake of which the second Chamber exists. It is absurd to suppose that the House of Commons, representing millions both in numbers and property, should acquiesce in the judgments of the few, representing at best hundreds-of-thousands only, and their property and exclusive interests. That all the subjects of the realm should be equal before the law, is the first rule of a free state: for whenever there is an excluded class, the people will not long remain free. Even in America, where the privileged are the majority, freedom is in jeopardy; the jealousy of the exclusives forces them to acts of coercion and tyranny, and these again force the oppressed to resistance, and then follow other acts of tyranny, until at last the habitual prosecution of despotic measures has destroyed the spirit of independence in the people, and made them only a larger aristocracy. But when the exclusives are the few, there cannot be freedom; for the privileges of the exclusives must be purchased by corruption. Of this sort was the political power that subsisted in this country previous to the passing of the Reform Bill. That being destroyed by the measure which ensured a majority in the House of Commons to the true representatives of the people, no room for compromise was left; and the ingredients of the Constitution became antagonist. The problem is now, how they shall be reconciled. When men of the world are at issue, they have commonly sense enough to discover when resistance is useless; and making a merit of necessity, they yield in time, or foreseeing the end, make what terms can be had most favourable for their own purpose. A fair-dealing and courteous bearing disarms their more powerful opponents, and they gain a hundred-fold by their policy. It is not with men of this class, that the people have now to treat. Hence the question arises, how they can be neutralized. It has been proposed that this should be accomplished by the two first rules of arithmetic,—by addition, and by subtraction,—by the addition of so many new peers, created for life, as with the subtraction of all the bishops, would be sufficient to give the predominance to liberal sentiments in the House. But this is in truth but a cobbling method. It mends by making a patch;

and one which will only serve its purpose for a time. This is the worst scheme of policy, especially in constitutional matters; and for this reason, among many others, that it may be adopted by the enemy in his turn, and so the same work may require to be done a second time, or even again and again. Besides it is not unreasonable to suppose, that the new blood thus thrown into the peerage would soon acquire an affinity to the old. It may be said, that the process of decay will come through the constant application of severe remedies, and the peers be at last dissolved as a body. But that would be a sorry method of cure; it would be too slow, and might give occasion to many troubles, which might be spared if a bolder scheme were resorted to, a scheme not dependent entirely on shifts and expedients, but one which, being based on principle, might reconcile itself to all the accidents of fortune. The ancient recollections—the *traditions*, as the French would call them—in the public mind in favour of the body are enfeebled; and whether this be the result of their own misconduct, or of a change in the state of enlightenment or feeling among the people, is of little practical moment. The peers have not that hold upon public opinion, which will make the public think it reasonable to go without their expected good, because 170 individuals object to it. In the case of the House of Commons, the circumstances are quite different; the members are, in the main, the choice of the public; the public therefore see some reason, why they should submit to the decisions of their own flesh and blood. The turmoil of an election, is the struggle which gets up a species of *εὐπρη* or natural affection between the offspring and its parent. The House of Lords lacks this; they are *terræ filii*, by nature and by boast. It may be regretted that the peers who have taken the right course, should be included in the work of regeneration; but their patriotism will incline them to acquiesce in the adoption of measures, which the refractoriness of their order has forced upon the country. On the other hand, gratitude to them would induce the people to adopt any measures of reform which should give the peers the opportunity of amending themselves, if any such scheme can be discovered.

The Peers exclaim, leave us our independence; of what use are we if we do not retain that? But of what use to the public, is independence to do harm? The people wish for security that the body which is to assist in making laws, shall have some community of interest with the public. The people say, we can have no assurance of freedom, if we do not legislate for ourselves; and for proof thereof we refer to the acts of the Legislature during all that time in which the power of the Lords was in the

ascendant. The power of the Peers is based on exclusion. The power of the people is based on toleration. The question that is now being discussed, is another form of that involved in Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform. It is the question of self-government by a responsible Representation system. The Lords represent the feudal principle emasculated; the ascendancy of property, and villainage growing thereout; the possession of privilege and power through property without any other qualification. If the Peers were chosen by the people, the process of investigation, and its effect in the legislative decision, might prove of some value. The operation would be like counter-tests by different means; and if the results corresponded, there would be some assurance of the correctness of the conclusion. Or, if the Peers were elected by the property-men in the country, then again the balance might be obtained; for now the men of property have come to have intelligence enough to discern, that their and the general safety may be best secured by a reference to the general feeling; that there must be some acquiescence, and that in turn power is won thereby. Perhaps this mode would afford the most feasible method of reforming the Peers; while it would leave the Commons open to the adoption of a more extended suffrage in their own behalf. Give the country household suffrage and annual parliaments; and it might perhaps endure to hear of Peers being elected for a long time, or even for life, and by electors of a high property qualification. This, too, would be a restoration of the original principle of the Peerage; for doubtless they were made Peers, or were indeed Peers by the fact, of holding what then constituted the sole or at least the chief property of the country. They are not now the richest men. Among them are some of the poorest, poor by their own fault—by a luxurious and improvident extravagance. It is part of the fallacy of the present supposed constitution of the Peers, that they represent the property of the country. Take them on their own grounds, and make it so. It would give them a more extensive knowledge of affairs;—the true practice which gives to men of the world the comprehensiveness of philosophers.

The advocates for the present condition of things have made the following argument. They contend that the traditions of the Peerage linking them with the past, and the hereditary succession of their children to the same honours linking them with the future, together with their own natural yearnings to themselves, make the Peers a very fit and excellent cement, whereby the Constitution may be retained in a stable and permanent condition. If this had been the object of the original builders of

the Constitution, which it never was, it was an object brought about by very ill means. There wanted the binding nature of cement. The height, and depth, and thickness, of the selfishness of the class, setting it above and apart from the great mass of the people, made it unfit to be the instrument of Legislation. The resistance, the antagonism, was too palpable, in the case of a peculiarly hardy and independent people, who were likely to be irritated to resistance against such authority upon the first charge of its hostility. If it had been the purpose of the House of Lords to give security to the state, the purpose would have been better secured, by a class of nobility mingled with the mass of the people, not obtrusively set over it;—who yet might elect a body who should represent themselves and the wealth of the country. But then the basis of such constituency should be broad; providing too every stimulus to the choice of the best individuals. This is probably a phantom; but however that may be, it would be more practically fit for the purpose than the House of Lords now is*. It would be well to look to what the Lords once were, to their feudal origin, and to the changes which have made the present Lords only the shadow of their predecessors,—in all things,—in wealth, in personal prowess, in the education of the times. The Lords are not blamed for the influences that have subdued them to their present condition; but when a claim is set up for them on the score of an unreachable pre-eminence, it is fit to point to the fact, that they are not more than other men, perhaps less. If they are free from meannesses which their wealth and condition would make disgraceful,—have they no other feelings which disqualify them from judging of the condition of the people? If they are intelligent, as men should be who have opportunities of seeing more, have they that wisdom which comes from the experience of poverty, and the struggles of a bold and enterprising nature? They may labour with all the facilities which are supplied by the ability to purchase mechanical means or the agency of other men's intellects; but have they the dogged and persevering

* The present constitution of the House of Lords furnishes choice of alteration. Besides the hereditary senators, there are senators for life, and senators elected for a period, and rotatory senators. Of the first class are the Irish Representative Peers, who are seated for life as often as a vacancy occurs by the death of one of the members. The Scotch Peers are elected at the commencement of every new Parliament. While the Irish Bishops afford a specimen of the rotatory principle. The results in each instance correspond, of course, with the nature of the suffrage. Elected by an exclusive body and men of the same order, the representative is at least a fair embodiment of the will and feelings and interests of the constituents.

application which enables them to pursue their object in spite of all difficulties?

It is not meant to impugn honours and titles. Let them be, if men are stimulated by them to noble or worthy deeds. Let a titled body, ennobled by their actions, mingle with, and elevate society; but do not insist on making them legislators for the mass. As soon as they are so separated, they become selfish. The tendencies of an exclusive body to self-gravitation become too strong for the individual; and his *esprit du corps* is at war with the community from which he sprang. The writer of this article was once acquainted with a remarkable instance of this. In a public school a set of boys were separated from the rest of their schoolfellows for a specific purpose, and their separate condition was marked by a peculiar badge of honour. The young urohins of this set soon became a species of Janisaries. They were too strong for the masters, the oppressors of their fellows, and the terror of the whole neighbourhood. The grievance grew too grievous to be borne, and the government of this little kingdom made a bold effort to destroy the terrific body; it mingled them with the mass, and the result was, as might have been predicted, they became orderly persons, and enjoying the same titular rank as before, the purpose of the distinction was better served.

POSTSCRIPT

TO THE

ARTICLE ON THE AFFAIRS OF CANADA.

SINCE this Article was written, a Parliamentary Return has been printed, giving a detailed account of the Civil, Military, and, in part, of the Naval Expenses, incurred by the kingdom on account of its Colonies. The aggregate reaches the enormous sum of 2,346,021*l*. In so far as the North American Colonies are concerned, the Military expenditure is estimated at 351,816*l*., and the Civil at 96,768*l*., making the total expenditure, exclusive of the Naval charges, which are but partially given, 448,584*l*. It will be seen, then, that the author of this Article, instead of having over-stated the expense of maintaining the Colonies, has much under-stated it.

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